COLLECTANEA HIMALAYICA 3

Edition, éditions

l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir

Edité par

Anne Chayet
Cristina Scherrer-Schaub
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Jean-Luc Achard

INDUS
VERLAG

Chayet *et al.* (éds)

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Edited by Prof. Dr. Franz-Karl Ehrhard (Munich)

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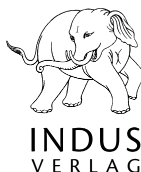
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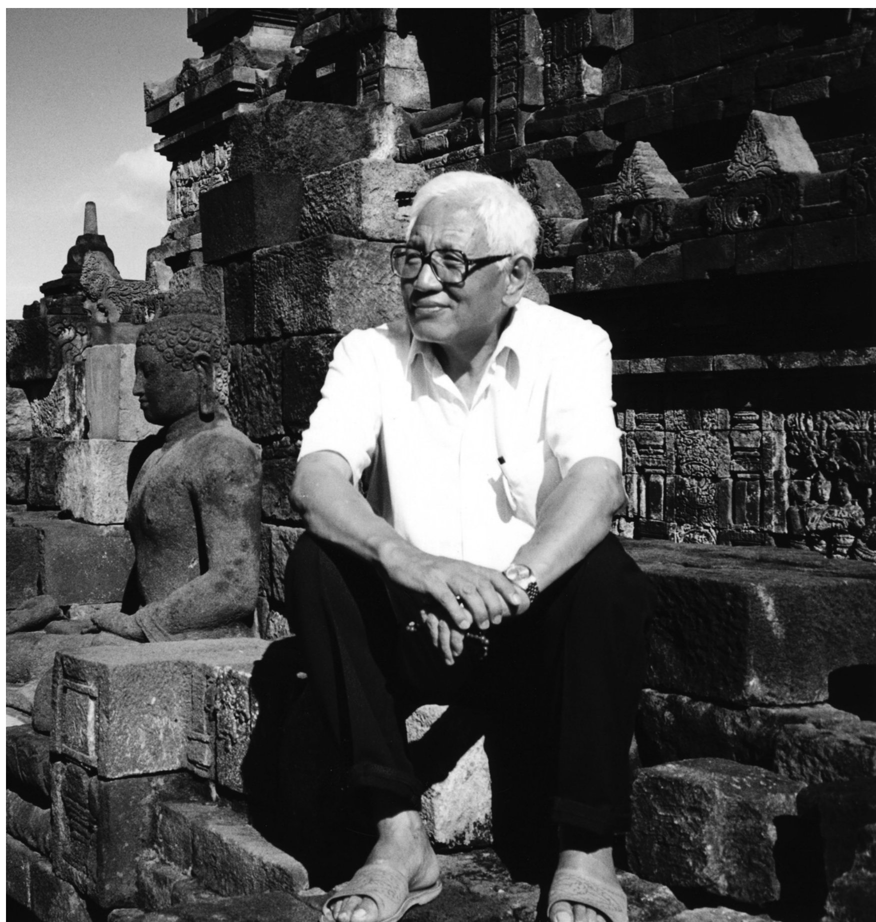
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En mémoire de mDo smad pa Yon tan rgya mtsho
(1932–2002)

Table des matières

Préambule

La tradition tibétaine a affirmé son originalité aussi bien dans la transmission orale que dans la transmission écrite. L'organisation, la structuration de cette dernière a très vite engendré une véritable démarche de type éditorial, dès l'époque de la Première Diffusion du bouddhisme (VIIe–IXe siècles), en particulier en raison de la nécessité de conjuguer conservation et création, parallèlement à la défense de l'orthodoxie aussi bien qu'à la conquête morale ou politique. Le terme « édition », au-delà du sens limité qu'il a en français, recouvre la réunion, la compilation, l'éventuelle traduction, les commentaires, la mise en forme, la critique et la mise à disposition d'une œuvre écrite, quelle qu'en soit la forme matérielle, manuscrite ou imprimée. C'est dire que le nombre des thèmes et des sujets qui peuvent être abordés dans ce cadre général est pratiquement illimité, que l'on se place du point de vue matériel, ou du point de vue conceptuel, ou que l'on s'attache à analyser chronologiquement les phases successives et l'évolution de cette activité.

Un schéma classique d'évolution peut présenter d'abord la phase initiale de création de l'écriture, puis de structuration ou de codification de la langue, d'invention de la traduction et de ses normes, qui occupa les derniers siècles de l'époque monarchique ; l'évolution des premiers commentaires brefs et techniques, souvent issus de la traduction, en manuels d'analyse et d'instruction ; puis les périodes de constitution des grandes collections canoniques, bouddhiques et bon po ; l'introduction de l'impression et les modifications qui en résultèrent dans le domaine économique et le domaine social ; l'émergence et le développement de nouveaux genres littéraires ; la rédaction d'ouvrages bilingues, trilingues ou quadrilingues, où le Tibet se montrait éditeur et diffuseur, comme pour répondre à sa position de récipiendaire de la Première Diffusion. Ce schéma, s'arrêtant à l'aube du XXe siècle, n'est qu'indicatif et incomplet. On pourrait penser qu'en entrant dans les temps modernes, la puissante machine éditoriale tibétaine a cédé, non pas en volume, mais du moins en créativité, car elle s'est rapprochée en partie des normes occidentales d'édition.

Puis la révolution informatique s'est produite. Et c'est un chapitre nouveau du phénomène éditorial tibétain qui s'ouvre. Le Tibet est entré dans la mondialisation, faut-il pour autant penser qu'il s'est entièrement « normalisé » ? En adoptant des formes de diffusion nouvelles, la presse puis le web, l'écrit tibétain s'est enrichi de genres qu'il avait peu développés ou qui lui étaient étrangers, comme la poésie profane et la littérature romanesque, ou le pamphlet politique, même si ce dernier a sans doute un précédent, dans la controverse doctrinale.

Par ces nouveaux moyens de diffusion, l'écrit tibétain s'est assuré un lectorat immense, au moins virtuellement, et tous les efforts tendent désormais

à en faciliter l'accès à un public non spécialisé. Cela suppose bien des modifications aux règles traditionnelles de fonctionnement. Les procédés modernes de reproduction facilitent, outre la diffusion générale, l'établissement des éditions critiques. Mais il n'est pas certain que les traductions de textes tibétains, aujourd'hui en grand nombre, et il faut s'en féliciter, fassent toutes l'objet d'un contrôle aussi sévère et aussi autorisé que lors des premières traductions du sanskrit en tibétain, dans la mesure où la volonté de vulgarisation n'a pas toujours la même exigence que celle de diffusion. On peut également mentionner le problème de l'orthographe tibétaine, compliquée, parfois indécise et en tout cas si éloignée de la prononciation qu'on utilise de plus en plus la transcription phonétique, qui donne aux mots et noms tibétains des formes très différentes selon les systèmes linguistiques qui les reçoivent, pour ne pas rebuter le lectorat moins averti. Même la translittération, apparemment plus fidèle, déforme les termes tibétains, dans leur diffusion en Occident, en soulignant de plus en plus souvent l'initiale aux dépens de la radicale. Si cette convention correspond à la morphologie des langues de l'Occident, et en tout cas à leur logique alphabétique, elle modifie néanmoins, dans une certaine mesure, la forme des mots tibétains, et par conséquent touche le concept dont ils sont issus. Il serait exagéré d'y voir un parallèle avec la constitution de l'écriture tibétaine, et les efforts faits pour conjuguer deux systèmes linguistiques différents, mais il est certain que les signes alors utilisés, l'accent mis sur certains d'entre eux, et même leurs hésitations, avaient un sens précis, et que modifier l'ordonnancement des signes peut, avec le temps, entraîner la modification du sens.

Ces recherches font appel à un très large éventail de disciplines, ce qui suppose l'intervention de méthodes très différentes. Ce n'est pas l'un des moindres intérêts du thème, puisqu'il réunit les linguistes, les philologues, les grammairiens, et les historiens aux spécialistes de nombreuses techniques et à ceux de l'économie et des structures sociales. L'histoire de l'édition constitue l'une des voies d'accès à l'histoire économique et sociale du Tibet, trop longtemps négligée en raison de la difficulté à trouver des documents suffisants pour l'éclairer. Certes, de nombreux travaux ont été publiés sur beaucoup de ces thèmes – la constitution du canon bouddhique, en particulier, a fait l'objet de recherches approfondies et d'importantes publications – mais ils sont loin d'être épuisés, et certains d'entre eux pourraient être repris sous un autre angle méthodologique. Sous le titre « Histoire des textes et des doctrines », ils constituent l'un des programmes de recherche de l'UMR 8155 « Centre de recherche sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale ». Certains résultats de ces travaux ont déjà été publiés dans sa *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines.*

C'est précisément pour réunir les chercheurs intéressés par ces thèmes, croiser les disciplines dont ils se réclament, comparer les méthodes et donc, d'une façon générale, en regroupant les recherches, leur donner une impul-

sion nouvelle, que le colloque « Edition, éditions : l'écrit au Tibet, évolution et devenir » a été organisé par l'UMR 8155, avec le soutien du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS, Paris), de la Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (Taipei, Taiwan), de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE, Paris), de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO, Paris) et de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO, Paris).

Vingt-six spécialistes y ont participé, et ce sont les contributions de vingt d'entre eux qui sont réunies ici. D'autres articles seront publiés ultérieurement dans la *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, et nous souhaitons que le mouvement de recherches axé sur ces thèmes se poursuive et s'élargisse dans un esprit comparable.

Les remerciements des organisateurs du colloque et de son équipe éditoriale vont à Alain Thote, directeur de l'UMR 8155, qui en a permis l'organisation, à Fabienne Jagou (EFEO) et Heather Stoddard (INALCO) qui y ont participé et à Sandrine Chassagne, assistante de gestion, qui en a assumé toutes les difficultés. Ils vont également aux institutions mentionnées plus haut, dont les généreuses contributions ont permis la réalisation du colloque ; ils vont enfin au Professeur Franz-Karl Ehrhard (Munich), qui a bien voulu accueillir le présent volume dans la collection qu'il anime, et à son assistant Ralf Kramer.

Anne Chayet

au nom de l'équipe éditoriale :

Jean-Luc Achard (CNRS)
Anne Chayet (CNRS)
Françoise Robin (INALCO)
Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (EPHE)

Yonten Gyatso (1932–2002)

Yonten Gyatso est né en 1932, en A mdo, dans la région de sNang ra que borde le rMa chu (le fleuve Jaune) ; c'est l'actuel district de gCan tsha (C. Jianzha) du préfecture autonome de Huangnan (province du Qinghai). Il est né dans le village de Khol sa steng, qui comptait une vingtaine de familles.

Entré en 1941 au monastère de La mo bde chen, non loin de son village natal, il y reçut la formation traditionnelle des jeunes moines dge lugs pa. De 1950 à 1956, il approfondit ses connaissances en philosophie au célèbre monastère de Bla brang bKra shis 'khyil. Enfin, de 1956 à 1959, il fit des études supérieures de philosophie (logique, métaphysique, épistémologie) à l'université monastique de 'Bras spungs (collège sGo mang), près de lHa sa, où il fut un disciple proche de Khri byang rin po che Blo bzang ye shes bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho (1901–1981), et satisfit à tous les examens pour le titre de *dge bshes* (docteur en théologie).

En 1959, il dut s'exiler, à la suite du Dalai Lama, et se réfugia en Inde. Jusqu'en 1964, il enseigna la philosophie et la métaphysique au camp de Buxa (Bengale, Inde), où avaient été regroupés quelque 1200 moines appartenant aux trois grandes universités du Tibet central.

Il arriva en France en 1965, et résida d'abord dans une communauté de moines tibétains établie dans l'Yonne. Au bout de trois ans, il s'installa à Paris et fut associé aux travaux et aux recherches de Mme Ariane Spanien-Macdonald, puis de Mme Anne-Marie Blondeau, à l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, où il fut assistant associé de 1977 à 1980 (à la Ve section : Religions tibétaines).

Il partagea dès lors son temps entre des activités d'enseignement et de recherche. En 1973–74, il fut lecteur de tibétain à l'INALCO (en remplacement de M. Jhampa Gyatso), et en 1974–75, remplaça M. Stein à l'EPHE. Ceux qui ont eu le privilège d'assister au cours remarquable qu'il consacra cette année là au *rtsod* (disputation théologique) ne l'ont certainement pas oublié. Il enseigna également par la suite à Bloomington (Indiana University, 1987–1988) et dans plusieurs centres, en France et à l'étranger.

Yonten Gyatso était entré au CNRS et y devint membre de l'équipe « Langues et cultures de l'aire tibétaine » créée par Mme Blondeau. Il y eut de nombreuses activités de recherche et n'hésita jamais à faire bénéficier ses jeunes collègues de ses conseils et des enseignements de sa vaste expérience. Presque tous ceux qui ont travaillé à ses côtés doivent se souvenir d'avoir un jour refermé un peu hâtivement un ouvrage tibétain et d'avoir été à la fois gênés et admiratifs de voir Yonten Gyatso s'emparer du livre, le remettre en ordre et l'envelopper avec précision, tout en prodiguant au fautif quelques

conseils qui n'étaient certes pas inutiles. Grand calligraphe, Yonten Gyatso était aussi un grand connaisseur des textes. On avait parfois des remords à le déranger dans ses recherches pour les nécessités des programmes de recherche en cours dans l'équipe, mais il se penchait avec autant de bienveillance que d'efficacité sur ces questions souvent très éloignées de ses intérêts. Il s'intéressait à l'histoire et y montrait un rare esprit critique : ses travaux en témoignent. Mais il faisait également preuve d'une grande rigueur, particulièrement lorsqu'on lui demandait conseil sur l'interprétation à donner à une phrase, et aux conclusions qu'on pouvait en tirer. Et il s'efforçait toujours de faire comprendre à ses jeunes collègues l'importance de la connaissance des sources, de la filiation et de la transmission des textes. Il citait parfois, pour qu'on se garde de l'imiter, l'exemple des moines du monastère de Ditsa qui voulurent rééditer un texte, rassemblèrent soigneusement les exemplaires qu'ils pouvaient trouver et, en ayant trouvé une dizaine d'exemplaires similaires, sinon exactement semblables, basèrent leur édition sur ces versions, en rejetant la seule qui présentait de notables différences. Bien entendu, comme cela fut prouvé par la suite à la grande honte des moines, la version correcte était la version écartée.

Travaux et publications

En dehors de ses publications dans des revues ou des volumes collectifs, Yonten Gyatso a diffusé certains de ses travaux en offset ; d'autres sont restés manuscrits, parfois avec plusieurs rédactions successives, ou ont été repris, au moins en partie, dans des publications ultérieures ; quelques publications ont été faites en Inde. Certains textes ont connu plusieurs éditions ou rééditions. Dans les listes bibliographiques, son nom apparaît avec l'orthographe « Yonten Gyatso » ou « Yon tan rGya mtsho », et sous l'entrée « mDo smad pa Yon tan rgya mtsho ».

Cette liste est loin d'être complète et peut comporter des erreurs : la modestie de notre regretté collègue était grande et il omettait souvent de signaler une parution. Certains de ses enseignements ont pu être publiés par les Centres où il les a dispensés. Les indications données ici sont provisoires et seront complétées ultérieurement dans la *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*.

Yonten Gyatso, *Analyse de l'A mdo chos 'byung*, Introduction et table des matières détaillée (*titre en français*), 1972, 800 p. env. (Voir : *Réflexions sur le rôle joué par les puissances du Tibet oriental dans l'instauration de la dynastie des Dalai-Lama au Tibet central, XIVe–XVIIIe siècle*. Mémoire de l'EPHE, 1985).

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Yonten Gyatso, *Analyse de l'A mdo chos 'byung*. Index des noms propres, index des matières, recherche et vérification des sources, localisation des sites mentionnés et cartes. (*Titre en français*) 1975 (Voir : *Réflexions sur le rôle joué par les puissances du Tibet oriental dans l'instauration de la dynastie des Dalai-lama au Tibet central, XIVe–XVIIIe siècle*. Mémoire de l'EPHE, 1985).

Yonten Gyatso (mDo smad pa Yon tan rgya mtsho), *gDong lan lung rigs thog mda'*, Paris, Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1977, 213 p. (offset) ; New Delhi, Guru Deva, 1979, 213 p. ; TBRC, W00EGS1017303.

Yonten Gyatso (mDo smad pa Yon tan rgya mtsho), *brGal lan kun khyab 'brug sgra : gdong thog sprul sku la gdams pa brgal lan*, Paris, Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1979, 236 p. (offset) ; New Delhi, bsTan 'dzin dge legs, 1980, 236 p. ; TBRC, W29046.

Yonten Gyatso (mDo smad pa Yon tan rgya mtsho), *brGal lan 'jigs med gdong lnga'i sgra dbyangs*. Paris, Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1980, 246 p. (offset) ; New Delhi, Guru Deva, 1981, 246 p.

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Yonten Gyatso (mDo smad pa Yon tan rgya mtsho), *Chos sde chen po Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil : mKhas grub 'bum sde'i rol mtsho mdo sngags bstan pa'i 'byung gnas dga' ldan bshad sgrub bkra shis 'khyil gyi skor bzhed gzhung dal 'bab mdzod yangs las nye bar sgrub pa sngon med legs bshad ngo mtshar bkra shis chos dung bzhad pa'i sgra dbyangs,* (Paris), 1987, 464 p. (Histoire du monastère de Bla brang).

Yonten rgya mtsho (mDo smad pa Yon tan rgya mtsho), *sKu 'bum khri zur sTag mtsher mchog sprul Thub bstan 'jigs med nor bu'i thun mong mdzad rim bsdus don dpyod ldan yongs la gtam du bya ba sngon med legs bshad nges don sprin gyi pho nya*. N. Kanara, Tibetan Colony, 1989, 7–352 p. ; TBRC, W00EGS1016682.

Yonten Gyatso (Yon tan rgya mtsho), *sPrul pa'i bstan srung chen po rdo rje shugs ldan rtsal las 'phros pa'i rtsod lan legs bshad snying po*. Mungod, Drepung Loseling Monastery Printing Press, 1991, 351 p. ; TBRC, W00EGS1016684.

Yonten Gyatso, *mDo smad Yon tan rgya mtsho'i rtsom sgrig 1*, *rNam 'dren thub bstan tshab 7 gong sa rgyal mchog bcu bzhi pa chen po*, Paris, Yonten Gyatso, 1993, 551 p.

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Yonten Gyatso, « Conférence de M. Yonten Gyatso : Recherche sur les origines et la diffusion du *mtshan-ñid* ». *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes*, Ve Section, t. LXXXVI, Paris, 1977–1978, « Religions tibétaines », 89–91.

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En collaboration :

Ariane Macdonald, avec la collaboration de Dvags-po Rinpoche et Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, « Un portrait du Cinquième Dalai-Lama », *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*, (Ariane Macdonald & Yoshiro Imaeda, eds)., Paris, Jean Maisonneuve, 1977, 119–156.

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Le Grand Livre de la Progression vers l'Eveil. Traduction : Georges Driessens, Michel Zaregradsky. Jujurieux, Editions Dharma, 1990–1992, 2 vols, 481 & 372 p.

Nagarjuna. Traité du Milieu. Traduction : Georges Driessens. Paris, Le Seuil, 1995 (Collection Points Sagesses).

La Perfection de Sagesse. Traduction : Georges Driessens. Paris, Le Seuil, 1996, 354 p. (Collection Points Sagesses).

Tantra de l'Union secrète. Traduction : Georges Driessens. Paris, Le Seuil, 1997, 252 p. (Collection Points Sagesses).

Nagarjuna. Conseils au roi. Traduction : Georges Driessens. Paris, Le Seuil, 2000, 153 p. (Collection Points Sagesses).

The Two Conquests of Zhang zhung and the Many Lig-Kings of Bon: A Structural Analysis of the *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*

HENK BLEZER
(Leiden)

Emerging Bon at the Crossroads of Oral and Written Modes of Transmission?

Introduction

The conquest and fall of 'The Great (Bon) Zhang zhung Empire', understandably, is a major event in Bon historiography, yet, it comes in surprisingly many varieties. Even today, its narration does not yet seem to have become completely stable. In Tibetan sources two main versions are extant:

1. Zhang zhung was subjugated during Khri Srong btsan sgam po's reign or
2. it fell during the rule of Khri Srong lde('u) b(r)tsan.

The conquest during Khri Srong btsan sgam po's reign, in the 7th century, is first recorded in PT1288 and first narrativised, probably much later, in PT1287, and subsequently also appears in Buddhist historical sources. This 'Buddhist version' is widely known and accepted. The other version appears in Bon texts, reportedly first in the *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*,[1] and subsequently also in other Bon sources. In the 'Bon version', the conquest occurs during Khri Srong lde btsan's rule. This scenario is less familiar and may even be confusing, or appear confused, to Tibet scholars.

In recent Bon-related publications—both popular and academic—references have started appearing to yet another version: an interesting synthesis of those two seemingly conflicting stories of 'the' conquest of Zhang zhung and Lig myi rhya (or Lig snya shur). This synthesis attempts to merge the apparently conflicting narratives into one streamlined diachronic story-line of two consecutive conquests: basically, Zhang zhung and Lig myi rhya are finished off later, near Dvangs ra and sTa rgo, during Khri Srong lde btsan's reign, after Zhang zhung had already been conquered, weakened, or broken during Khri Srong btsan sgam po's reign.

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[1] But cf. Bru rGyal ba g-yung drung's (1242–90) *Lo rgyus rnam thar dang bcas*, discussed below.

A Brief Genealogy of Knowledge

The theory of two consecutive conquests and the implied Lig myi rhya dynasty are mentioned (and accepted) by John Vincent Bellezza *(Divine Dyads)*, already in 1997. Bellezza for Bon scholarly matters then seemed to rely on the intellectual acumen and authority of Yongs ’dzin Rin po che bsTan ’dzin rnam dag and his scholarly environment, and for this synthesis refers to a 1994 interview with the Rinpoche (385.36).

They also appear in John Myrdhin Reynolds’ *Oral Tradition of Zhang-zhung* (2005:473.4). Reynolds notes that he borrows the Lig myi rhya dynasty argument from his teacher, Yongs ’dzin Rin po che, but gives no reference for the provenance of his historical synthesis of its demise.[2]

Anne Klein, in her impressive study *Unbounded Wholeness* (2006), which is informed by one of Yongs ’dzin Rin po che’s most prodigious students and teachers of Bon outside the Tibetan community, ’O thog bsTan ’dzin dbang rgyal, and is based on substantial original research, basically follows the same line of reasoning on the issue. They also refer to a ‘Zhang zhung’ reading of the ‘royal title’: *lig (mi)* = *srid pa* and *rkya/rgya/rhya* = *rje*: ‘King of Men’ (here she also follows Yongs ’dzin Rin po che).

This brief genealogy occasionally also leads more deeply into the periphery of the scholarly universe. Bruno Baumann, in his *Silberpalast* (2006), does not really voice his own opinion on the matter, but makes an implicit argument by allowing Lig myi rhya to stick around long enough to get in the way of both Yar lung emperors.[3] Judging by the information provided by Baumann, one may presume that Bellezza’s *Divine Dyads*, and perhaps also oral communications from Yongs ’dzin Rin po che, are the source from

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[2] Reynolds does not appear completely consistent in implementing this multiplicity of Lig myi rhya-s. Sometimes he refers to “the Ligmigya kings” (p. 119; cf. also p. 81), elsewhere he seems to speak about “Ligmigya” as one specific king, without making an effort to avoid possible confusion for the reader (most other occurrences, see e.g. 2005:14 and *passim* in that section).

[3] It is fascinating to observe how Baumann (2006:106ff.) in his *Silberpalast* book manages to present in quite a bit of detail the two main varying stories of the demise. He notes the obvious time gap and also presents Yongs ’dzin Rin po che’s opinion about the possibility of a Lig myi rhya dynasty (without explicitly voicing agreement or disagreement), including Rinpoche’s interpretation of events. Yet, unlike Bellezza and Reynolds (at least in some places), who both follow Yongs ’dzin Rin po che, Baumann still proceeds without trying to explain or problematise the Lig myi rhya issue himself, there or in the following. Nonetheless, in what follows, he does somehow seem to endorse the two conquests version (212ff.). But perhaps all this serves to adumbrate that we now definitely have left modernity behind; there simply are too many stories, and they all, somehow, matter and do not matter at the same time?

which Baumann gathered his ideas about a gradual conquest; in any case, his text strikingly matches the data given by Bellezza in *Divine Dyads*.

Considering the references and the intellectual milieu of the publications, one may safely assume that Yongs 'dzin Rin po che is the most immediate source for these historiographical constructs. All mentioned publications seem to have been informed, directly or indirectly, by his reading of seemingly conflicting sources on the fall of Zhang zhung and Lig myi rhya. I am not sure whether Rinpoche has ever publicised his 'synthetic' views on the issue in any of his historical writings; he may merely have shared them with his clients in oral communications. I am also not aware of any other bon po writers who have attempted such a synthesis earlier.

However, scholars familiar with older academic publication may recall that a similar suggestion was already forwarded by Uray Géza, as early as the late 1960s (1968:295f.). He speculates whether the murder of Lig myi rhya and the conquest of Zhang zhung were only the prelude of the subsequent decline during the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan and created the conditions for the later oppression of Bon.

As far as I can reconstruct from sparse references, Yongs 'dzin Rin po che, based on late Bon scholarly tradition, indeed prefers to read the Zhang zhung title Lig myi rhya as a general royal title[4] that all the Zhang zhung kings after a presumed earlier Bya ru can line of kings carried.[5] Given that assumption, harmonising the conflicting accounts in Bon and Buddhist sources regarding the fall of Zhang zhung indeed is relatively easy. In fact, it resonates well with time-tested strategies for creating an ancient pedigree: postulate two persons (*casu quo*, a lineage) with the same name or title, or make one of them live very long (the latter is what Baumann seems to imply).[6] Rinpoche, by assuming a Lig myi rhya dynasty, is able to accommodate the extant conflicting accounts of the demise of Zhang zhung and the defeat of Lig snya shur or Lig myi rhya in a wider time frame of two consecutive conquests. In his view, after Zhang zhung and the Lig myi rhya line of kings had been defeated by Srong btsan sgam po in 643/44 AD, Zhang zhung forces have had to relinquish Khyung lung dngul mkhar and relocate their power centre from the 'royal pleasure grove' in *Garuḍa* Valley to Dvangs ra Khyung rdzong. In 1957, when due to well-known political problems in Central Tibet, things started to get rough in sMan ri (in gTsang), Rinpoche withdrew from his duties as a sMan ri teacher *(slob dpon)*

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[4] Indeed, 'King of men', corresponding to Tibetan: *srid pa'i rje*.

[5] See, e.g., dKa ru grub dbang and Vitali (2008 and forthc.) on the Bya ru can and Lig myi rhya kings.

[6] See the historiographical strategies formulated elsewhere, in Blezer, "The Bon of Bon: Forever Old".

and took refuge in Se zhig Monastery, just a little southeast of Dvangs ra lake. Somewhere between 1957 and 1960, he is said to have spent about three years there, on something like a retreat. His experience of Dvangs ra refuge may have blended in with his hypothetical synthesis of a gradual demise of Zhang zhung and what he believes to be a Lig myi rhya *dynasty* (cf. Blezer 2007:75–112). If Rinpoche is correct, then Khyung rdzong, on top of the present Khyung ri, not far from his former room in Se zhig Monastery, was also a refuge for the last Lig myi rhya king, until he was finally fatally defeated by Khri Srong lde btsan, in the 8th c. AD.

Yongs 'dzin Rin po che's synthesis is certainly creative and elegant and may even appear plausible, but I am not sure whether it will hold up to scrutiny. The two-conquest theory and the issue of multiplicity of Lig myi rhya-s is an involved matter, which requires in-depth analysis of the main and reputedly also earliest source for the supposedly later conquest of Zhang zhung: the *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*, a text that, to complicate matters further, most likely, is much younger than emically has been assumed (for renderings of its contents, I refer to other publications).[7]

Briefly Introducing the *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*

The *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs (Ma nub)* is a religious historical text of the *lo rgyus* genre. It presently is included in the edition of the *Aural Transmission of Zhang zhung (Zhang zhung snyan brgyud, ZZNG)*, e.g., by Lokesh Candra and Tenzin Namdak (indeed: Yongs 'dzin Rin po che again), Delhi 1968. As the title indicates, this treatise gives the reasons why Bon did not decline during the presumed suppression and persecution of Bon in the imperial period. For bon po-s this is a very important historical source. First of all, it validates the *Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung*. For them, it proves that the *ZZNG*, unlike most other Bon teachings, was spared during persecution and was transmitted without a break, as *bka' ma*, without having had to be hidden as treasure text or *gter ma* (always surrounded by suspicion and controversy). This testifies to the authenticity of *ZZNG* traditions and significantly adds to its prestige. But this *lo rgyus* is also important for understanding the special Bon views on the fall of Zhang zhung and Lig myi rhya or his dynasty. Back in 2000, the Menri Trizin therefore recommended me to read that text. He feels that it gives an old and authentic account of the demise of Zhang zhung and that it testifies to the heavy blows that early Bon culture suffered. He kindly lent me his personal copy.

[7] An interpretative rendering is available in Reynolds (2005). It is not a translation in any formal sense. Partial translations appear in Snellgrove & Richardson (1968:99). The text still awaits full translation.

Based on the *Ma nub*, Bon sources relegate the fall of Zhang zhung to the 8th c. AD, during the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan (r. 756–97). We should take notice of the fact that the text itself does not mention an earlier fall of Lig myi rhya or Zhang zhung: as far as this authoritative Bon source is concerned, Zhang zhung fell only once, and that is during Khri Srong lde btsan's reign.

Briefly Introducing PT1287

As said, Buddhist sources generally maintain that Zhang zhung fell in the 7th c. (643/44) AD, during Khri Srong btsan sgam po's reign (r. 618–49).[8] Their reading is based on narratives such as we presently still find reflected in PT1287, *The Old Tibetan Chronicle* (cf. IOL1284/ 1375.r1) and are dated from PT1288:12, *The Royal Annals*. All these early sources are from Dunhuang Cave no. 17. Early tentative translations appear in Bacot et al. (1940–46). Partial, often improved, translations of PT1287 have appeared elsewhere (they will not be listed here); we may soon look forward to a new translation and discussion by Brandon Dotson.

Those familiar with older academic publications on the issue of the conquest of Zhang zhung and on the chronological order of *The Old Tibetan Chronicle* may have wondered whether and how the Bon account relates to the erroneous collation of the PT1287 scroll (e.g., Macdonald 1971:335). As is well known, one section from the end of the PT1287 manuscript (in its presumably original order), amongst others, after compilation, ended up in the wrong place: at the time of copying, probably during the collation of the separate folios into a scroll, the last part of the manuscript seems to have been inserted right before the narrative on the fall of Zhang zhung, which thus ended up being attached to (that is: following) a chronologically later section on Khri Srong lde btsan, with which the insertion ends. Thus the passage on the conquest of Zhang zhung got disconnected from the properly preceding section that relates the history of Khyung po sPung sad zu tse, which here clearly pertains to Khri Srong btsan sgam po. Because the section on the conquest only obliquely[9] mentions *rgyal 'di'i ring la* and a *khri srong btsan*, the erroneous collation initially did not raise too many questions. In any case the possibility of a collation error has escaped the attention of some

[8] Strictly speaking, this would of course be during the supposed short interregnum of Srong btsan sgam po's son Gung srong gung btsan (641–46); cf. Shakabpa (1967:27), who refers to the *Deb ther dmar po* by Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje.

[9] Note that *sgam po*, as Uray (1968:297f.) rightly notes, does appear as a clue, pun, or hidden reference to the identity of the king in the song of victory (he is characterised as *sgam [po]*: wise): PT1287.446: *bla na rje SGAM na / KHRI SRONG BRTSAN / 'og na blon 'dzangs na STONG RTSAN YUL ZUNG/* [447].

academics who worked on the scroll in the past, such as Bacot, Thomas & Toussaint; Róna-Tas and Miller following suit (Uray 1968:290f.). Thus the passage on the conquest of Zhang zhung has mistakenly been attributed to another Srong btsan emperor, Khri Srong lde btsan, as this would seem to be the only logical conclusion if the narrative would indeed, as presumed, continue in chronological order from the preceding (inserted) narrative on Khri Srong lde btsan.

Uray (1968) gives the first in-depth analysis and discussion of the erroneous collation. Later he also resumes and concludes previous discussion, in an article that was published posthumously, in 1992.[10] He bases his argument on internal and codicological evidence. But the Tibetan polymath dGe ’dun chos ’phel, in the early forties, already tacitly arranges PT1287 into the right order. Kun Chang (1960:138) also connects the relevant sections (conquest and victory song) to Khri Srong bstan sgam po. Bogolovskij (1960) presents the same (re)arrangement, without further argument.[11] Macdonald (1968),[12] apparently independently, reaches similar conclusions. In 1971, Macdonald revisits the issue and resumes extant publication in detail (see p. 259ff., among other locations). Petech is also aware of the collation error, but he curiously connects the passage on the conquest to Khri Srong btsan sgam po’s father, Khri gNam ri slon btsan. Richardson (1969)[13] follows Petech (1968:310). During several decades of extended discussion, a great wealth of tangential analyses and conclusions that are very worthy of notice have been forwarded on the problems of the genesis and collation of PT1287, but, for reasons of limited space and a lack of relevance to this article, I probably should not resume those here.

Nonetheless, I should mention the later codicological work by Vetch (1979). She establishes that all the sheets of PT1286 and five of PT1287, with minor lacunae, contain immediately consecutive fragments of Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* on their ‘verso’ sides. The Chinese text on the current ‘verso’ of PT1287 would be continuous if the part that is believed to be an insertion of a later section, right before the conquest of Zhang zhung, were to be taken out. This confirms that the Chronicle indeed has to be rearranged as proposed by Uray and others.

[10] Cf. Uray (1968), pp. 289–99, esp. pp. 292–7 and Uray (1992), pp. 123–43, esp. p. 129 (probably the most up to date overview, but cf. also the more recent digest in Bjerken 2001:31ff.).

[11] Bogolovskij (1960, tr. Paris 1972), p. 159, n. 25, pp. 140f., and p. 172, n. 150. His Marxist historical analyses may appear dated.

[12] *Annuaire EPHE 1968–69*:527–35, esp. 533f. She also refers to dGe ’dun chos ’phel; she does not mention Uray’s or Petech’s articles that came out at about the same time.

[13] Richardson (1969:30). Demiéville (1970:1–95) critically reviewed Uray (1968) and Petech (1968); cf. Uray (1992:130).

Based on the same codicological work by Vetch, Imaeda has revisited—and in the process also revised—Macdonald's (1971) thesis that there may originally have been two separate scrolls, a *rGyal rabs* and a *Blon rabs*, which later were cut and combined into the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (foreshadowing divisions such as appear in the later 14th c. AD compilations by U rgyan Gling pa in the *bKa' thang sde lnga*, such as the *Blon po bka' thang* and the *bTsun mo bka' thang*). Macdonald (1971:333) even considers the possibility of the existence of an old *bTsun rabs*. Uray begs to differ (see also Bjerken 2001:32ff.). While the last word may not yet have been spoken on this interesting problem, this discussion also should not detain us here any longer.[14]

Lig snya shur and Lig myi rhya

Possibly in support of the two conquest theory, we should recall that PT1286, 1290 & 1288 seem to connect Zhang zhung during Khri Srong btsan sgam po's reign to the name of another "Lig" king, i.e. to Lig snya shur instead of Lig myi rhya. Lig[15] snya shur[16] indeed is a well known name in Dunhuang sources. We first of all know it of course from the Tibetan '*Annals*' PT1288.[17] But the name also occurs in the PT1286 and PT1290

[14] See Imaeda (1979) in Macdonald & Imaeda (1978f.); see further references there.

[15] As we shall see, also written: Leg or Lag.

[16] Cf. *dBa' bzhed*, Wangdu & Diemberger (2000), 27v.6 (*mig* added later) and 29v.6: *zhang zhung gi rgyal po gnya' zhur lag mig*.

[17] [PT1288:12] *# / / de nas lo gsum na* [yos bu'i lo na 643/44?] */ BTSAN PO KHRI SRONG RTSAN gyI ring la' / LIG SNYA SHUR brlag ste ZHANG ZHUNG thaMs* [13] *cad 'bangsu *'bangs *su bkug ste mnga'o *mnga' *'o /*

[PT1288:22] *# / : / %glang gyI lo la bab ste'* [653] */ btsan po NYEN KAR na bzhugs shIng / BLON CHE STONG RTSAN gyis / G-YUG du* [23] *gnag lIngs btab / DA RGYAL MANG PO RJEs zhing gyI phying ril bgyIs / RA SANG RJE'i BLON RID STAG RHYA dang* [24] *zhIng gyI tshong chen sbyard / ZHANG ZHUNG YUL gyI mngan du* [an economical official: Uray 1968:203] *SPUG GYIM RTSAN RMA CHUNG bchug / MDO SMADu *smad *du KAM KHRI* [25] *BZANG bye 'da' thong myis bkum ste sha gnyard phar lo gchIg / ...*

[PT1288:40] *# / : / khyI'i lo la* [662] */ btsan po RKONG G-YUG du 'gord mdzad chIng / BLON CHE STONG RTSAN gyis / DU GUL du ZHANG ZHUNG gyi* [41] *mkhos bgyIs phar lo gchIg / ...*

[IOL750:11] *# / : / phagI *phag *gI lo la bab ste* [675] */ btsan po dpyid ZHE SHING du gshegste *gshegs *te / BTSAN MO khrI mo lan gyIs / ston mo chen po* [12] *gsold / 'BON *DBON DA RGYAL KHRI ZUNG gyIs / gser zangs chen po gsold pha dang / dbyard BAL PO na bzhugs* [13] *shIng / BLON BTSAN SNYAs / ZHIMS gyI GU RAN du ZHANG ZHUNG gyI mkhos bgyIste *bgyIs *te / DRU GU YUL du LTANG YOr mchIs* [14] *dgun btsan pho 'ON GYI SNA BO na bzhugs par lo gchIg / ...*

[IOL750:18] *# / : / glang gI lo la* [677] */ btsan po yab gyi spur ba lam na mkhyId *mkhyud cing bzhugste *bzhugs *te / RYE SHIN KHU BUL BU dang LCOG LA RING* [19] *TSUG*

"Catalogues".[18] We furthermore know it from a divination text, PT1060, which connects Lig snya shur to Khyung lung rngul mkhar (and to Zhang zhung).[19] PT1288:12 reports that during Khri Srong btsan sgam po's reign, in 643/44, the whole of Zhang zhung was subjugated, and Lig snya shur was killed. Many have surmised that the entry may connect to the same event as narrated in the famous Sad mar kar story and song of PT1287, which most likely is a much later narrativisation. Lig snya shur would then be another name for the (or a) Lig myi rhya king (Uray 1968:296f.). This is not the proper place to reproduce Uray's argument and I also do not intend to add original research on this point, but I should perhaps remind that his conclusion can be confirmed from other sources. The conquest of Lig snya shur, probably relates directly to an oft forgotten account in IOL1284/1375, which looks like an alternative section of PT1287. IOL1284/1375:1 describes the conquest of the north of Zhang zhung by the ambitious and shadow-rich figure of sPung sad zu tse, who attempted to further his position at court by offering his conquest of Zhang zhung byang to Khri Srong btsan sgam po.[20] Based on circumstantial evidence, Macdonald (1971: 252ff.) dates that conquest before 634 AD. She bases her argument on a

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*SKOR dang gnyIs / glo ba rIngste *rIngs *te / ZHANG ZHUNG log cIng BTSAN PO KHRI 'DUS SRONG NYEN KAR na bzhugs par lo chig / ...*

[IOL750:181] *# / byI ba'I lo la* [724] */ btsan po dbyard SPEL na bzhugs shIng / byang roldu *rold *du gshegste *gshegs *te / KHO NYE DU RUr / g-yag rgod la rol mo mdzade *mdzad *de /* [182] *g-yag rgod sgrog du bchug / dbyar 'dun DBU RU SHOD gyI LCI'U LUNG du BLON CHEN PO KHRI SUM RJEs bsdus / PA NONG gyI CHOS GONG* [183] *du / BLON STA GU RI TSAB gyis bsduste *bsdus *te / ZHANG ZHUNG gyI mkos bgyIs / dgun btsan pho BRAG MAR na bzhugs / BLON CHEN PO KHRI SUM* [184] *RJEs / dgun 'dun LHAS GANG TSAL du bsdus / BLON KHRI GZIGS GNANG KONG gyIs MDO SMAD gyI 'dun ma rgyodu *RGYOD *du bsdus par lo chIg / ...*

[IOL1284/1375.r1]: */ 'ung gi 'og du / / BTSAN PO --- ¿SRONG RTSAN gyi ring la /* [r2] *MYANG ZHANG SNANG glo ba rIngs pa zu tses dku 'pel te / / btsan po'i snyan du gsol te / / ZHANG SNANG bkuM nas ZU TSE* [r3] *glo ba nye'o / / TO YO CHAS LA'I RJO BO BOR YON TSE brlag ste / / TO YO CHAS LA lastsogs *las *stsogs te BYANG gi ZHANG ZHUNG thams* [r4] *cad / KHRI SRONG RTSAN gyi phyag du phul te / / ZU TSE glo ba nye'o* [see PT1287:199ff. and cf. 201ff.] */ / ...* These and the following editions of Dunhuang sources all derive from the *Old Tibetan Documents Online* (OTDO) website.

[18] PT1286.7 (catalogue of the ancient principalities and a list of the royal genealogy): ZHANG ZHUNG DAR PA'I rjo bo LIG SNYA SHUR / Note that the area is here specified as Zhang zhung Dar pa, cf. PT1290.3r (catalogue of the ancient principalities): [*DAR] MA'I rje bo LEG SNYA SHUR / /, and 5v: ZHANG ZHUNG DAR MA'i rje bo LAG S NYA SHUR, where it appears as Zhang zhung Dar ma.

[19] PT1060.63f (divination and catalogue ancient principalities): *YUL CHAB GYI YA BGO/ mkhar KHYUNG LUNG RNGUL MKHAR/ gyI nang na RGYAL PO LIG SNYA SHUR* (etc. ...).

[20] However deep and rich those shadows may be, it will hardly be possible to construe the conqueror of Zhang zhung as a freedom fighter, as argues Dagkar (1997:15f.), see n. 47 below.

reference in the *Tang Annals* that suggests military collaboration between 'Tibet' and 'Zhang zhung'. I am not yet convinced, but important to retain here is that the divination text PT1047, which refers to that same conquest of Zhang zhung territory by Khyung po sPung sad zu tse, explicitly connects that exploit to *'kyung lung'* and *'lIg myi rya'*.[21] At least the identity of Lig myi rhya with Lig snya shur in the mid-7th c. AD thus seems fairly secure. Macdonald discusses PT1047 and its weight of evidence at great length in her masterly and ground-breaking Lalou felicitation article (pp. 272ff.).

The precise dating of many individual Tibetan-language Dunhuang sources remains highly problematic. The upper limit for closure of Cave 17 is usually referred to the early or mid-11th century.[22] Macdonald (1971) is considerably more optimistic about the antiquity of some of the Dunhuang sources than others are.[23] According to her assessment, at least PT1047 may be a document that is nearly contemporaneous with the early conquest of Zhang zhung by Khri Srong btsan sgam po.[24]

While PT1288 etc. may be genuine imperial period documents that may be put on a par with the earliest inscriptions from the late 8th to the early 9th c. AD, PT1287 generally has been dated later, to approximately the 9th c. AD; most prefer the first half of that century.[25] But I should like to mention Michael Walter, who in a careful prologue on Old Tibetan in his outstanding study on *Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet* (Leiden 2009), quite persuasively I must say, argues for a much later date, putting even as late as perhaps the early 11th c. AD!

Now, how could a mistaken collation of one Dunhuang scroll, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* PT1287, in a remote corner of North Eastern Tibet, pos-

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[21] PT1047:39–47: *skang pard la lI byin gchig bab na* / [40] *btshan pho dang* PHYING BA *dang [*LIG] MYI RYA dang KYUNG LUNG gyi ngo ste* / *RGYAL PHO MKHAR na skyems* / [41] *gsol ba'I ngo* / *bag lI byin bab na'* / *[g-]yas g-yos su bzhag la lgyog ryags* / [42] *gchIg bcos te bzhag la* / *lgyog ryags gyi gnyis bsdus te bzhag na'* / *lI byin* / [43] *brgyad de* / *btshan pho zha sngar SPUNG SAD ZU TSE dang* / *STANG RYE MUN glo ba nye ste mchis nas* / [44] *LIG MYI RYA la chab srid mdzad na'* / *rgyal lam myi rgyal zhes bthab na' 'dI byung ste* / [45] *slad gyis yul sa gchIg las gnyis su skyes shing* / *lam du zhugs shing grog chen pho* / [46] *dang prad pha ngo ste mo bzang rab* / *srog phya dang srid pya dang dgra pyar bzang gsol ba la* / [47] *phyi dal che* /::/.

[22] Often closure in 1034/35 AD has been presumed (in anticipation of a Tangut attack, probably in 1036). But cf. Rong (2000), Russell-Smith (2005:72ff.) and Imaeda (2008): 1002 or 1006 AD (Dohi).

[23] Such as, notably, Stein (1988)—responding explicitly to Macdonald—but also Takeuchi, Beckwith, Walter and also others, following the latter.

[24] Macdonald (1971), pp. 272ff.; see esp. pp. 279f., cf. Karmay (1998), pp. 115ff.

[25] For a brief summary of the various positions and arguments see Bjerken (2001:94f., n. 37).

sibly relate to the 'deviating' version of the conquest of Zhang zhung that appears in the *Ma nub* and later Bon historical texts, if at all? If there would be a causal connection, it would be difficult indeed to explain how exactly it came about, directly; at best an indirect connection would seem plausible. The major options to be considered are:

1. The 'oversight' in the collation of PT1287 may have started a new historical tradition that somehow influenced the account in the *Ma nub*, either some time before or, if news had already spread from that remote North-eastern corner, possibly also after the Dunhuang caves were sealed, before in the mid-11th c. AD? The *Ma nub* presently is included in the *ZZNG* collections and we probably should keep in mind that the 11th c. AD also is an important date for the formation of that collection; if not necessarily for the *bka' brgyud skor bzhi*—at least not from a traditional point of view (the precise date of compilation remains very uncertain)—but in any case for the experiential transmission, the *nyams brgyud* teachings, because of the likely dates of their compiler Yang ston chen po, the Great Ya ngal Teacher.
2. Or was it the other way round, and did an alternative historical tradition exist *before* the collation of PT1287, a tradition such as (also?) appears, or *survives* perhaps, in the *Ma nub* narrative. This raises a very pertinent question: was the Dunhuang text perhaps consciously rearranged in this way, by someone familiar with such an alternative tradition: so not a collation mistake, but purposeful design?

   This option was first suggested by Macdonald (1971:335)—merely as a plausible hypothesis. Uray (1992), while not convinced, does help argue that hypothesis further, by observing that codicological evidence produced by Vetch (1979)—to wit, that the Chinese text on the current 'verso' of PT1287 is continuous if the supposed insertion before the conquest of Zhang zhung is removed—suggests that the affected sheet may purposely have been cut, to allow the insertion. Much would of course depend on when exactly the Chinese scroll was cut. One could easily imagine that it was more convenient to cut it into sheets before recycling the paper and writing on its back? Indeed, I see no reason whatsoever to assume that the Chinese scroll was cut into sheets *only after* the current 'recto' was written on. Indeed, in an earlier part of his discussion, Uray (1992:132) concludes that if one would presume that the scroll was cut *after* the Tibetan had been written, the resulting order of the chronicle, rearranged according to the Chinese 'verso', would not make much sense at all.

   Based on common-sense estimates of likelihood alone, one might argue that this option provides a scenario no less plausible than the preceding one, i.e., that a singular freak accident in remote Dunhuang,

somehow, could have influenced an account included in *ZZNG* traditions, which, emically viewed, belong to culturally and geographically rather diametrically opposed areas. But then, one probably should never underestimate religious creativity and the need and appetite for alternative and deviating narratives among the subaltern.

3. Or is it the erudite Yongs 'dzin Rin po che and his environment who are sovereignly right after all, and were there in fact two consecutive conquests, and were the later kings of Zhang zhung all styled Lig myi rhya, King of Men (which would be another point, in fact)? We know from other sources that the Zhang zhung area may have remained restive long after its submission(s)[26] and when additionally weighing the (un)likelihood of the aforementioned points, this scenario is certainly not unthinkable. With Yongs 'dzin Rin po che it also carries considerable weight of authority. But in view of the great similarities of the PT1287 and *ZZNG Ma nub* narratives on the demise of Zhang zhung and the rather reactive, late-looking and also remarkably thick and self-conscious polemical outlook of the Bon narrative, I cannot help but find this option rather unlikely. As we shall see, the structure of the Bon narrative moreover forcefully argues against a sufficiently early date.
4. And one should of course not forget the default option: there is no relation between the two at all. This may in fact turn out to be the most likely state of affairs.

Several questions need to be answered first:

1. Where does the *Ma nub* come from?
2. Which sources informed this text?
3. Approximately how old is it?
4. When and under which circumstances was it included in the *ZZNG* collection (the reason why should be abundantly clear, but its sources are not)?
5. Is this historical narrative of specifically 'Bon' and/or *ZZNG* origin, or is it perhaps (based on) some unrelated historical tradition, similar to, for example, the Dunhuang chronicles or annals genres?

Presently, my educated guess (read: working hypothesis) is that the main story-line of royal family intrigue, betrayal, and the demise of Zhang zhung in the *Ma nub* derives from the Dunhuang narrative paradigm, or another

[26] A revolt in Zhang zhung was repressed in 677 AD; see transliteration IOL750:19, n. 17 above; see also Tucci (1956:105f.). Cf. Beckwith (1987:43).

version of it. As we shall see, the PT1287 narrative arguably is older and, as said, the Bon narrative also does not force us to posit an earlier conquest: as far as that is concerned, the two conquest theory is not a recommended option. In the *Ma nub*, the story of the fall is moreover combined with several other, discrete, and partly even identifiable narratives that plausibly derive from developing Bon identity discourse.

Considering the conflation and the seams & stitches of the three discrete main narratives that compose the *Ma nub*, the manner of construction and adaptation of the story is clearly apparent. In spite of the seemingly construed differences and efforts at dissimilation, the basic narrative paradigm and the plot of betrayal cannot but remain eloquently similar, so much so that it seems highly unlikely that we would be dealing with two entirely different narratives. The differences and rhetorical embellishments almost invariably underline the scarcely concealed superiority of the 'bon po' underdog and the power of the 'bon po' practitioner archetype (anachronisms). The strongly partial, somewhat superior, incendiary, and apologetic tone make the *ZZNG* narrative also appear later than the more sober and 'matter-of-factly' Dunhuang narrative. The Dunhuang version is not 'yet' cluttered so much by identity politics, even though it certainly is not entirely free from that either. Moreover, convincing evidence against other working hypotheses will soon become apparent, when we trace the specific mix of structural similarities and differences in the two strands of narratives.

A major challenge would also be to explain how exactly word from the 'confused' collation of PT1287 could have reached all the way from that remote Dunhuang outpost to the western Tibetan 'heartland' of Bon—aware that by 1035 AD, at the latest, the physical manuscript had become inaccessible for close to a millennium.

In any case, as is well known (Stein 1971), ritual and narrative traditions that presently have reached us mainly through Dunhuang textual reliquary also 'surface' in later and partly closely contemporary sources, such as the *Klu 'bum*, *Dur mchog* ritual and narrative collections; but other parallels have surfaced as well, for example among the recent dGa 'thang 'bum pa finds, publicised by Pasang Wangdu.[27] Often these seeming 'atavisms' concern controversial and apparently subaltern traditions. More often than not, it turn out to be texts precisely of Bon 'signature' that keep such (subaltern-looking) ritual and narrative traditions alive, and seem eager to cultivate or even (re)invent those, and incorporate them into their identity discourse. Thus it is not at all unreasonable to assume that a diffuse and fractured ma-

[27] Pasang Wangdu & Glang ru Nor bu Tshe ring, *gTam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar rnyed byung ba'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdams bsgrigs* (Lhasa 2007).

trix of oral and written traditions, as by chance has been preserved in early Dunhuang time slices, indeed has informed early Bon identity discourse.

It also remains to be established by which medium the derivation was realised: oral or written modes of transmission. Generally, the formation of self-conscious Bon narratives as we gradually see them emerge in textual sources of the turn of the first millennium AD, seems rooted in orally transmitted or adjusted narrative traditions. The construction of the Bon narrative of the conquest of Zhang zhung and the revenge of the widowed Zhang zhung queen by means of the awe-inspiring ascetic powers of sNang bzher lod po may be a revealing, yet late counterpart of the dynamics and formative matrix of emerging Bon narratives in self-consciously Bon texts, such as is more clearly apparent in earlier sources, such as the *Klu 'bum*, *mDo chen po bzhi*, *mDo 'dus*, *gZer myig*, the crucially important early, somewhat eclectic *Gling grags* Bon historical narratives, and so forth.

In a prospective manner we can say that based on the information reviewed so far, we probably would be well advised to put our wagers on one conquest during Khri Srong btsan sgam po's rule, and therefore assume that PT1287, in its corrected order, presents the more original narrative and that the *Ma nub* is a derivative narration, to which, embedded in a clustering of rather diverse narratives, a distinct polemical vector of identity has been added; in any case, this Bon text clearly has an axe to grind. Feeling inclined to put my wager thus, I now face the burden of proof, of explaining in detail how the *Ma nub* cluster of narratives is construed and relates from the basic PT1287 paradigm of the fall of Zhang zhung. This may be yet another instance where taking the narrative structure of history into account may contribute to settling a thorny, stale-mate historiographical debate.

The Tripartite Structure of the *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*

Let us look at the narrative structure of the *Ma nub* and see what it reveals about its history. The story appears a conflation of three main subplots:

I. Betrayal of the Zhang zhung King by his junior wife;
II. Intermezzo on the karmic origins of the intrigue: the Bodhisattva story;
III. Punishment of the Tibetan Emperor by Gyer spungs sNang bzher lod po and its resolution.

These three plots also appear in that order in Bru rGyal ba g-yung drung's (1242–90) *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus rnam thar dang bcas*.[28] Section I, again, consists of three fairly discrete (but probably not historical) sections:

[28] Henceforth *Bru*; see also Appendix.

Ia) Scene setting I: introduction of important religious figures, specifically from the Zhang zhung snyan (b)rgyud lineage;
Ib) Scene setting II: introduction of important kings and kingdoms;
Ic) The actual story of betrayal.

Part Ia: Scene setting I

The brief first part of the text is merely an informative overture that sets the scene by introducing important religious figures from the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud (ZZNG)* lineage. This info is completely foreign to the PT1287 narrative and invokes some basic *ZZNG* identity markers, merely by name dropping. The referenced names of luminaries from the *Aural lineage from Zhang zhung* indeed transform the somewhat neutral narrative that perhaps derives from PT1287 such that it appears to pertain specifically to the *ZZNG* tradition. This part looks like a later insertion.[29] Therefore, one should probably distinguish this scene setting as a self-contained addition.

Part Ib: Scene setting II

This brief section introduces important kings and kingdoms. It is either a separate, secular sequel to the above religious scene setting, covering the wider political region, or part of the adjusted and widened PT1287 narrative that follows suit.[30]

Part Ic: Betrayal

The betrayal basically looks like an adjusted and widened PT1287-like narrative. Its attribution, here, to Khri Srong lde btsan may be based on older traditions, as may be in evidence in the erroneous compilation of PT1287—but most likely that match is purely coincidental—or it may be a creative invention of this particular Bon tradition.

The theme of betrayal by disappointed, treacherous women, the coded message sent to (PT1287) or left *(casu quo)* for the Tibetan Emperor are similar and so are the results. But details differ. In the *Ma nub* it is not Sad mar kar, the youngest wife of Lig myi rhya and sister of Srong btsan sgam po, who appears as the evil agent. Here the fatal role of traitor is performed

[29] See the failed threefold classification, relative to the one that appears in *Bru*, discussed in appendix, n. 54.

[30] In *Bru* this information indeed appears divided over two different categories (see Appendix). Unless Bru sgom slightly rearranged information for reasons of clarity (as suggested in *Bru*:589.2: *sngon gyi rnam thar las go bde zhing/*), this argues against these subparts being an original historical division.

by an eighteen-year-old lady from the Gu rub clan, sNang sgron legs mo, who acts as the junior-most wife to that familiar-sounding narrative entity "Lig mi rgya". Note that here the name of the king is spelt slightly differently.[31] Apparently, Za sNang sgron legs mo hails from the Gu rub clan, the same group that the Gyer spungs pa sNang bzher lod po also is supposed to be from; it is a significantly small and closed (narrated) universe!

Gyer spungs pa, that most famous scion of the Gu rub clan, is closely connected to the *Aural Transmission from Zhang zhung*. In this narrative, the Great Gyer spungs pa of the Gu rub clan has a crucially important role to play in the aftermath of the betrayal, during which he reveals a tiny tip of his tremendous ascetic power.

Nota bene: this section refers to mNga' ris and its three parts *(skor gsum)*.

Part II: The Bodhisattva Story

At this point follows a curious intermezzo with a heavily polemical version of the narrative on the role of Śāntarakṣita or Bodhisattva in establishing Buddhism in Tibet; *Bru* also follows that tradition. The narrative could easily be left out without affecting the flow of the main drama: it clearly is a polemical insertion. This conclusion is also borne out by textual comparison (cf. the comparative tables at the end of this article).

The diatribe is spun on the familiar motif of the rejected freakish child that after abandonment becomes famous abroad. Other well-known examples of the kind are narratives on the human descent of gNya' khri btsan po (the '*gsang ba chos lugs*'), who at times also starts his career as an abandoned freak. This cluster of gNya' khri btsan po stories follows *phyi dar* rhetoric and attempts to connect Tibet to India, as a vital link in the descent of the Yar lung Emperors. But the motif of the abandoned freakish child is much older even than *phyi dar* narratives or Tibetan Buddhism. It probably derives from the *Mahābhārata*, to wit, from the famous Karṇa story motif.[32]

bsTan pa'i rnam bshad dar rgyas gsal ba'i sgron me

For obvious reasons, the Bodhisattva story also appears in hagiography per-

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[31] But I do not think that the differences in spelling imply different persons, *pace* Reynolds 2005.

[32] See, e.g., Haarh, 1969:179ff., quoting the *Bu ston gsung 'bum*, p. 123r (which, incidentally, also refers to the Bon version of descent from the *lha*, the *bsgrags pa bon lugs*). See also Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan's *rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas* (Das 1915: 26f; *Three Sources for a History of Bon*, pp. 74.5ff., Dolanji 1974). Cf. the *Byams ma rtsa ba'i gzungs* (in *gZungs 'dus*, Vol. I, p. 96.1ff., Dolanji 1974), which again is quoted in the *rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas* (Das 1915:34.3ff., Dolanji p. 99.2ff.).

taining to the *ZZNG* (e.g., *Bru*:552.4–554.3). sPa btsun bsTan rgyal dpal bzang po's (14–15th c. AD?), who also wrote a standard hagiography of the *ZZNG*,[33] includes the narrative in another text by his hand, the *bsTan pa'i rnam bshad dar rgyas gsal ba'i sgron me*, starting p. 162.17. Interestingly, for this part of the story the venerable monk of the sPa family refers to the 11–12th c. AD *Gab pa 'grel gzhi [bzhi]*[34] *(Gab 'grel)* and not to the *ZZNG*, with which he was well familiar. Earlier (p. 162.4), when he had to specify the many *grub thob* of Zhang zhung, he does in fact refer to the *ZZNG*. The other two main narratives of the *Ma nub* appear separately: the Dunhuang-style betrayal (I: p. 169.9ff.) and the narrative of revenge (III: p. 173.18ff.). The venerable sPa btsun refers to the *Ma nub* for both. Now, that is interesting! Why would he not refer to the *Ma nub* for the Bodhisattva story if that really were the oldest and most authoritative source? Either the sPa Teacher believed that the account in the *Gab 'grel* was more authentic or original, or—and that is even more likely—the Bodhisattva narrative had not yet been included in the *Ma nub* at the time he composed that historical document!

We should note, however, that *Bru*, together with some other insertions (e.g. *Bru*:543.5–551.1) already includes the Bodhisattva story; apparently in a Mouse year, at the end of the 13th c. AD (*Bru*:589.3). So there certainly was an earlier precedent, already before sPa btsun, for including the story in the narrative repertoire. This may be a good point to note that the narratives as they appear in *Bru* deviate considerably from those appearing in the *Ma nub*. Only a few phrases are literally the same, most differ considerably. Some parts (especially in section I) also are consistently more elaborate, but most are more concise. Even numbers differ. These two sources obviously live from different strands of oral or written tradition.

The *Gab 'grel* narrative is slightly more verbose than the one in the *Ma nub*. But its conciseness does not necessarily establish an earlier date; especially since the *Ma nub*, in spite of that, features several unique insertions, often identity markers (see the appended tables). This suggests that at least its redaction is later than that of the *Gab 'grel*. But this does of course not preclude that a bare, short precursor of the *Ma nub* Bodhisattva narrative might still be of older stock. It may well have preserved an older, more economical—perhaps even oral—version than the present *Gab 'grel*.

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[33] *rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar*, by sPa btsun bstan rgyal seng ge dpal bzang (date of composition 1419), included in the edition of Lokesh Chandra and Tenzin Namdak (Delhi 1968). See below, p. 47, n. 51.

[34] This is the *Byang sems gab pa dgu skor gyi dgongs pa bkrol ba'i 'grel bzhi rig pa'i rgya mtsho*, by gTer ston Ku tsa zla 'od 'bar (11–12th c. AD), in the 1972 Dolanji *Gal mdo* volume, on pp. 147–498.

In any case, on evidence of sPa btsun's reference, we may safely conclude that the extant *Gab 'grel* redaction is earlier. The logical conclusion would then be that the redaction of the *Ma nub*, one way or the other, has to be dated to after the 12th c. AD, or late 11th c. AD at the earliest. Earlier references in the *Ma nub* to mNga' ris (obviously located in relevant western quarters), as consisting of three parts and as a part of Tibet *(bod kyi mnga' ris kyi sum gnyis ster ba)*, and later ones to the *sil bu'i dus* (*bod sil bur song ba'i dus*, in part III)—both briefly mentioned before—incidentally also point to *phyi dar* origins or later.[35] But there are other indications too, of still later redaction of the *Ma nub*.

rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas and *Gling bzhi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs*

The Bodhisattva narrative (II) also appears in the 15th c. AD *rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas* (and in the *Gling bzhi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs*), starting on p. 48. But Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan here simply paraphrases the *bsTan pa'i rnam bshad* (see the appended tables).[36]

dBa' bzhed

The Bodhisattva narrative seems to have been included in the master narrative of the *Ma nub* (and in *Bru*) for polemical reasons and for the special purposes of offering a grander karmic framing. Its Bon po identity narratives seem to put a conveniently different spin on known clusters of Buddhist narratives, involving key players, such as Khri Srong lde btsan, the Bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita, and Padmasambhava, which are all familiar from *phyi dar* Buddhist religious historical discourse.[37]

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[35] These markers of *phyi dar* identity are some of the things that Reynolds loses in his translation.

[36] The paraphrase also includes, in a barely recognisable manner, what seems to be a brief, rephrased and adjusted version of a quote from the *bsGrags byang* in the *bsTan pa'i rnam bshad*: it resonates with that in phrasing and general content, but is not identified as a quote from the *bsGrags byang*. Incidentally, this may also help establish a more precise date for the *rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas* or *Gling bzhi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs*: Khyung po Blo gros rgyal mtshan wrote later than the sPa teacher.

[37] *sBa bzhed* (Stein 1961 = 14th c. AD MS), 20.8ff.: *gsal snang gi mang yul du phyin tsa na bho dhi sa tvas/ 'dzam bu gling na mthu' che ba'i dge long padma sambha va dang / lha khang rtsig pa'i phya [phyva] mkhan dang! gsum rtogs nas 'dug- /der mang yul nas rdzing bcas nas chu klung la spyan drangs te/ (snye mo thod dkar du byon pa dang / ...)*. But cf. *dBa' bzhed*, Pasang Wangdu & Diemberger 2000 (>11th c. AD), 11r.1: *bo dhi sa tvas pad ma sa bha ba bod yul du spyan drangs nas bzhes pa dang / bsam yas rmang rtsig pa dang lce ti sgo mangs rtsig pa'i phya [phyva] mkhan gsas snang gis rlungs la drangs nas gshegs par gsol ba dang / (nye mo thod kar du gshegs te! ...)*. Gonpo Gyaltsen's eclectic version: *bo dhi*

These polemical multiforms of the grand narratives of the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet can therefore also profitably be compared to *dBa' bzhed* narratives. The grouping of personages in the Bon narratives may well have a precedent there, and derive from a differently strung joint appearance of Bodhisattva, Padmasambhava and a stupa builder in the *dBa' bzhed*.[38] In this light, we should also consider the Bodhisattva narrative that appears in the *Kha byang*: to wit, the former life narrative, of unfinished stupa construction and the vow to complete that meritorious work in a next life, in which three similar *dramatis personae* are embedded (see next section). But it will be difficult to put a convincing early date on the *dBa' bzhed* passage, which moreover is extant in various recensions.

Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo

The *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*, or *Kha byang*,[39] contains an interesting variant of the Bodhisattva story.[40] It is part of a slightly different narrative framework and also looks very different in phrasing and detail and is much more elaborate. The *Ma nub*-version could only be derived from a text like the *Kha byang* by starkly diverging paraphrase and retelling. Since we have already identified a demonstrably earlier source: the 11–12th c. AD *Gab 'grel*, which moreover is much closer to the *Ma nub* than the *Kha byang* is, it is highly unlikely that the *Kha byang* would feature the more original Bodhisattva narrative; that would simply be a superfluous hypothesis.

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satvas kyang padma sam bha wa dang/ lha khang rtsig pa'i phyva mkhan dang gsum bal yul nas spyan drangs te bsdogs 'dug pas/ mkhan po gnyis ka gsal snang gi mang yul nas rdzings bcas nas chu klung las spyan drangs nas (snye mo'i thod dkar du gshegs pa dang / ...) (Beijing 1980/2:25, 12th c. AD?, digitised by Dan Martin). For an incorporation of this narreme into Tāranātha's later Padmasambhava hagiography cf.: "Ba Sal-nong then went to Nepal to invite both masters [Bodhisattva and Padmasambhava]. At this point, The Testament of Ba records, 'Three persons—Acharya Bodhisattva, Master Padmasambhava, and a capable temple-builder—had already prepared for their journey to Tibet. ...'"; translation by Ngawang Zangpo (2002:167). On Tāranātha's professed preference for the *sBa bzhed*, cf. *ibid.* pp. 165f. Note the theme that Padmasambhava is already prepared and meets the invitation party on the way.

[38] Cf. Blondeau *Annuaire* XCI:123–8 (references to discussion during earlier seminars appear there).

[39] The *Kha byang* is attributed to the *gter ston* Gyer thogs med or Khod po Blo gros thogs med (b. 1280) and the discovery is dated to 1310 (Kværne 1971).

[40] See the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*, *Bon bKa' 'gyur* 'III', pp. 354.6ff. (Dolanji, pp. 99.4ff.), the story roughly starts K.III, pp. 360ff. Cf. the *g-Yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum* (*Sources for a History of Bon*, Dolanji 1972), pp. 35ff. and the *bsGrags pa (rin chen) gling grags*, pp. 93ff. (Dolanji MS).

But then, at the very end of the *Ma nub* a brief but explicit reference to a *Kha byang* (or, less likely: *Kha byang rgyas pa*[41]) appears, which is referred to specifically for more extensive *(rgyas par)* data on the spread of the many gates of Bon, from sNang bzher lod po through sTong rgyung mthu chen. This would seem to refer to the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*. The *Ma nub* may thus imply that all the details of the story (perhaps also of the Bodhisattva narrative?) can be found in the *Kha byang*—be it not necessarily in identical contexts. sTong rgyung mthu chen indeed figures prominently in the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*, also in the context of the information referred to here.[42] It is therefore quite likely that the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo* indeed is the *Kha byang* referred to here. This would yield a bottom date for the inclusion of part III in the *Ma nub* narrative, or at least for the addition of its last part: i.e., the approximate dates for Khos po Blo gros thogs med's work. Thus at least part III, in its present state, cannot predate the 14th c. (1310) AD. A reference to a *kha byang* also appears in the *ZZNG rJe ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan*, p. 248.5 (Lokesh Chandra edition).[43] Based on the evidence, it remains entirely possible, however, that the generic term *kha byang* here refers to another, now lost source.

'Gling grags' g-Yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum &c.

The *Kha byang* Bodhisattva narrative in turn derives from earlier sources, pertaining to the lineage of Khod po Blo gros thogs med, notably from *Gling grags* narrative traditions, in those fascinating 'syncretistic' treasures in rMa family custody. The *g-Yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum* aka *bsGrags pa rin chen gling grags* (or *bsGrags byang*) also covers the previous life stupa building narrative of Bodhisattva and the polemically adjusted narrative of the latter's involvement in the spread of Buddhism in Tibet.[44] Likewise does the *bsGrags byang*.[45] On this cluster of narratives on the early introduction of

[41] The title might also have to be read as *Kha byang rgyas pa*. Strictly speaking that would have to be the proper interpretation of the phrase *de rnams kha byang rgyas par gsal/*, otherwise it would have to be read as *de rnams kha byang* ***du*** *rgyas par gsal*. I nonetheless prefer the latter reading because *rgyas par bshad* is too much of a stock phrase in this context to allow combining it with the title. In case *rgyas pa* does in fact go with the title, however, it might correspond to *chen mo*.

[42] E.g., pp. 129.6, 146.2, 164.4, 182.1, he is quoted starting pp. 185ff.; see esp. pp. 200ff., sNang bzher lod po is mentioned on p. 201.7 and again on p. 206.4.

[43] This is a reference to a more elaborate description of the decline of Bon: *dus de tsam na g-yung drung bon gyi bstan pa nub ste/ nub lugs ni/* ***kha byang ltar lo rgyus*** *kyi rgyud nas shes par bya'o*.

[44] In *Sources for a History of Bon*, pp. 35ff., Dolanji 1972.

[45] See pp. 93ff. of the Dolanji MS published by Khedup Gyatso.

Buddhism to Tibet, cf. also the above-mentioned *dBa' bzhed* group of narratives, and (Bon po) narratives on (Dran pa nam mkha', Tshe dbang rig 'dzin and) Padmasambhava: many related narremes and interesting variants appear.

One cannot help but notice that many of these themes are within the domain of the so-called bsGrags pa bon lugs traditions, which Anne-Marie Blondeau extensively wrote about. By all appearances, bsGrags pa bon lugs is a Buddhist label and not an emic bon po term. This connection should make one think about the creative matrix of these narratives, at the very least. They may hail from the same rMa-family eclectic workshops that produced or transmitted the *Gling grags* narratives, assembled the *mDzod phug*, and other early Bon identity documents.

Part III: Punishment (or Revenge)

This is the actual climax and the "*Bon Ma nub*-part" of the narrative: the punishment theme *(dbu yogs or la yogs)*, which here mainly serves to exhibit the controlled and compassionate 'bon po' ascetic power of the Gyer spungs pa, that powerful icon of the *ZZNG*. By means of his spectacular gold bomb technology, he muscled the *ZZNG* into an unassailable position and assured that Bon did not decline. The revenge narrative, for obvious reasons, also appears elsewhere in the *ZZNG*,[46] but no clear outside earlier antecedents have come to my attention yet.[47]

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[46] See *Bru*:554.3–557.4. But see also the *sNyan rgyud rgyas bshad chen mo* (in the *ZZNG kyi rnam thar chen mo sogs dang brgyud phyag bcas kyi gsung pod*, Dolanji 1974, pp. 63.3ff.), also believed to go back to Bru sgom rGyal ba g-yung drung, somehow (whose *lo rgyus* appears there on p. 133.10ff.). An abbreviated version of a similar narrative appears in the *ZZNG kyis bla ma'i rnam thar lo rgyus rnams rgyas pa*, ff.10v1–11r5 (Vol. 110.4 of the '2nd' edition of the *Bon bKa' 'gyur*). It of course also appears in sPa btsun's *brGyud pa'i bla ma'i rnam thar* (1419), like the previous two, also at the entry on his general and incidental accomplishments (*ZZNG*, Lokesh Chandra edition, pp. 27.4–31.5 esp. pp. 29.5–30.5).

[47] One might wonder whether this story of revenge perhaps relates to the story about sPung sad zu tse's murder attempt on Srong btsan sgam po in PT1287:93ff., 299ff., esp. 308ff., which is framed by some as a revenge for the murder of Lig myi rhya? This might only make sense on the basis of a whole series of assumptions, such as entertained by Namgyal Nyima Dagkar (1997): sPung sad zu tse is identical to Gyer nam zur tse, a son of bsTan sgra don gtsug, again a son of Khyung po sTag sgra don gtsug, who according to the late narrativisations of dPal ldan tshul khrims (1902–73) in his *g-Yung drung bon gyi bstan byung* (Vol. II, p. 310.6) continued to rule after Lig myi rgya's demise. The motive for murder would thus be revenge for the assassination of the Lig myi rhya King (See Dagkar, 1997:15f., for the complete argument and references to other sources).

However, PT1287 by itself, without being reinterpreted in accordance with later sources and propped up by a truly Goropian cascade of auxiliary hypothesis, does not

We therefore may have to turn to generic narratives on calamities, which are always sure to occur, by way of retribution, when a ruler forsakes Bon: a ubiquitous theme in Bon indeed. Relative to the samples that we find in the *bsGrags byang* and the *Kha byang*, the version that we find in the *Ma nub* seems to have been dealt a distinct *ZZNG* spin, moving the figure of sNang bzher lod po further centre stage.

Within the *ZZNG* tradition, the bombing narrative already appears in the late 13th c. AD (*Bru*:554.3–557.4). Outside *ZZNG* narrative traditions, a brief *dbu yogs* bombing narrative also shows up in the *Kha byang* (p. 249.6). sNang bzher lod po is mentioned in the context of Lig myi rhya and apparently has thrown gold bombs *(gser dzo)*. The brief context seems slightly different, but it clearly relates to a revenge story; how exactly is less clear. It looks like a brief reference to a story that appears more fully elsewhere, indeed, perhaps as it is featured in the *Ma nub*?[48] Apart from this cluster of narratives on the demise of Zhang zhung and Lig myi rhya, the *ZZNG* does not borrow much from Dunhuang-style narratives. Quite unlike, e.g., the *mDo 'dus*, which even in its narrative structure is greatly indebted to story traditions that we find reflected in Dunhuang documents.

Probably sNang bzher lod po's revenge, together with parts of the lineage, at some point, was added to the *Ma nub*-theme as an apt marker of *ZZNG* identity. Ta pi hri tsa, sNang bzher lod po and others are familiar and conveniently legendary names in the lineage, which identify the stories as clearly pertaining to the *ZZNG*.

Conclusions

The *Ma nub* consists of three discrete parts. They may have to be dated individually. Part I seems to refer to a *phyi dar*-period entity: mNga' ris (skor

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suggest this to be the case. As noted at other occasions (Blezer 2008), 'exegetical' readings of older sources based on later narrativisations are certainly tempting, sometimes helpful, but always hazardous. Moreover, IOL Tib J 1284/1375 has a parallel passage to PT1287, which mentions the conquest of Byang gi Zhang zhung by Khyung po sPung sad zu tse, who offers it to Emperor Srong btsan sgam po (l.4). This evidence, from a temporally closer literary document, would make sPung sad zu tse significantly less than a heroic Zhang zhung freedom fighter; but we will probably never know for sure what 'really' happened.

[48] As indicated above, when discussing the *Kha byang*, sNang bzher lod po and Ta pi hri tsa are also mentioned together on p. 201.6f; Ta pi hri tsa appears alone on p. 206.1f; and sNang bzher lod po performs solo on p. 206.4. Also note Blon chen po snang bzher (rtsang khong) in Or. 8212/187. I do not find it very likely that the name sNang bzher made it into the *ZZNG* from the *Annals*. Cf. also Zhang/Blon mDo bzher *(ibid.)*. dBa'/Blon khri sum rje rtsang bzher appears in IOL Tib J 750. A place or stronghold called dGra bzher, constructed in Ji ma khol, is also mentioned in PT1288.

gsum), and part III similarly mentions *sil bu'i dus*. Part II may not yet have been included in the *Ma nub* when sPa btsun wrote his *bsTan pa rnam bshad* and may even have been added to this particular text only after the 14–15th c. AD, later than part I and even III. Yet, the clustering of the three narratives already exists in *Bru*, in the late 13th c. AD. The references to *ZZNG* lineages and names, notably in I & III, are only known from discourse that, probably, starts from the 11th c. AD. Part II uses the 11–12th c. AD *Gab 'grel*. Part III probably refers to the late, 14th c. AD *Kha byang*. Part I therefore in any case needs to be dated later than the 10–11th c. AD. Part II needs to be dated to at least the 11–12th c. AD or later, but its inclusion in the *ZZNG* narrative tradition in general to before the late 13th c. AD *(Bru)*. So the combined narrative comes into evidence between the 11th and late 13th c. AD; and in the *Ma nub* most likely even after the 14–15th c. AD.

Part III, and therefore probably also the redaction of the text as a whole (plus 'editor's colophon'), also needs to be dated to the 14th c. (1310) AD or later. The narrative of betrayal, by internal narratological criteria (added identity 'polemics'), and by the included historical markers (*phyi dar* and *ZZNG* lineage), is clearly younger than PT1287, which latter therefore, without much doubt, preserves an older and more original narrative, on which *phyi dar* or later Bon narrators and authors have put a spin.

The narrative of the later conquest of Zhang zhung during Khri Srong lde btsan's reign, in the form that we have received it in *Bru*, is a Bon historiographical construct that dates to at least before the late 13th c. AD. However, in the authoritative *Ma nub*, in its present redaction, it most likely dates from after the 14–15th c. AD. It is based on older narratives of a conquest during Khri Srong btsan sgam po's reign, and may have been triggered by developing narratives about the presumed, but probably a-historical, 8th c. AD persecution of Bon.

There is no theoretical need to postulate two conquests and there is no direct evidence that forces us to adopt it: it is therefore better to abandon the assumption as superfluous. Most likely, the theory of two conquests is born out of the need, apparently very recent, to accommodate the later Bon literary construct of the fall of Zhang zhung during Khri Srong lde btsan's reign. It may have been encouraged by accounts that western Tibetan areas remained restive long after their 'conquest'.

Finally, it is not yet feasible conclusively to correlate the late Bon literary construct with a faulty collation of PT1287, instead, the bon po post-dating of events may relate to stories of the persecution of Bon by Khri Srong lde btsan in the 8th c. AD. Likewise, there is no theoretical need to assume a Lig myi rgya dynasty nor is there any direct evidence to recommend it: that assumption is equally superfluous. It may have been triggered by the necessity to compete with myths on the Yar lung dynasty.

In this respect, one may refer to the fact that, in recent times, dKa ru grub dbang's largely synchronic description in his *Gangs ti se'i dkar chag*, of eighteen Zhang zhung districts *(khri sde)*[49] then was (and still is) in the process of being reconstructed into a diachronic sequence of eighteen Kings of Zhang zhung.[50] Lig myi rhya and Lig snya shur, from literary sources, appear interchangeable. They may well pertain to different rulers in an approximate Zhang zhung area, but that may be difficult to ascertain from the—probably relatively late—sources that these names appear in. Whether Lig/Leg/Lag snya shur was a Lord of Zhang zhung Dar ma or Dar pa is an interesting possibility that needs to be explored further.

The Bodhisattva narrative seems to have been included in the *Ma nub* rather late, and earlier in *Bru*, mainly for polemical reasons. It also serves to frame things, didactically, in a grander karmic scheme. Perhaps some of it was even intended tongue-in-cheek. It follows Bon narrative reconstructions of Bodhisattva's role in the—for bon po-s—disastrous introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, as outlined in other, earlier Bon historical sources, such as the *Kha byang* and *bsGrags byang*.

In textual comparison of the Bodhisattva narrative in the *Ma nub* with that of the *Gab 'grel*, there emerges a real sense of retelling rather than plain copying. A process of retelling is also suggested by the creative license with which three major story lines in the *Ma nub* are combined into one narrative and the rather obvious manner in which a thick self-congratulatory Bon spin is put on mostly well-known story elements. The way in which this cluster of narratives combines, reappears, migrates, selectively is included or ignored, and narrated anew, in various diverging forms, suggests a strong influence of oral story traditions. But all this does not provide sufficient basis to say anything definite on oral and written modes of transmission for this particular text.

There does not seem to exist a direct relationship of textual borrowing between the extant versions of *Bru* and the *Ma nub*. The latter is seated more firmly in written modes of transmission, in any case more firmly than texts such as the *Klu 'bum* or *mDo 'dus* apparently are. The detailed reconstruction and rearrangement of names and narremes from mixed oral and written founts of stories that we can witness in, for example, the *mDo 'dus* is not much apparent here. The *Ma nub* clearly is of later date. It may thus be too late and atypical for illustrating oral vectors in emerging Bon. But, as I

[49] The *Gangs ti se'i dkar chag*, written in the 19th c. AD by (s)Ka ru grub dbang bstan 'dzin rin chen (b. 1801); see Norbu & Prats (1989:70f., but cf. also the section on the spread of the teachings, pp. 53ff.).

[50] Oral communication by the present sMan ri slob dpon (2003); Namkhai Norbu (1981:11). But now also see Vitali (2008).

hope to have shown here, it has other qualities that strongly recommend its study.

The *Ma nub* cocktail turns out to be a multi-layered text, perhaps even a tad later than initially suspected and in its composition of narratives also about a century later than some of its peers *(Bru)*. *Bru* may relate to earlier *rNam thar* that are not extant anymore and also to oral traditions. Indeed, *Bru*, in its colophon, explicitly indicates that it attempts to clarify pre-existing traditions. Some or all of the individual narratives may go back to these fascinating early *phyi dar* Bon-Bandhe eclectic melting pots, such as found among the rMa family and others.

Orality has remained a factor of considerable influence in Bon history of ideas. Notably, more recent Bon historical constructs, such as the two conquest theory, the ongoing construction of a Lig myi rhya dynasty, or, for that matter, a wider lineage of Zhang zhung kings, may be more revealing than they appear at first sight, for, these more recent attempts at rewriting Bon history, according to changing sensibilities, develop as we speak and, typically, still are difficult to pin down in written sources!

We may thus observe that oral vectors do not only attach to the early period, starting in the *phyi dar*, when Bon emerged and bon po-s started writing things down. Oral formations obviously are not only characteristic for the onset of Bon writing: continued secondary orality is a fact. Some even maintain that Tibetan culture is an oral culture that knows how to write. In Bon, significant oral input also seems to relate particularly to crucial formative periods, often periods of culture-stress, which show a surge of creativity in its identity discourses. These phenomena are part and parcel of subaltern varieties of identity discourse, which, sociologically, tend to be reactive and to incubate underground, in counter-cultural narratives. One might speculate that the historiographical reconstructions of Bon identity narratives by recent Bon luminaries and nativist scholars, samples of which we discussed above, are indicative of such a surge in creativity, suggesting a period of culture-stress, in which the 'location' of Bon is on the move, once again, in Tibetan culture (and also beyond that into foreign territory, with its potential patrons and eventually perhaps also new lineage-holders).

Purely viewed from local community perspectives, this surge may be a response to the vicissitudes of modern Tibetan life and the search for Tibetan-ness in a situation dominated by Chinese modernity or exile conditions. There definitely is a surge of interest in Bon, also among Tibetan Buddhists and high-profile Tibetan politicians, and that indeed seems part of ongoing efforts to redefine Tibetan-ness in a world increasingly dominated by Chinese and other varieties of (late) modernity.

In the above, we witness attempts at historical reconstruction and systematic invention of tradition (say: traditions of invention). The histori-

ographical manoeuvres involved typically answer to modern sensibilities, such as issues of national identity, nation state, and positivist linear chronology. Bon discourse thus is re-framed in terms of dominant, patron- or ruling cultures.

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Appendix: A Structural Analysis of the *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*[51]

Cf. Bru rGyal ba g-Yung drung's *ZZNG kyi lo rgyus rnam thar dang bcas*[52]

[321/260] {{pa}} *//rDzogs pa chen po zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs bzhugs so//*

[322/261] *bstan pa dar nub kyi lo rgyus bstan pa ni/*[53]

Part Ia. *dang po bstan pa g-yung drung bon gyis bzung nas dar zhing rgyas par byas/*[54] *mkhas btsun grub thob pa rnams kyis bstan pa bskyang / sgrub pa po rgyal thebs rnams kyis bstan pa 'dzin/ mthu bo che man ngag dang ldan pa rnams kyis bstan pa bsrung / bod dang zhang zhung gnyis ka na bon ma yin pa chos kyi skad tsam med/ dus de tsam na zhang zhung na grub thob tswo men gyer chen dang / bod na spa ji phrom dkar po/ stong rgyung mthu chen/ mkhas pa mi bzhi/*[55] *bla chen dran pa nam mkha'i sku tshe'i smad/ sprul pa'i sku bzhi ni/ zhang zhung bkra shis rgyal mtshan/ gu rub stag wer shing slags/ ma hor stag gzigs/ tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan dang bzhi'o/*[56] *ta pi hri tsas gdams pa bzhag pa'i/ mchog thun mong gnyis la mnga' bsnyems pa yi/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po*[57] *bzhugs pa'i dus/ dus kyis 'khor lo'i shugs kyis g-yung drung gi bon nub pa lags te/* [cf. *Bru*:543.3f.]

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[51] This edition was prepared from the original blockprint in possession of the sMan ri Khri 'dzin, which is print-identical with the edition by Lokesh Chandra and Lopon Tenzin Namdak: *History and Doctrine of the Bon-po Niṣpanna-yoga* (Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, Vol. 73), New Delhi 1968; the second page-numbers refer to the latter.

[52] References are to the Dolanji volume *sNyan rgyud nam mkha' 'phrul mdzod nges skor* and *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud skor*, pp. 551.1ff., published by Sherab Wangyal, Dolanji 1972; henceforth: *Bru*. See also another version of this text, *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud kyi lo rgyus*, in the '2nd' edition of the *Bon bKa' 'gyur*, Vol. 33.8, pp. 223–261. See also Martin (1997), entry 47.

[53] This may have to be read as an alternative title, even though it also regularly appears in Tibetan historical texts as a demarcation of an introductory section, or as we shall see, in a table of contents.

[54] This *dang po* probably corresponds to the same in *Bru*:543.3: *da nye ba'i brgyud pa la gsum ste/* ***dang po*** *'byung ba'i khungs bstan pa dang /* ***bar du*** *rkyen gyis ma nub pa'i rgyu mtshan dang /* ***tha ma*** *rim gyis dar zhing rgyas pa'i tshul lo/*. The other indications are missing in the *Ma nub*. Does this indicate that the first part of section I was borrowed later, perhaps from *Bru* or another source?

[55] N.B. these are: sTong rgyung mthu chen, lDe bon gyim tsha rma chung, Me nyag lce tsha mkhar bu, and Se bon sha ri dbu chen. So the preceding figure, sTong rgyung mthu chen, is one of them (the following, Dran pa nam mkha' is not; cf. *Bru* and Reynolds).

[56] This is a *ZZNG* lineage.

[57] Whose mention also unambiguously identifies or claims the contents as belonging to the *ZZNG*.

Part Ib. *rgyal po ni/ zhang zhung gis rgyal po lig mi rgya/ mon gi rgyal po pan ra ling / bod kyi rgyal po khri srong sde btsan* [323/262] *bzhugs pa'i dus/ de gong rgyal po re re la sku khrungs pa'i dus su/ phyi blon gcig- /nang blon cig- /phrin blon gcig dang gsum las med/ khri srong sde btsan gyi ring la/ phyi blon bcu/ nang blon bcu/ phrin blon bcu/ sum cu yod pa'i dus der rgyal po mnga' thang che ste/ stag gzig nor gyi rgyal po btul nas/ tshong lam mtha' bar du chu'o chen pos chod pa las/ shing ring gi zam pa 'dzugs pa dang / sku srung byed par khas blangs so/* [cf. *Bru*:543.4f. and 551.1–3 (clearly a part of a different section here); for 543.5–551.1 cf. *rJe ta pi hri tsa'i lung bstan*]

Part Ic. *de dus zhang zhung gi rgyal po lig mi rgya bzhugs na/ zhang zhung la dmag stong sde dgu khri dgu 'bum yod pa'i steng du/ sum pa stong bu chung yan chad* ***mnga' ris*** *yin la/ bod la stong sde bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis/ stong bu chung gcig dang rtsa gsum las med na/ zhang zhung gi rgyal po/ bod kyis rgyal pos mngon gsum du btul du mi thub ste/ bod kyis rgyal po'i thugs la brnag pa dang / ngan gyis g-yo sgyus btul lo snyam mo/ de'i dus na zhang zhung rgyal po la/ btsun mo gsum yod pa'i chung shos/ gu rub za snang sgron legs mo bya ba/ lo bco brgyad lon pa zhig yod pa* [324/262] *de la/ bod kyis rgyal po'i phrin blon pa/ zhe ngan la khong gdug pa/*[58] *smra mkhas la g-yo che ba/ snang nam legs grub bya ba'i zhig gis/ gser phye 'brong ru gang khyer te/ snang sgron legs ma la byin nas 'di skad smras so/ snang sgron legs ma khyod lta bu/ zhang zhung rgyal po'i khab yang chun byed pa/ khyed rang a cang ches te/ bod kyis rgyal pos yang mi bzod par 'dug pas na/ 'di smad pa'i thabs yod dam/ yod na bod kyi rgyal po'i khab kyi yang chen ma bya/ bod kyi* ***mnga' ris kyi sum*** *gnyis ster bar 'dug go smras pas/ sgron legs mas na re/ zhang zhung rgyal po la dmags kheb par yod/ bod kyi rgyal po la dmag ba bre mo'i gzhung tsam las med pas/ mngon du btul du mi thub pas/ ngan dang thabs kyis 'dul na/ zhang zhung rgyal po ni zla ba phyi ta la/ zhang zhung yul nas/ sum pa glang gi gyim shod du/ sku rkyen dang chas nas mdun mal [ma la] bzhud gyis/ der sgugs la krongs mdzod cig- /de'i bya gtong bdag gis bya zer te/ bud med kyi blo la ltos pa cir yang ma 'dod de/ de skad smras so/ der tshes dus la 'ong pa'i brda/ la btsas kyi khar 'jog bar chad do/ der bod gyi rgyal blon dmag mi stong sde mang po dang chas 'ongs/ snang nam legs grub dang / rgyal po sngun la/ la btsas kyi khar byon nas ltas pas/ chu sla nga gang gi nang na/ gser chung gcig- /dung chung gcig- /dug mdel gcig dang gsum gda'o/ bod kyi rgyal po'i zhal nas/ chu sla nga gang ni zla ba phyi ma'i nya la 'ong bya ba yin/ gser chung dang dung* [325/263] *chung ni/ dwang ri'i gser phug dung phug gnyis su dmag chos la sgugs shig bya ba yin/ dug mdel ni brnag pa*

[58] This qualification of course pertains to the smart and cunning talker sNa nam legs grub, the Tibetan King's (Emperor's) Minister, and not to the Gu rub za snang sgron legs mo, as connects Reynolds. Also note that if this really were an imperial period document, Khri Srong lde btsan would more likely have been styled *btsan po* than *rgyal po* (see Walter 2009:245ff.).

skyed la sgugs la sod cig bya ba yin zer te/ sgugs so/ der rgyal po gnyis mjal nas/ bod kyi dmag mis zhang zhung gi rgyal po krongs so/ der zhang zhung 'bum sde ni pham/ bod kyi khri sde ni rgyal lo/ [cf. *Bru*:551.3–552.4]

Part II. *dus de tsam na/ dbus kyi lha sa bya bar mi sde zhig ci bya bar ma btub ste/ spe ne gu bya ba'i mo ma zhig la mo btab pas/ khyed kyi mi sde phung pa ni sus kyang ma len te/ pha med pa'i bu zhig yod pa de'i nal sna zug pa yin zer ro/ de gang yin byas pas/ khye'u lo bco lnga lon pa zhig la/ lcag sna btsugs nas 'di yin zer ro/ de la ces phan drin pas/ bon po rus sna mi 'dra ba bco lngas sel chen zhig gyis la/ nal bu glang kham pa zhig la bskyod la/ kha nub du ston la skad rigs mi gcig pa'i yul du spyugs na phan zer nas/ kha che bye brag smra ba'i yul du spyugs so/ khye'u yang las 'phro can zhig byung ste/ rgya gar gi yul du chos bslab nas/ lo tsha ba bzang po zhig byung nas/ ming yang bho te sa twar btags so/ kho spyugs pa'i rkyen mo ma bon pos byas pas/ rgyal blon gyis bar du phra ma gsol ba/ bon snubs la chos mdzod/ bka' ni dam pa'i chos bden/ bon 'di mnga' thang mtho na/ rgyal srid dang / rgyal khams yongs la gnod par mchis pas/ bon snubs dgos zer te phrin brdzangs so/ rgyal pos phra ma la ma gsan par/ 'o na nyi zla yang snub bam/ dus la bab ste nub pa srid pa las/ ched du snub du mi rung* [326/264] *gsungs/ dus de tsam na/ nyi zla'i 'od kyang shi ba zhig byung / mon gyi rgyal po pan ra ling gis rmi ltas su/ gser gyi nyi ma stong gsum yongs la dro ba zhig shar bas/ sa'i gting du nub pa zhig rmis nas/ rmi lam de rgyal po ha la ya ga la bshad/ des blon po de shi de rtso*[59] *la bshad/ de gcig nas gcig tu thos nas rgyal po'i snyan du gsan nas/ bod kyi rgyal po'i thugs dgongs nas smras pa/ nal bu 'di 'dra rgyal khams su spyugs pas/ zam 'phrang dang lho bal gyi tshad pas ma shi bar/ rgya gar gyi yul du chos bslab nas/ mkhas par gyur nas bdag la phra ma gsol lugs sam/ bon skyong rgyal po bkrongs lugs sam/ mon gyis rgyal po'i rmis ltas 'ong lugs sam/ g-yung drung gi bon rin po che 'di nub nub 'dra gsungs nas bsnubs so/* [cf. *Bru*:552.4–554.3]

Part III. *zhang zhung khri sde ni yar chad/ sum pa stong sde ni mar bud/ bod* ***sil bur song pa'i dus***[60] *der/ zhang zhung rgyal po'i khab chen ma khyung za mtsho rgyal des/ bod kyi rgyal po la thugs kyi brnag pa skyes nas/ gyer spungs snang bzher lod po spyan drangs/ za 'og dgu rim gyi gdan btings/ dar dkar sha ba ris kyi gur phub/ 'bras chang ding pa drangs/ bda' dgu dang 'dod dgu ni phul/ gdung ba'i mchi ma khrag tu gtigs nas zhus pa/ bon skyong rgyal po ni bkrongs/ bon khrims dar gyi mdud pa ni zhig- /rgyal khrims gser gyi gnya' shing ni chag- /bon khams* ***sil bur***[61] *song / g-yung drung bon gyi bstan pa ni nub/ 'di lta bu'i dus byung pas/ thugs kyi brnag pa zhu 'tshal zhus pas/ snang bzher lod po'i zhal nas/ nga la spu bya ba gser srang gcig la lo gsum* [327/265] *bsgrubs btang na/*

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[59] Note that De shi de rtso is a name (*pace* Reynolds).

[60] This reference to *sil bu'i dus*, like that to mNga' ris earlier, dates the text as post-*phyi dar*.

[61] Cf. above: *sil bu'i dus*.

bod khams rlung gis 'khyer ba yod pa 'di bya 'am/ khyung bya ba gser srang phyed la zla ba gsum bsgrubs nas btang na/ yar lung sogs ka khri srong sde btsan 'khor dang bcas pa phung pa yod pa de bya 'am/ rngub bya ba gser zho gcig la zhag bdun bsgrubs nas btang na/ rgyal po nyid sod pa yod pa 'di bya'am/ gsungs pas/[62] *mtsho rgyal gyis zhal nas rngub mdzad par 'tshal lo zhus pas/ gyer spungs chen po da rog mtsho gling la/ dar dkar sha ba ris kyis gur phub/ za 'og dgu rim gyi gdan la bzhugs nas/ zhag bdun bsgrubs nas/ gser zho gcig gsum du bcad nas/ sum nam gcig srod la 'phang pas/ yar lung sham po'i mgul gyi mtsho la rgyab nas/ mtsho skams klu bros/ yar lung mtsho skams bya ba yod do/ sum nam gcig nam phar phyed tshur phyed la 'phang pas/ sogs kha spun po'i ri la sha ba bdun nyal ba la rgyab nas/ gnyis shi lnga rengs pas/ sha ba rengs kyi ri bya ba yod do/ sum nam gcig tho rangs 'phang pas/ sku mkhar byi ba stag rtse la rgyab nas/ rgyal po bsnyung gis zin no/ rgyal po rig pa can de'i zhal nas/ g-yung drung bon gyi bstan pa bsnubs bon skyong rgyal po krongs/ da nang tho rang tswo 'ong lugs kyis/ gyer spungs chen po thugs khros pa yin pas/ gser phye 'brong ru gang khyer la/ mi rta brgya thams pa chos shig- /gyer spungs de la nga gso ba'i thabs yod do/ de gdan 'grongs*[63] *na nga ni myur du 'chi ba 'dra gsungs so/ der rta pa brgya drwa bye'i lung par phyin nas/ zhang zhung lug gi rdzi la* [328/266] *bod kyi rta pa rnams kyis gtam dris pa/ gyer spungs thugs kyis brnag pa phyungs nas bod kyi rgyal po bsnyung / gyer spungs la sku rgyal 'bul/ spyan 'dren pas gang na bzhugs dris so/ rdzi bos smras pas/ mtsho gling nye brag dkar po ma gi'i rtsa na dar dkar sha ba ris kyis gur phub nas yod/ sku ma nges te cir yang sprul zer ro/ der mtsho la gru btang nas phyin pas/ za 'og gi gdan dgu rim gyi steng na/ shel gyi rna rur sprul nas 'dug pa la/ gser phye 'brong ru gang phul nas bskor ba dang lha phyag byas pas/ shel gyis rna ru gyer spungs su sku bzhengs nas gsungs pa/ bon skyong rgyal po bkrongs/ g-yung drung bon gyi bstan pa bsnubs/ thugs las brnag pa skyes nas kyang / bod kyi rgyal po bkrongs nas bod khams phung nas 'gro ba la/ da ngas smras pa khas len nam gsungs/ blon pos zhus pa/ rje khri srong sde btsan gyis zhal nas/ dang po g-yung drung bon bsnubs pa yang ngas ma nyes te/ bho ti sa ta dang rgya gar gyi mkhan po rnams dang / 'khor gyi blon po rnams kyis phra ma lags/ da ci ltar gsungs pa bka' nyan zhus pas/ 'o na nga'i tshig bzhi 'di ster ram/ ngas spyod pa'i zhang zhung gi bon sde sum brgya drug bcu 'di mi bsnubs pa dang gcig- /gu rub gyi mi sde 'di la yul yar lung sogs kha byin nas/ bla dang blon gyis khral med bar g-yas gral la 'jog pa dang gnyis/ rje lig mi rgya'i sku tshad du/ gser gyi mchod rten la g-yung drung 'doms gang dgar ba dang /*

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[62] Cf. the remark in mKhas grub lung rtogs rgya mtsho's (20th c. AD) *bsTan 'byung rig pa'i shan byed nor bu'i ke ta ka'i do shal* (1912), to the purport that Lig myi rgya, the King of Zhang zhung, destroyed almost one quarter of the territory of Tibet after he learnt that the Tibetan Emperor, Khri srong lde btsan had banned Bon teachings in Tibet (Dagkar 1997, p. 14, n. 56).

[63] Cf. *'dren pa*, *drangs pa, drang ba,* ***drongs pa***, as in *Bru*.

khyung za mtsho rgyal gyi spyan sngar/ lhu bcu gnyis mgo dang bcu gsum[64] *gyi stong 'jal ba/* [329/267] *gtsigs su sbyin nam gsungs so/ der dbang blon mi gsum gyis khas blangs so/ de nas gyer spungs rje'i spyan sngar bdan skyod nas/ phyir ldog gi cho ga gsang this 'phar ma dgu bskor mdzad/ rje'i bu ga dgu nas gser gyi skud pa dar skud sgril ma tsam re yang bton no/ srang*[65] *la gcal bas sum nam gcig bton no/ de'i rjes la khrag ngan dang rnag dang chu ser las sogs pa mang du bton nas bsnyungs pa gdangs so/ rgyal po yang shin tu drin nas/ zhang zhung bon sde rnams ma bsnums so/ gu rub mi sde la yul sog kha dang / gral g-yas la bzhag go /zhang zhung rgyal po'i sku tshad dang mi stong*[66] *bcu gsum btsun mo'i spyan sngar brdzangs so/ der g-yung drung gi bon dar zhing rgyas par bzhugs dus/ bka' byin rlabs kyi bdag po gyer spungs snang bzher lod po la/ mkhas pa grub thob stong rgyung mthu chen gyis zhus te/ bon sgo bsam gyis mi khyab pa zhus so/ de rnams* ***kha byang***[67] *rgyas par gsal/ 'di ni bsdus pa'i lo rgyus bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs zur tsam bstan pa lags so// sarba mangga la.m/ dge'o// //* [cf. *Bru*: 554.3–557.4]

RÉSUMÉ

Les deux conquêtes du Zhang zhung et les rois Lig du Bon :
Une analyse structurelle du Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs

Les sources bouddhiques, à commencer par le ms. PT.1288 de Dunhuang, soutiennent que la conquête du Zhang zhung eut lieu au 7e siècle, sous le règne de Srong btsan sgam po, et le ms. PT.1287 le confirme, après correction d'une erreur ancienne de collation ou de copie. Pour le *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*, inclus dans le *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud*, et la tradition bon po, elle eut lieu au 8e siècle sous le règne de Khri srong lde btsan. Dans les travaux récents, il est également question d'une conquête en deux phases, la première étant l'affaiblissement ou la conquête du Zhang zhung sous Srong btsan sgam po, la seconde, la défaite de Lig myi rhya (considéré comme un titre royal ou un nom de dynastie par certains auteurs) sous Khri srong lde btsan.

Quatre hypothèses se présentent : l'erreur de collation de PT.1287 pourrait avoir engendré une nouvelle tradition historique, dont le *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs* se serait inspiré ; ou bien la tradition fixant la chute du Zhang zhung au 8e siècle était connue avant la collation de PT.1287, qui aurait été faite délibérément ; ou bien encore il y aurait eu deux conquêtes du Zhang zhung ; enfin il se peut qu'il n'y ait aucun lien entre les textes. Mais il faut préciser d'abord quelles sont les sources et la date approximative du *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs*, la raison et la date de son inclusion dans le *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud*, et déterminer si le thème narratif en est d'origine purement bon po ou s'il est basé sur une autre tradition historique. La comparaison est menée entre les séquences du *Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs* et divers textes, notamment le *bsTan pa'i rnam bshad dar*

[64] Cf. P1042.96.

[65] Read: *zho*?

[66] Read this as: a man's price.

[67] Perhaps, as argued, the *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*.

rgyas gsal ba'i sgron me, le *Gab pa 'grel bzhi*, le *dBa' bzhed*, le *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*, et le *g-Yung drung bon gyi rgyud 'bum*.

Il ressort de ces comparaisons que le récit de la conquête du Zhang zhung sous Khri srong lde btsan est très vraisemblablement une reconstruction narrative bon po tardive (14–15[e] s.), qu'il n'est pas possible de relier à la collation erronée de PT.1287. Il n'y a pas d'argument en faveur de l'existence d'une dynastie Lig myi rhya. Les procédés de reconstruction du récit qui ressortent de la comparaison montrent une accentuation identitaire bon po, et une grande adaptabilité aux sensibilités modernes, mais sans permettre de précisions sur le mode de transmission, écrit ou oral.

Comparative Table for the Bodhisattva Story (and the Setting of the Scene)

Byang sems gab pa dgu bskor gyi dgongs pa bkrol ba'i 'grel bzhi rig pa'i rgya mtsho (in *Gal mdo* volume, Dolanji 1972, pp. 147–498) 11th–12th c. AD? gTer ston Ku tsa zla 'od 'bar	**Zhang zhung snyan brgyud kyi Bon ma nub pa'i gtan tshigs** (Menri Blockprint = Lokesh Chandra &c. 1968) partly 11th–12th (I) or later, partly also 14th (III), or 14/15th c. AD or later (II)	**bsTan pa'i rnam bshad dar rgyas gsal ba'i sgron me** (Tsering Thar, Qinghai 1991, & *Sources for a History of Bon*, pp. 498–769, Namdak, Dolanji 1972) 15th c. AD (1405/65 or 1417/77)? sPa btsun bsTan rgyal seng ge dpal bzang po	**rGyal rabs bon gyi 'byung gnas/ Gling b/gzhi bstan pa'i 'byung khungs** (Das 1915 and also in *Three Sources for a History of Bon*, pp. 1–196, Dolanji 1974; *Gling gzhi* from a MS copy of the present Menri Trizin) 15th c. AD (1439/99?) Blo gros rgyal mtshan
'grel/'brel bzhi, also *'grel gzhi* (see sPa btsun); for *gZhi 'grel* see *Mother Tantra*	Refers to *Kha byang (rgyas pa)* = *Srid pa rgyud kyi kha byang chen mo*? (gTer ston Gyer thogs med, 14th c. (1310) AD) [322/260] bstan pa dar nub kyi lo rgyus bstan pa ni/	For this part sPa btsun explicitly refers to the *Gab pa 'grel gzhi*, but note that for the other parts he refers to the *ZZNG*	NB. Blo gros rgyal mtshan here seems to follow and paraphrase sPa btsun's text! The *Gling bzhi* (103.2ff.) is very similar. Note that both versions feature twelve bon po-s instead of fifteen, indicating this may be a different narrative strand.
[159.3] ... // ? //bon de gang gi ring la ji ltar dar ba ston te/ de la yang gsum ste/ mkhas pa gang gi ring la dar ba dang / tshul ji ltar dar ba dang / tha ma bstan pa bzhag pa'i gnas bstan pa'o/ mkhas pa gang gi ring la dar ba ni/ ... [159.4] ... ring la dar ba'o/ ji ltar dar na- ***mtho*** khyung lung dngul mkhar zhang zhung kha	dang po bstan pa g-yung drung bon gyis bzung nas dar zhing rgyas par byas/	[124] ... le'u gsum pa/ byung ba'i bon de dar nub rgyas tshul/ gnyis pa dar nub kyi rgyas tshul la gsum ste/ dang po dar tshul bar du nub tshul tha ma rgyas tshul lo// dang po/ dang po dar tshul/ ...	[31] ... gnyis pa bstan pa dar nub dngos la gsum ste/ dang po dar tshul dang / bar du nub tshul/ tha mar rgyas tshul lo// dang po ni/ ...

yug gi ru **man chod**/ ***dma'*** she le rgya dkar sum pa glang gi gyim shod **yan chad** ***lho*** ngom mon sgo nag po snyug ma bu khur **tshun chad**/ ***byang*** li byi sgar ring - **tshun chad** du dar te/ de tshe ni mnga' ris g-yung drung bon gyi rgyal khams su byas/ ... [160.3]... de ltar bstan pa 'dzin skyong srung dang gsum gyis g-yung drung bon dar zhing rgyas so// ? // tha ma bstan pa bzhag pa'i gnas bstan pa ni/ ...	mkhas btsun grub thob pa rnams kyis bstan pa bskyang / sgrub pa po rgyal thebs rnams kyis bstan pa 'dzin/ mthu bo che man ngag dang ldan pa rnams kyis bstan pa bsrung / bod dang zhang zhung gnyis ka na bon ma yin pa chos kyi skad tsam med/ dus de tsam na zhang zhung na grub thob tswo men gyer chen dang / bod na spa ji phrom dkar po/ stong rgyung mthu chen/ mkhas pa mi bzhi/ bla chen dran pa nam mkha'i sku tshe'i smad/ sprul pa'i sku bzhi ni/ zhang zhung bkra shis rgyal mtshan/ gu rub		

[160.5] … de yan chad du dpon gsas gang gi ring la bstan pa'i bon dar bar bstan pa'o// ? // 'di nas mar la gang gi ring la ji ltar nub pa ston te/ de la yang gsum ste/ dus ji tsam na nub pa dang / rkyen gang gis nub pa dang / mtha' ma gang du nub pa'i sa dmigs so/ de las dang po dus ji tsam na nub pa ni/	stag wer shing slags/ ma hor stag gzigs/ tshe spungs zla ba rgyal mtshan dang bzhi'o / *ta pi hri tsas gdams pa bzhag pa'i/ mchog thun mong gnyis la mnga' bsnyems pa yi/ gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po bzhugs pa'i dus/* dus kyis 'khor lo'i shugs kyis g-yung drung gi bon nub pa lags te/	[143] … gnyis pa/ bar du nub tshul/ gnyis pa nub tshul la gnyis/ rgyal po gri rum dang / khri srong gi ring la nub tshul lo// dang po gri rum gyi ring la nub tshul lnga / dus nam tshe nub pa dang - yul gang du nub pa dang / bon gang nub pa dang / rgyal gshen gang gi ring la nub pa dang / tshul ji ltar nub pa'o// dang po dus ni/ … [160] … gnyis pa [khri srong] nub lugs la lnga ste/ (nub lugs kyi sa bcad dang po gnyis pa gsum pa gsum ma yig chad/) g-yung drung gling pa'i rtsis byang las/ bon gyi sgra mi grags par lo drug cu byung zer ro// bzhi pa rgyal gshen ni/ …	[40] … gnyis pa nub tshul la gnyis ste/ rgyal po gri gum dang / khri srong gi ring gnyis so// dang po la bzhi ste/ dus gang gi tshe nub pa/ yul gang du nub pa/ rgyal gshen gang gi ring la bon gang nub pa/ tshul ji ltar nub pa'o// dang po ni/ … [48] … gnyis pa khri srong gi ring la nub tshul bzhi ste/ dus gang gi tshe nub pa/ yul gang du nub pa/ rgyal gshen gang gi ring la bon gang nub pa[/ tshul ji ltar nub pa]'o// dang po ni/ **dang po** ni:—tshe lo lnga bcu pa'i dus su nub ste/ dus tshigs 'og nas ston no// **gnyis pa** yul ni bod dang zhang zhung gnyis kar nub ste/ bod kyi rgyal pos zhang zhung bon skyong ba'i rgyal po lig mi rgya yab ngan thabs kyis bkrongs te zhang zhung bod kyi mnga' 'og tu bcug/ bon gyi bstan pa bsnubs pa'i lo rgyus **zhang zhung snyan rgyud** nas bcad pa ltar ro// **gsum pa** rgyal

			gshen khri srong lde'u btsan de'i sku 'tsho ba'i gshen ni khri snyan rgyal chung dang / gzhan bla ma ni khyung po gyer zla med pa bzhugs pa'i dus yin par phur ba'i 'grel chen nas bshad do// yang li shu stag ring gi sku tsha'i tha ma bla ma gran pa'i sku ring ngo // **bzhi pa** nub tshul la lnga ste/ [1] nub pa'i rgyu rkyen dang / [2] **nub lugs dngos dang /** [3] gter du sbas tshul/ [4] dbu yog byung tshul/ [5] zhor byung bon chos gyi bstan pa'i dar che chung bshad pa dang lnga'o//
[160.6] zhang zhung gi rgyal po lig mi rkya dang / mon gyi rgyal po pan ra ling dang / bod kyi rgyal po khri srong [161] lde btsan dang gsum bzhugs pa'i dus su/ gshen rabs grangs kyis bzhugs na/ mkhas shing rig pa dang ldan pa dran pa nam mkha' bzhugs pa'i dus/ bod yul na grub pa thob pa grangs kyis bzhugs na/ spa ji phrom dkar po bzhugs pa'i dus/ de rnams bzhugs pa'i dus su bstan pa'i rnams bsnubs so/ ? /	rgyal po ni/ zhang zhung gis rgyal po lig mi rgya/ mon gi rgyal po pan ra ling / bod kyi rgyal po khri srong sde btsan [323/261] bzhugs pa'i dus/		

	de gong rgyal po re re la sku khrungs pa'i dus su/ phyi blon gcig- /nang blon cig- /phrin blon gcig dang gsum las med/ khri srong sde btsan gyi ring la/ phyi blon bcu/ nang blon bcu/ phrin blon bcu/ sum cu yod pa'i dus der rgyal po mnga' thang che ste/ stag gzig nor gyi rgyal po btul nas/ tshong lam mtha' bar du chu'o chen pos chod pa las/ shing ring gi zam pa 'dzugs pa dang / sku srung byed par khas blangs so/ [261.3–263.2 cut: story similar PT1287]		
[161.2] rkyen gang gis bsnubs pa ni/ rkyen **mo bon** rnam pa gnyis kyis byas te bsnubs te/ de yang ji ltar bsnubs na/ **'di la lo rgyus kyi sgo nas ston te/** sngon dbus kyi lha sa bya ba ru/ mi sde zhig ci bya cir ma btub ste/	[263.2] dus de tsam na/ dbus kyi lha sa bya bar mi sde zhig ci bya bar ma btub ste/	[162] ... lnga pa tshul ji ltar nub pa gsum/ nub lugs dang / gter du sbas lugs/ dbu yogs byung lugs so/ dang po nub pa'i rgyu dang / rkyen gnyis so// dang po ni/ ... [162] ... gnyis pa rkyen la yang gnyis te/ gzhan rkyen dag rang rkyen no// dang po gzhan rkyen ni/ gab pa'i 'grel gzhi las/ sngon dbus kyi lha sa bya ba ru/ mi sde gcig gis ci byas cis ma btub ste/	Does not refer to 'grel bzhi here, but does know the text (e.g. quoted at p. 41: mkhas bzhi'i gab 'grel las/ ...). Follows the structure and quotes of sPa btsun, but in paraphrase and without identifying them. Should therefore be later. [48] gnyis pa nub lugs dngos ni/ dus der bod yul dbus su nad mug ser mang du byung ste/ ci byas kyang ma btub nas

spe ne gu bya ba'i mo ma zhig la mo btab pas/	spe ne gu bya ba'i mo ma zhig la mo btab pas/	spe ne chu bya ba'i mo ma cig la mo btab pas/	shin tu mo rno ba spe ne gu la mo btab pas/
khyed kyi mi sde phung ba 'di/ gzhan cis kyang ma lan te/ khyed kyi mi sde 'di la a pha'i min pa'i bu zhig yin te/ de'i nal sna zugs pa yin pas lan ba yin no/ zhes zer ro/	khyed kyi mi sde phung pa ni sus kyang ma len te/ pha med pa'i bu zhig yod pa de'i nal sna zug pa yin zer ro/	gzhan cis kyang ma lan te/ khyed kyi mi sde 'di na pha med pa'i bu cig yod pas/ de'i nal sna zug pa yin pas/ de'i lan ba yin zhes zer ro// ye mkhyen lags/	yul 'di na pha med pa'i bu gcig yod pa de gnod zer/
de la mi sde des ye mkhyen lags de gang lags zhus pas/ khye'u lo bco lnga lon pa zhig la	de gang yin byas pas/ khye'u lo bco lnga lon pa zhig la/	de gang lags [163] zhus pas/ khye'u lo bco lnga lon pa gcig la/	
lcag btsugs nas 'di yin no zhes zer ro/	lcag sna btsugs nas 'di yin zer ro/	lcags btsugs nas 'di yin zer/	
der mi sde des ye mkhyen la zhus pa/ ye mkhyen lags de la ci byas na phan zhes zhus pas/ ye mkhyen gyi zhal nas 'di la khyed kyis	de la ces phan drin pas/	de la cis phan zhes pas/ 'di khyed kyis	de cis phan byas pas/
bon po rus mi 'dra ba bco lnga sogs la/ rus sel mi 'dra pas sel chen po thob la/ nal bu 'di glang kham pa zhig la bskyon la/ kha nyi ma lho nub kyi phyogs mtshams su ston la/ skad rigs mi mthun pa'i yul du spyugs nas btang na phan no zhes zer ro/ der mi sde des dpyad byas nas	bon po rus sna mi 'dra ba bco lngas sel chen zhig gyis la/ nal bu glang kham pa zhig la bskyod la/ kha nub du ston la skad rigs mi gcig pa'i yul du spyugs na phan zer nas/	bon po rus mi gcig pa bco lnga sogs la/ rus sel byas nas nal bu glang kham pa gcig la bskyon te/ kha nyi ma lho nub kyi mtshams su ston pa/ skad rigs mi gcig pa'i yul du spyugs nas btang na phan zhes zer ro// der mi sdes gto byas	bon po rus mi gcig pa bcu gnyis kyis/ gnam sel chen po byas te/ glang kham pa la bskyon nas/ skad rigs mi gcig pa'i yul du spyugs na phan zer/ de ltar byas nas

kha che bye brag du smra ba'i yul du spyugs nas btang bas/ khye'u de yang sngon gyi las 'phro can zhig byung nas/ / /	kha che bye brag smra ba'i yul du spyugs so/ khye'u yang las 'phro can zhig byung ste/	kha che bye brag tu smra ba'i yul du spyugs nas btang bas/ khye'u de yang las can cig byung ste	kha che'i yul du spyugs te/ khye'u de yang
rgya gar gi yul du dam pa'i chos bslabs pas/ lo tsha ba bzang po zhig byung nas/	rgya gar gi yul du chos bslab nas/ lo tsha ba bzang po zhig byung nas/	rgya gar du phyin nas chos bslab pas mkhas pa cig byung nas/ de tshe rabs snga ma la stag la me 'bar gyis/ bdud yams rje nag po bsgral dus dmod ngan bor ba bdud des sprul pa'o//	*lam du zang 'phran dang gcan gzan gyis ma brlag par* [cf. *ZZNG* 326/264.2] **slob dpon padma** kha che la byon pa dang mjal nas chos bslabs pas shes rab che ste
ming yang slob dpon chen po bho de sa tvor btags so/	ming yang bho te sa tvar btags so/	ming la a bho ti sa tva btags so//	ming yang bho ti satva zhes btags so//
khyo'u de yang sngon spyugs pa'i rkyen mo bon gnyis [162] kyis byas pas/	kho spyugs pa'i rkyen mo ma bon pos byas pas/	der sngon spyugs pa'i rkyen lo bod gnyis kyis byas pas/	[49] des bod kyi mo bon gyis spyugs su bcug pa la
mo bon gnyis la snying na nas/ rgyal blon gnyis kyi snyan du [a] phra ma brdzangs pa/ [b] ben 'di bsnub dgos te/ bka' yang dam pa'i chos bden la/	rgyal blon gyis bar du [a] phra ma gsol ba/ [b] bon snubs la chos mdzod/ bka' ni dam pa'i chos bden/	de rnams la snying na nas rgyal blon gnyis kyi snyan du/ [b] ban bsnubs dgongs zer ba [a] phra ma brzangs so//	snyang [snying] na nas rgyal po la snyan [a] phra ma brdzangs te [b] bon 'di slob tu yang dka'/ bka' ni dam pa'i chos bden pa gcig gda' bas//
bon 'di mi bden pas/ bon 'di mnga' mthon [mtho na?]/	bon 'di mnga' thang mtho na/		
dus lan cig rgyal po nyid kyi sku la yang gnod la/	rgyal srid dang /		
rgyal khams yongs la yang gnod par 'gyur pas/	rgyal khams yongs la gnod par mchis pas/		

bon ’di mi bsnub tu mi rung ngo zhes phra ma brdzangs so/ dus der	bon snubs dgos zer te phrin brdzangs so/		bon bsnub la chos spyod ’tshal zhes bskur bas/ lha sras na re/
rgyal po nyid phra ma la ma gsan du ma bzhed par/ bon ’di bsnub tu mi rung ste/ ’o na nyi ma dang zla ba yang bsnub tu rung ngam/	rgyal pos phra ma la ma gsan par/ ’o na nyi zla yang snub bam/	de nas rgyal po phra ma la ma gsan du ma bzhed do// bon ’di bsnub tu rung na nyi zla yang bsnub tu rung ngam/	bon bsnub tu rung na nyi zla yang bsnub tu rung ngam zer nas re zhig ma gsan kyang /
dus la bab nas nub pa srid pa las/ ched du bsnub tu mi rung ngo zhes gsungs nas/ phra ma la gsan du ma bzhed do/ dus de tsam na/	dus la bab ste nub pa srid pa las/ ched du snub du mi rung [326/264] gsungs/ dus de tsam na/	dus la babs na bsnubs srid pa las/ ched du bsnub tu mi rung ngo zhes gsungs nas ma gsan no/ [163.15–164.2: quote *bsGrags byang*][1] ’grel bzhi las/ dus de tsam na	 [49.4–9, paraphrase *bsGrags byang*][2] dus de tsam na

[1] bsgrags byang las/ blon po g-yu sgra ne ra [cf. na re elsewhere] bya ba ni/ rje lags/ yab mes bas lhag pa’i las stabs cig dgos pas/ yab kyi gtsug lag khang thog gi bshig pa ’di gsvo ’tshal/ de’i cha rkyen du rgya gar du chos bya ba/ bon dang mi ’dra ba’i bya ba sla nā [emend: na’am]/ khur yang ba cig yod par ’dug pas/ de bod ’dir gdan drangs pa ’tshal zer ro// blon po mchims bzher na re/ bon ’di bkur ba yang lci/ bslab tu yang rgya che/ bsgrub tu yang gting zab/ lha srung ru ’thur bas bsnubs ’tshal [164] zer ro/ rje yang sngon gyi smon lam gyis shugs dang yab mes las lhag par bzhed nas ’phrig pa zos zhes so//.

[2] g-yu sgra la sogs pa’i blon po chos la dga’ ba rnams na re/ rje lags/ chang ’thung ba la snga ma chu la btsos dgos/ sha za ba la snga ma dud ’gro gsod dgos/ yab mes las lhag pa gcig bzhed na/ snga ma bon bsnub nas chos kyi bstan pa ’dzugs dgos/ chos de yang rgya gar nas gdan ’dren dgos/ de la bla ma yang dgos/ de bsgrub na yab mes las rtags dngos te/ pha bong bu la bu dre’u/ pha glang bu la bu mdzo pho skyes pa lags zhes/.

nyi ma'i 'od kyang 'grib pa zhig byung / zla ba'i 'od kyang shi ba zhig byung ngo / bod kyi yul du/	nyi zla'i 'od kyang shi ba zhig byung /	nyi ma'i 'od kyang 'grib pa cig byung ngo// zla ba'i 'od kyang shi ba cig byung ngo //	nyi zla'i 'od las kyang lhag pa gcig yong / zhes zhus/ de'i dus su
mon gyi rgyal po pan ra ling gi rmi ltas su/	mon gyi rgyal po pan ra ling gis rmi ltas su/	mon gyi lo pan dra ling ga'i rmi lam du yang/	mon gyi rgyal po'i rmi lam du
[a] gser gyi nyi ma 'od stong gsum gyi stong du phro ba zhig yod pa/ [b] sa yi gting du nub par rmis so/	[a] gser gyi nyi ma stong gsum yongs la dro ba zhig shar bas/ [b] sa'i gting du nub pa zhig rmis nas/	[a] gser gyi nyi ma stong gsum dros pa cig yod pa'i [b] gting du bsnubs nas [c] de'i rjes dung gi zla ba tshes pa rmis so//	[c] dngul gyi zla ba chos brgyad kyi tsam shar ba [b] sa la thim pa'i rjes su [a] gser gyi nyi ma stong gsum dro ba gcig shar nas 'gro ba sems can thams cad skyid po byung bar rmis pa
rgyal pos rgyal bu ha ya la rmi lam bzlas/ das [des] mon gyi blon po de ba de sho la bzlas/ de gcig nas gnyis su grags te/ bod kyi rgyal po'i snyan du gsan no/	rmi lam de rgyal po ha la ya ga la bshad/ des blon po de shi de rtso la bshad/ de gcig nas gcig tu thos nas rgyal po'i snyan du gsan nas/	rgyal pos rgyal bu hang yag la rmi lam bshad/ des mon gyi blon po de sho la bzlas/ de gcig nas gcig tu bsdebs te bod kyi rgyal po'i snyan du gsan no/	rim par brgyud pas rgyal po'i gsan pas/
de nas rgyal po'i zhal nas nyi zla'i 'od 'di 'grib lugs sam/	bod kyi rgyal po'i thugs dgongs nas smras pa/ *nal bu 'di 'dra rgyal khams su spyugs pas/ zam 'phrang dang lho bal gyi tshad pas ma shi bar/ rgya gar gyi yul du chos bslab nas/*		dgongs pa la/

dge long po de sa to'i phrin gyi brdzongs lugs sam/ mon gyi rgyal po pan ra ling gi rmi ltas sam/ g-yung drung gi bon 'di yang nub pa'i dus la bab pa 'dra gsung nas bsnubs so/	*mkhas par gyur nas* [cf. *rGyal rabs*, p. 48.25–27] bdag la phra ma gsol lugs sam/ bon skyong rgyal po bkrongs lugs sam/ mon gyis rgyal po'i rmis ltas 'ong lugs sam/ g-yung drung gi bon rin po che 'di nub nub 'dra gsungs nas bsnubs so/		bo dhi satva'i zer lugs sam/ blon po rnams kyang yang yang zer gyin 'dug/ mon gyi rgyal po'i rmi lam gyi ltas 'ong lugs sogs kyis bon nub nas chos kyi bstan pa yong yong 'dra bar 'dug bsam nas bsnub par bya gsungs so/
[162.5] de yang las kyi 'phro zad pa dang / mnga' bdag la blon po gdug pa can rnams dang / bo de sa to'i phra ma dang / ban btsun gdug pa can rnams kyis bskyod nas/ g-yung drung gi bon dam pa rin po che rnams/ la la chu la bskyur/ la la me la bsregs/ la las la sbas/ la la g-ya' gong dang gangs gong du khyer de blon po gdug pa can rnams kyis rlung la bskur ro/ de ltar med pas [163] byas nas/ spyir g-yung drung bon gyi bstan pa dung phyis pa bzhin du btang ngo / bye brag tu bstan pa'i bon zab mo 'di rnams/ dus gtan du bsnubs pa		gnyis pa rang rkyen ni/ …	

’phangs par dgongs nas/ pho brang dbus kyi yang rtser/ bse sgrom smug pa’i nang du/ gser dang khro chu’i ’theb rgyas btabs nas bzhag go/ de’i dus su bla chen dran pa’i nam mkha’ ni lo gsum cu rtsa bdun la nan ban du btsugs/ bka’ rgyud ’dzin pa’i gshen rab rnams ni mtha’ ru spyugs te/ dus de tsam na gshen rab ni/ rgyal po’i sku ’tsho ba’i rkyen du/ khyung po’i bon po gyer zla med dang / pha ba khri snya rgyal chung gnyis las mi bzhugs so/ ? / tha ma bon ’di gang du bsnubs pa’i sa dmigs ni/ …			

The Creation and Transmission of a Textual Corpus in the Twentieth Century: The *'Chi med srog thig*[1]

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Tibetan convention generally associates the productions of *gter ma* texts with the *gter ston* responsible for revealing the *gter*, and modern academic scholars mostly follow this lead. At the same time, there is often recognition that matters may be a good deal more complex. Thus, the introductions to or the colophons of the individual texts, as well as explanations given, for instance, in the empowerment texts, may spell out more clearly the contributions of different lamas of the early transmission in composing or compiling the textual corpus, or preparing it for publication. Often the initial "revelation" is considered merely to consist of a few lines of *ḍākinī* script, which will have the capability to trigger the *gter ston*'s memory, so that he uniquely can interpret the revelation and produce the full scripture. But how definitive or useful as a spiritual practice the scripture may be at this stage will depend on a number of factors, not least the intellectual and scholarly qualities and potential of the *gter ston* and those of his students. One reason Tibetan tradition—unlike some modern books produced by Western Tibetan Buddhist disciples—tends to classify *gter ma* revelations by the *gter ston* rather than the supposed original author of the text in the past is precisely because there is recognition of the *gter ston*'s own contribution in terms of his individual manner of expression. *gTer ston*s may or may not be accomplished scholars, and if not, much will be left to the first generation of recipients to tidy up the text, which in any case might initially need to have been produced by transcription at speed while the *gter ston* speaks, even in cases where the *gter ston* is learned.[2] Recent academic studies of the *gter ma*

[1] We are grateful to the British Arts and Humanities Research Council, who provided us with the funding which has enabled us to do the research on which this article is based. We worked on this research with Professor Geoffrey Samuel at the University of Cardiff (2006–2009). Thanks also are due to Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche, who worked as external consultant to the project.

[2] Gyetrul Jigme Rinpoche, speaking about life in his family household, recounted how it would always be necessary to keep a pen and paper ready to hand, since at any time, his father, Terton Namkha Rabjam Drimed Rinpoche, might reveal mind treasures, at which time, ten, twenty or thirty pages might then flow from him without a single mistake (teachings at the London Shambhala Meditation Centre, 30/03/2008).

traditions have included case studies of *gter ston*s, their visions and revelations (e.g. S. Jacoby PhD 2007; B. Boglin, IATS 2006) and the context of the initial revelation processes (e.g. A. Gardner, IABS 2005). Here, we wish to delve more closely into the stages following later, in which the resulting scripture(s) makes it into print, is edited and supplemented by additions, and becomes established in a continuing tradition, at least in part through the contributions of subsequent lamas.

The interesting case study we have chosen is that of the *'Chi med srog thig* and the cycle it is located within. This longevity practice focused on Guru Rinpoche in the form of Amitāyus was revealed by Zil gnon Nam mkha'i rdo rje (born c. 1868) in the Wood Dragon Year (1904), as an ancillary to his Phur pa revelation, the *rDo rje Phur pa Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril (Ultra Secret Quintessential Vajrakīlaya Ritual Practice)*, which consisted of an image of the Phur pa deity, together with the classic *gter ma* "yellow manuscripts"[3] in *ḍākini* symbolic lettering. This he revealed in gNam lcags 'bar ba (Blazing Meteoric Iron [Mountain])[4] in the Male Water Tiger Year (1902), although the *gtor ma* empowerment text (*bDud 'joms gsung 'bum*, Volume Pha: 58) explains that it was necessary for the revelation to be sealed in secrecy for the initial period, while the *gter ston* himself practised to absorb its heart. The *'Chi med srog thig (Immortal Life's Creative Seed)* was later publicly revealed in Bhutan at the Ye shes mtsho rgyal cave associated with her Phur pa intensive practice retreat. Apparently an ancillary practice, in the twentieth century its textual corpus grew to such an extent as rather to overshadow the texts of the original cycle within which it is contained. Additions were also made to the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* texts, although some of the original texts were omitted from the Dudjom collection, so it is hard to judge the net effect. Yet in the case of the *'Chi med srog thig* section, it is not simply that we witness a textual expansion,[5] but rather, that it was expanded in a manner so as to generate a comprehensive corpus of ritual texts, and later followers have focused on it while by comparison neglecting the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* framework around it. Thus, the container seems principally to have become an outer shell representing the symbolic value of a Phur pa revelation, which is virtually a necessity for a significant

[3] *shog ser*: original *gter ma* texts are referred to by this term.

[4] This site is located on the borders of Padma bkod and Kong po. It is shown in Dudjom 1991 Volume 2, Map 8, where it is noted as 7756 metres high (labelled as Namcak Barwa).

[5] Unlike the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* texts, all the works of the *'Chi med srog thig* listed in Dudjom Rinpoche's *Record (of Teachings) Obtained* (*Thob yig*, Volume Wa Āḥ: 506–508) are clearly identifiable within Dudjom Rinpoche's or the Fifteenth Karmapa's *Collected Works*.

gter ston to produce, and furthermore helpful in linking the *'Chi med srog thig* to the associations of the powerful sacred site in which it was revealed (the place of Ye shes mtsho rgyal's realisation of Phur pa, who is considered to have been her main tutelary deity). An added significance to the embedding of the longevity deity within a Phur pa cycle is made clear in Dudjom Rinpoche's commentary to the *'Chi med srog thig*. Describing the importance of performing wrathful preliminary rites to dispel obstacles before embarking on the longevity practice proper, Dudjom Rinpoche compares the situation to protecting growing crops from harm, or to a travelling merchant needing an armed escort to accompany him. He suggests that it is for this reason that longevity practices are frequently combined with wrathful deities such as Hayagrīva and Phur pa.[6] While sharing features of the earlier revelation such as its set of *gter ma* protectors,[7] the *'Chi med srog thig*'s maṇḍala of deities in no way depends upon the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* texts, and it has entirely independent empowerment rites.

The key to understanding the developments in and practice of this *gter ma* cycle, the publications associated with it, and other features of its contemporary dissemination, such as the production of imagery including posters and cards, is to be found in part in the relationship between the revealer

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[6] *char 'bebs pa la rlung mnan pa'am/ lo tog bskrun pa la gnod pa srung ba'i bya ba gtsor 'don dgos pa ltar/ 'dod pa'i don sgrub pa la thog mar bar chad nges par zhi par ma byas na 'bad pa don dang mi ldan pas/..... tshong don gnyer du 'gro ba la skyel ma'am grogs stobs chen dang 'grogs pa bzhin tshe sgrub spyi la 'di kho na gal che bas/ gsar rnying gi man ngag 'gar tshe rta zung 'brel dang tshe phur sgrags ma sogs 'byung ba'ang don 'di la dgongs pa'o/* (*bsnyen yig* section of the *'Chi med srog thig*, Volume Pha: 452–453).

[7] Although the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* texts included in Dudjom Rinpoche's *Collected Works* do not include a specific section for the treasure guardians, it is clear that the treasure guardian text given in the *'Chi med srog thig* section (209–212) is in fact for the whole cycle including the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril*. Both internal evidence within the text (the listing of members of the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* lineage who do not occur in the *'Chi med srog thig* lineage, p. 209) and the fact that this title occurs in the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* section of Dudjom Rinpoche's *Record (of Teachings) Obtained* (*Thob yig*, Volume Wa Āḥ: 506), rather than the *'Chi med srog thig* section, supports this conclusion. Presumably, it has been bundled in with the *'Chi med srog thig* section because more practitioners are focusing on this practice and Dudjom Rinpoche sought to present a full set of texts for this longevity practice. It may also have been considered more appropriate within the group of *'Chi med srog thig* texts since it was composed by the *gter ston* at the same time as the *'Chi med srog thig* revelation. The text mentions (p. 212) that it was composed by the *gter ston* at the same time as the original *'Chi med srog thig* revelation, when the assembled group were practising Phur pa together. Further, we may note that there is a *gtor ma* offering rite for the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* composed by Zil gnon himself (Volume Pha: 43–46), which specifies (p. 45) exactly the same four treasure guardians described at greater length in the longer treasure guardian text.

and the lamas to whom he passed the transmission, especially that with his principal *chos bdag* for this *gter ma*, the late Dudjom Rinpoche (bDud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, 1904–1987). A further factor is the significance which the *'Chi med srog thig* took on in the life of Dudjom Rinpoche and in his relationship with *his* students.

In the Tibetan cultural context, revelations are not uncommon and spiritual practitioners are if anything likely to be burdened with many important tantric practices requiring commitments to practise. If there is to be a good chance for a new *gter ma* to become established and to have longevity, it is important for the *gter ston* to enjoy a high status and wide acclaim for his revelations. But perhaps almost as useful as this, is transmission to students who are motivated and important enough to ensure the long-term preservation of the cycle's texts. In this respect, Zil gnon Nam mkha'i rdo rje was particularly fortunate in his two principal students for these cycles.[8] The fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (c. 1870–1921), was widely considered an enlightened master, and was moreover, the head of the Karma bKa' brgyud school, which was dedicated and well resourced enough to preserve the works of the Karma pa lamas. Thus, the fifteenth Karma pa's texts on the *gter ma* cycle are included in his printed *Collected Works*,[9] which were produced at the Eastern Tibetan Karma bKa' brgyud monastic seat of dPal spungs.[10] Zil gnon's later student, Dudjom ('Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje), became one of the foremost twentieth century Tibetan masters, playing a vital role in the exiled Tibetan community's efforts to salvage and reconstruct their devastated cultural heritage after the Chinese occupation and subjugation of ethnically Tibetan areas from the late 1940s. He acted as formal

[8] Note that other students also made textual additions to the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* cycle: Padma bzhad pa'i dbang po (four texts of his are mentioned in Dudjom's *Record (of Teachings) Obtained* [*Thob yig*: Volume Wa Āḥ: 506], one of which is included in the Dudjom Collected Works (Vol. Pha: 41–42) and Padma mchog gzigs rgya mtsho (see note 16 below).

[9] It is worth noting that even the most illustrious and highest status lamas did not always have all their works preserved in print. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch's recent work on a manuscript edition of the collected works of the seventeenth century A mes zhabs (2007), makes it clear that despite the lama's reputation as a scholar and religious teacher, not to mention his political significance as the Sa skya hierarch and as a mediator in the turbulent period during the early foundation of the dGe lugs pa State, no block print edition of his collected works was ever made, and in fact, not many of his writings were printed at all.

[10] Noted on the TBRC website entry for the 10 volume *gsung 'bum* of mKha' khyab rdo rje (http://www.tbrc.org), which had been reproduced in Bhutan (1979–1981) on the basis of a set of prints from the dPal spungs blocks, which had been taken to Rumtek in Sikkim. The *Collected Works* is now available in a scanned electronic edition from TBRC.

Head of the Nyingma School on the institution of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile in 1959, and was also one of the main figures in the preservation and propagation of the Nyingma School's vast scriptural legacy, including work on and transmissions of the historically passed down collected *bka' ma* texts. He produced his own *gter ma*s, which have been widely propagated internationally, but his main contribution is often said to have been his work in editing and re-formulating the treasure texts of previous lamas.[11] Thus, his contribution to Zil gnon's treasure texts are part of what became a central part of his life's work, and this cycle in Volume Pha of Dudjom's *Collected Works* include Zil gnon's original compositions edited by Dudjom, texts by the fifteenth Karmapa, and Dudjom Rinpoche's own additions.

The first texts for the two practices were produced by the *gter ston* over a number of years following their initial revelations. He composed the *'Chi med srog thig*'s *Ultra Profound Essence Longevity Practice (Tshe sgrub yang zab snying po)* in the Wood Dragon Year, but its main Ritual Manual *(Las byang)*, some four years after the discovery, in the auspicious Earth Monkey Year (1908).[12] In the following years, some of the early recipients of the teachings contributed to the development of the *gter ma* tradition, and in particular, the fifteenth Karmapa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (c. 1870–1921), composed a number of other texts in the 1910s, including empowerment texts for both the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* and the *'Chi med srog thig*. About three-quarters of a volume of these texts were included in mKha' khyab rdo rje's *Collected Works*.

A rather more radical development of the cycle and increase in its number of texts took place after Zil gnon met the late Dudjom Rinpoche (bDud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, 1904–1987) in the Wood Mouse Year (1924), and Dudjom Rinpoche's work on it did not end in the early twenti-

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[11] For instance, "A Short Biography of His Holiness Dudjom Rinpoche" on the website of Dudjom Rinpche's son, Shenpen Dawa Rinpoche, based on a work in Tibetan by Nyoshul Khenpo Jamyang Dorje, says, "As he was trying to preserve the old Ter, he did not make much effort to rediscover new ones... He regrouped many texts." (http://www.tersar.org/biog.html)

[12] The monkey year is always considered auspicious for Guru Rinpoche related practice, since numerous accounts give it as the year of his miraculous birth, and it is moreover the time he is said to have promised to return and to be present in person. There are many sources for this popular well-established tradition; mGon po Tshe brtan cites a number of *gter ma*s giving the words of Guru Rinpoche's promise to come to his devoted followers on the tenth day of the month and especially, in the monkey month of the monkey year (e.g.: "*yang bla ma sgrub pa'i gnad yig las/ sprel lo sprel zla'i tshes bcu'i nyin zhag la: o rgyan bdag nyid bod yul thams cad du: nges par 'byon pa nga yi tha tshig yin: zla re'i tshes bcu byung ngo cog la yang: sprul bas bod khams khyab par mi 'byon re/ dam tshig yin no pad 'byung ba slu mi srid:*", mGon po Tshe brtan: 20–21.

eth century, but continued in the latter part of his life, such that some of the texts were composed not long before his *Collected Works* was published in Kalimpong between 1979 and 1985. Zil gnon recognised Dudjom as the master predicted to receive the transmission *(lung zin chos kyi bdag po)*, and to hold and spread his teachings. For the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril*, Zil gnon entrusted Dudjom with the task of producing the principal practice text, while in the case of the *'Chi med srog thig*, Dudjom composed most of the branch practices and commentarial texts, or compiled them in part from the *gter ston*'s words, supplementing them with extracts from related *gter ma* transmissions, including his own. When incorporated into Dudjom Rinpoche's *Collected Works*, the texts associated with Zil gnon's two *gter ma*s constitute a complete volume, thirty-five folios on the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* and some two hundred and forty folios of *'Chi med srog thig* texts.

First, to consider Dudjom Rinpoche's contribution to the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril*, apart from a few folios of supplementary practices by Zil gnon and one by Padma bzhad pa'i dbang po, the two major texts of the cycle included in the Dudjom *Collected Works* are both compilations made by Dudjom Rinpoche in his later years in Nepal (from the 1970s to the early 1980s). The *gtor ma* empowerment text has some similarities in structure with that composed by the fifteenth Karmapa, but it is nonetheless distinct. In its colophon, Dudjom Rinpoche mentions how he had been confirmed as the predicted *chos bdag* by Zil gnon himself, and having been "ripened and liberated" through the empowerment, he was able to compile a text which is easy to practise and which expresses the intentions of the root *gter ma* scripture.[13] Dudjom Rinpoche's account of how he came to compose the thirty pages of the cycle's main Ritual Manual *(las byang)* is even more interesting, demonstrating a creative process drawing upon his meditative realisation as nurtured by his special relationship with the master, as well as his scholarly expertise in embedding the root scripture's words within a longer text written on the basis of other *gter ma* texts for which he holds the transmissions. He writes:

> Although this (revelation) appeared to consist of extensive profound ritual actions in abundance, of Primary and Secondary practices, connected with extensive visualisation description, (their) compilation from the *yellow manuscripts*[14] had not been completed. Later, when

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[13] *zab gter gsang ba'i mdzod 'dzin khyab bdag gter chen chos kyi rgyal po gang gi zhal snga nas bka' bab lung zin gyi chos bdag tu dbugs dbyung ba dang bcas smin grol bdud rtsi'i dga' ston dgyes par stsol ba'i bka' drin thob pa 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rjes gter gzhung rtsa ba'i dgongs don 'jug bde'i mtshams sbyor gyis brgyan te/* (Volume Pha: 72–73).

[14] See note 3 above.

from the master of the family, the great *gter ston* lama in person, (I) received the ripening and liberating totally perfected profound Dharma as elixir which is poured into a flask, (I) earnestly requested (him) to establish (the text), but (he) said, "Let's see if it can be established in due course! All in all, (it is for) you to consider whatever is needed for the Dharma teachings of my *gter ma*s."[15] With only this reply, (it) was left incomplete and not done. The *gter ston*'s student, Padma mchog gzigs rgya mtsho,[16] made a ritual manual compilation, but since the self generation (section) merely has the central body,[17] (it) does not satisfactorily provide the grounds for an extensive ritual performance. Hence, it was appropriate to make a compilation supplementing it with (texts) of treasuries of related family. Having understood that (the *gter ston*) had given (his) authorisation, (I) could not bear that this profound Dharma so beneficial for beings should be neglected, (so I) have focused on authentically creating the requisites for enlarging the ritual practice. (I therefore) took clear descriptions of the retinue from the treasuries connected with sNa nam rdo rje bdud 'joms and Rlangs chen dPal gyi seng ge, and compiled a Ritual Manual which is easy to practise. With this basis, if (you) wish to perform the sections of the Subsidiary ritual *(smad las)*, then it would be appropriate to take any (of the relevant texts) from the three *Razor* practices,[18] or for (a practice) which is easy to perform, it is also fine to take (the sections concerned) from the *sPu gri reg phung*.[19]

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[15] This quote is also mentioned in Khenpo Tsewang Dongyal's account (Khenpo Tsewang Dongyal 2003: 50; 2008: 89).

[16] Note that a mChog gzigs rgya mtsho, presumably the same student, is mentioned in Dudjom's *Record (of Teachings) Obtained* (*Thob yig*: Volume Wa Āḥ: 509–510), for the texts he contributed to Zil gnon's Vajrasattva and Cakrasaṃvara cycles, which Dudjom also received from Zil gnon.

[17] I.e. only the principal deity is represented, not all the emanations.

[18] *spu gri rnam gsum*: a number of Phur pa *gter ma* cycles are called by this term. We have not yet established which three are particularly indicated here, although Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche suggested that likely candidates might be the long Dudjom Phur pa cycle, the two volume *gNam lcags spu gri* (Volumes Tha and Da of Dudjom Rinpoche's *Collected Works*), Guru chos dbang's Phur pa, (the *Yang gsang spu gri 'bar ba*), and Padma gling pa's Phur pa cycle (the *Phur pa yang gsang srog gi spu gri*, texts of which are preserved in Dudjom Rinpoche's *Collected Works*, Volume Cha).

[19] *'di la mngon rtogs rgyas pa dang 'brel ba'i stod smad kyi sgrub phrin las tshogs zab rgyas su bzhugs par snang yang shog ser las gtan la 'bebs grub pa ma byung 'dug cing / phyis rigs bdag gter chen bla ma dngos las rang gter zab chos yongs su rdzogs pa'i smin grol bdud rtsi bum pa gang byos su nos pa'i skabs gtan la 'bebs grub par gsol ba nan du btab kyang bka' las rim gyis 'bebs e thub bta yong zhing spyir na nga'i gter chos rnams la gang dgos khyed rang shes zhes*

Thus, Dudjom Rinpoche explains that he has used *gter ma* texts of a close lineage affiliation to expand the root words and to make a full-length practice. sNa nam and Rlangs chen are figures from the mythological accounts of the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet, both exemplary students of Guru Padma. Zil gnon is seen as an emanation of sNa nam, who is said to have displayed siddhis resulting from Phur pa practice,[20] while Rlangs chen, who is especially famed for helping Guru Padma to subdue the troublesome Tibetan goddesses (a role for which he continues to be celebrated in regular ritual performances of different deities), is also closely associated with the Phur pa tradition.[21] He is particularly linked with the sacred site of *sPa ro stag tshang* in Bhutan,[22] where Dudjom Rinpoche's own Phur pa *sPu gri reg phung* was revealed, and also with the Mon kha Lion Fortress *(mon kha seng ge rdzong)* caverns, where Ye shes mtsho rgyal attained realisation through practising Phur pa, and the *'Chi med srog thig* section of Zil gnon's cycle was discovered.[23] The main Ritual Manual of the major Dudjom Phur pa cycle of the *gNam lcags spu gri* specifies Rlangs chen dpal seng and rDo rje bdud 'joms as joining Guru Padma, Ye shes mtsho rgyal and 'Brog ban lo tsā ba (of whom Dudjom Rinpoche was said to have been an emanation) to open

bka' stsal ba tsam las ma byung bar lus/ gter slob padma mchog gzigs rgya mtshos mdzad pa'i las byang khrigs bsdebs yod kyang bdag bskyed lus dkyil tsam gyis sgrub phrin rgya che'i sa khongs 'dzin ma bde bas gter kha rigs mthun las kha skong khrigs bsdebs bgyi bar 'os pa don gyis gnang ba stsal bar shes nas zab chos 'di lta bu'i 'gro don bag la zha ba blos ma bzod cing phrin las spel ba'i cha rkyen du yang dag par dmigs te/ sna nam rdo rje bdud 'joms dang / rlangs chen dpal gyi seng ge'i dbang skal gter kha dag las 'khor gyi mngon rtogs sogs blangs te 'jug bde'i las byang khrigs su bsdebs pa yin la/ 'di la brten nas smad las kyi rim pa sbyor bar 'dod na spu gri rnam gsum gang rung nas len pa'am/ 'jug pa bde ba'i phyir spu gri reg phung las blang yang rung bar yod do/ (Volume Pha: 36–37).

[20] See the mention in the *'Bum nag* Phur pa history and commentary, Boord 2002: 126.

[21] As described in 'Jigs med gling pa's *Phur pa rgyud lugs*, bDud 'joms *bKa' ma* Volume Ja: 16; see also Dudjom 1991: 839.

[22] He is reputed to have brought all worldly spirits under control there, while practising 'Jig rten mchod bstod, for which he had the main transmission out of the set of eight *sgrub pa bka' brgyad* deities (see Dudjom 1991: 535 on the eight students and Matthieu Ricard's *Geographical Glossary* on the eight sacred places [http://rywiki.tsadra.org/index.php/Geographical_Glossary_from_Matthieu_Ricard]).

[23] Moreover, both Seng ge rdzong and Glorious sTag tshang are specified in the *'Chi med srog thig* main empowerment text (by the fifteenth Karmapa, edited by Dudjom Rinpoche) as the particular sites where "Padmakāra gave empowerment and pith instructions, and explained the tantra of Vajra Longevity to the fortunate Lord and students" (*slar bod yul dbus kyi sgrub gnas g.ya' ma lung lho brag mkhar chu sogs dang khyad par seng ge rdzong dang dpal gyi stag tshang rnams su 'chi med bla ma padma kā ras las can rje 'bangs rnams la rdo rje tshe'i dbang bskur rgyud bshad man ngag tshang sprugs su bstan pa*; Volume Pha: 365.3–4).

the Phur pa maṇḍala in Mon kha.[24] In one sense, then, the reference to texts associated with sNa nam and Rlangs chen would seem very specific and even personal to Zil gnon and Dudjom, although at the same time, since so many *gter ma* and visionary Phur pa transmissions are connected with these figures, it also means that Dudjom Rinpoche could draw on a very broad range of resources in editing and embellishing the text.[25]

Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche suggested the idea that Dudjom Rinpoche could be considered a kind of "*gter ston* of *gter ston*s" in this work, that is, mining, extracting and creatively re-working and combining texts from different revelations. Moreover, given that the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* texts consist only of the basic practices, Dudjom Rinpoche advises practitioners who might wish to perform other sections such as the Subsidiary ritual *(smad las)*, that they can integrate texts from other Phur pa *gter ma* cycles, again, those which are closely related. The text he specifically recommends at the end of the passage, the *sPu gri reg phung*, is that of his own Phur pa revelation. Dudjom Rinpoche's relationship with the *gter ston* and his own deep involvement with the revelation thus sanctions its development and integration with other *gter ma*s with which Dudjom Rinpoche was connected, including his own.

We see a similar process at work in the expansion of the *'Chi med srog thig* texts, as published in the Dudjom *Collected Works*. In fact, Dudjom Rinpoche's role in this respect is expressed very clearly in depictions of the lamas associated with the *'Chi med srog thig* given in two artistic representa-

[24] "*bar gyi dus tshig gsum pa la: mon kha ne'u ring seng ge rdzong gsum du: slob dpon chen po padma 'byung gnas dang : ye shes mtsho rgyal 'brog ban lo tsā dang : rlangs chen dpal seng rdo rje bdud 'joms kyis: rdo rje phur pa'i dkyil 'khor zhal phyes tshe:*" (Dudjom *Collected Works* Volume Tha: 139–140).

[25] It is possible that they indicate rather specific materials, however. Although the maṇḍala of deities depicted in the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* Ritual Manual is less elaborate than that described in the Dudjom *gNam lcags spu gri* cycle, there are some important features in common, such as the fivefold group of Kīlayas (in some Phur pa maṇḍalas, there are four), and the specific form of the heart jñānasattva and mantra seeds (which vary considerably in different sources) would appear to be identical. It is not easy, however, to ascertain quite what Dudjom Rinpoche added to the original since so few of the earlier texts of the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* cycle, as listed in Dudjom Rinpoche's *Record (of Teachings) Obtained* (*Thob yig* Volume Wa Āḥ: 505–506), have been preserved either in Dudjom Rinpoche's *Collected Works* or in those of the Fifteenth Karmapa. For example, we are missing the long empowerment text *(rin chen 'od 'bar)*, the Regular practice *(man ngag gsang sgrub rgyun gyi rnal 'byor)*, and Padma bzhad pa'i dbang po's Ritual Practice *(phrin las khrigs bsdebs khrag 'thung zhal lung)* and long Fulfilment *(bskang ba rgyas pa khrag 'thung bzhad pa'i thol glu)*, amongst others. The texts which are extant give summarised lists of the maṇḍala of deities with little description, so clearly, this limits the possibilities for comparison.

tions from the Dudjom tradition Jangsa Dechen Choling Monastery in Kalimpong. The first is a wall mural, and the second is a poster, which is very similar in layout, although artistically a little different.[26] In both cases, Guru Rinpoche and Ye shes mtsho rgyal are shown at the same level, respectively to the left and right at the top of the painting just below the Dharmakāya Amitābha figure, while next are sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms and Vairocana, famed as students of Guru Rinpoche and the fount of this tradition, since the *gter ston* is recognised as an emanation of them both,[27] and his *gter ma*s are recovering the transmissions they received from Guru Rinpoche and Ye shes mtsho rgyal in the mythic past.[28]



Finally, just below them we have the next pair of Zil gnon to the left, and his authorised *chos bdag*, Dudjom Rinpoche, at the same level to the right.[29] Zil gnon (see above) is illustrated holding the *gter ma* casket *(gter sgrom)*, containing the

[26] Thanks to Geoffrey Samuel for his photographs of the wall mural and for procuring the poster for us.

[27] Dudjom Rinpoche's *Torma Empowerment (gtor dbang)* text for the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril* includes an account containing predictions concerning Zil gnon, including one which describes him as a double emanation of Vairocana and rDo rje bdud 'joms (*kha byang gsang ba snying gi me long las/ bdag dang dgongs mnyam bai ro tsa na dang : rdo rje bdud 'joms ye shes sgyu ma'i gar: bde chen zil gnon nam mkha'i rdo rje 'am: rten 'byung rab 'bring tha ma dang sbyar ba'i: gsang mtshan gsum ldan dpa' bo he ru ka: zhes sogs rdo rje'i lung gis bsngags pa bzhin he ru ka dpal padma thod phreng rtsal gyi byin rlabs thugs bskyed rmad du byung ba dus su sad pa las/ lo tsā ba chen po bai ro tsa na dang rig sngags 'chang ba'i rgyal po sna nam rdo rje bdud 'joms zung gi gsang gsum ye shes kyi rol gar gter chen chos kyi rgyal po bde chen zil gnon nam mkha'i rdo rje de nyid kyis rim par gnas dus grogs 'khor yo byad phun sum tshogs pas sna drangs te bar chad gang gis kyang brdzi ba med par gter gnas tha dad pa dag nas sku gsungs thugs yon phrin las kyi rten dang dam rdzas myong reg mthong thos tshor ba tsam yang srid pa mtha' can du mdzad pa'i zab gter dpag tu med pa spyan drangs*; Volume Pha: 56–57).

[28] The *gter ma* prediction attributed to Guru Padma included at the end of Zil gnon's *Ritual Manual* for the *'Chi med srog thig*, specifies that Vairocana received the transmission for the cycle from mTsho rgyal and buried it in the southern Mon cliffs (*gsang chen bka' gnyer mkha' 'gro ma: mtsho rgyal khyod kyis mi brjed pa'i: gzungs su zungs la yi ger thob: zab mo'i smon lam bden tshig bcas: phrin las phur pa'i zab tig dang : lhan cig mon kha seng rdzong gi: gsang ba'i brag la gter du sbos:..... de ltar gu ru'i bka' lung rnams: kho mos ji ltar smras rim bzhin: lo tsā bai ro tsa na yis: nai pā la yi 'phrul shog la: mkha' 'gro gsang ba'i brda ris su: btab ste lho mon brag la sbas:*; Volume Pha: 142).

[29] Besides the fact that the monastery has made a key to the mural which identifies *gter ston zil gnon nam mkha'i rdo rje* and *'jigs bral ye shes rdo rje* clearly (and there are also tiny

essentialised treasure from which the scripture is extracted, while it is Dudjom Rinpoche (see below) who holds the texts, and is in short, the one responsible for the textual production and dissemination.



The *'Chi med srog thig* was first revealed in the Wood Dragon year (1904), which was the year of Dudjom Rinpoche's birth. He met Zil gnon and received the transmission when he was approaching twenty-one years old. He recounts the story:[30]

> (It was) on a propitious day during the waxing part of the [first] month of miracles of the Wood Mouse Year (1924–5), above the sDing po che temple of Grwa nang,[31] at the Palace of Blissful Lotus Pools.[32] There, in the physical presence of the All-pervasive Lord *gTer ma* Revealing Lama, the Mighty Vajradhara, in accordance with the profound *gter ma*'s prophetic inventory,[33] I, 'Jigs bral Ye shes rdo rje, was granted the elixir of the ripening and liberating oral instructions, (like liquid) poured into a flask

—virtually unreadable—captions on the poster), the two can be distinguished by Zil gnon's red and Dudjom's white inner robe. Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche comments that the practice of *sngags pa*s wearing white is mainly prevalent in Central and Southern Tibetan areas, while in the East, red is more usually worn.

[30] Note that much of this story, as well as other details of transmissions given by Zil gnon to Dudjom Rinpoche (such as that of Kong sprul's rDo rje Gro lod) is reproduced in Khenpo Tsewang Dongyal 2003: 49–51; 2008: 89–90.

[31] TBRC notes that Grwa nang (rdzong) is located in lHo kha khul. As shown on Tibet Map (http://www.tibetmap.com/tib01.jpg), and Dudjom 1991 Volume 2, Map 6, Grwa nang (Dranang or Tranang) is south of Lhasa, close to Mindroling. The temple there is a 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa establishment. There are also entries in Nitartha suggesting for Grwa nang a district in g.Yer pa, east of Yar klungs, upper mDo khams, but Shenpen Dawa Rinpoche (1992: 88) comments that the meeting was, "just behind the mountain of Mindroling Monastery", so the identification is clear here. Khenpo Tsewang Dongyal moreover confirms that Dudjom Rinpoche was at the time residing at Mindroling (*'di skabs skyabs rje bdud 'joms o rgyan smin grol gling du bzhugs*, 2003: 49; 2008: 89).

[32] The lama's residence is often positioned further up the hillside above the main assembly hall of a temple/monastery establishment.

[33] *gter gyi kha byang*: an inventory of the *gter ma*, which would include details of the lineage and main *chos bdag* etc., is generally included in the discovery. According to Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche, the *gter ston* will often keep this quite secret, especially at first, since he will not wish to risk students claiming to have the specified dates of birth etc., so he will only release the details later.

> and completely filling (it up), and along with this, (I was) also (granted) recognition as the prophesized Dharma Master. (The lama) confirmed (me) as the one who should perform the work of holding and spreading this really profound Dharma (teaching), (he) invested (me) with the authorisation, and uplifted (me), showing (his) approval.[34]

This passage is not merely a way for Dudjom Rinpoche to acknowledge the master's qualities and legitimise his own role in the lineage; it seems likely that the meeting with the older famous teacher became a defining point in his life. Zil gnon gave Dudjom the name, 'Gro 'dul gling pa (see Shenpen Dawa Rinpoche 1992: 88), which became seen as his nirmāṇakāya and secret *gter ma* name. It is incorporated into the first verses of the Supplication which calls (the lama) from afar (*rGyang 'bod kyi gsol 'debs gnyug ma'i thol glu*, Volume A, pp. 34–36), composed by Dudjom Rinpoche for regular recitation by his students, and is also used in other contexts, such as the Lineage Supplication for Dudjom's Guru Rinpoche revelation, the *mTsho skyes thugs thig* (Volume Ma, p. 573). It is surely indicative of Dudjom Rinpoche's own sense of the value of Zil gnon's *gter ma* revelations and his own responsibility for their preservation and propagation, that even at the advanced age of seventy-three (1977), he made the effort to compose the main Ritual Manual for the *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril*, despite the fact that he was unlikely to have been under any pressure to do so by then, and indeed, he had many other pressing duties in ensuring the transmission of the full rNying ma religious heritage to the next generation at its time of crisis in Tibet. There is no mention of any student urging him to create the text (Volume Pha: 38), and indeed, it appears that the practice seems to have been rather neglected by his followers, who prefer to perform the Dudjom Phur pa practices.

As well as Dudjom Rinpoche's own interest or sense of the importance of the *'Chi med srog thig* practice, the growth and popularisation of its texts was partly due to its perceived beneficial impact on Dudjom Rinpoche's health and longevity. Dudjom Rinpoche emphasises how the practice had been directly responsible for his own long life. He writes in his Commentary *(bsnyen yig)* on the *'Chi med srog thig*: "Since I have passed beyond five

[34] *zab mo'i gter 'dis steng du thon nas mi lo nyi shu dang rang lo nyer gcig pa'i ngo mthong shing cho 'phrul zla ba'i yar tshes dge bar grwa nang sdings po che'i gtsug lag khang gi yang steng bde ldan padma 'khyil ba'i pho brang du khyab bdag gter 'byin bla ma rdo rje 'chang dbang dngos kyi zhal snga nas kho bo 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rje la zab gter gyi kha byang bzhin lung zin chos kyi bdag por ngos 'dzin dang 'brel smin grol gdams pa'i bdud rtsi bum pa gang byos su bstsal zhing / zab chos 'di nyid 'dzin spel phrin las kyi byed por dbugs dbyung mnga' gsol gzengs bstod par mdzad pa* (Volume Pha: 465).

treacherous pathways (shortening the) lifespan [i.e. life-threatening dangers], I recognise that such a special sustenance for living (as) long (as this) is due only to the strength of the consecration of this supreme profound Dharma of the Noble Ones."[35] His students took this to heart, and were keen to practise it for the purpose of increasing their lama's lifespan further, also becoming active in requesting Dudjom Rinpoche to produce more texts. It is a comment on the central importance that the *'Chi med srog thig* came to have on the Dudjom tradition that its maṇḍala is one of just ten painted on the ceiling of the assembly hall of the Zangdok Palri monastery which Dudjom Rinpoche founded in Kalimpong, and which became his main seat from 1958–1975.

Zil gnon had produced the main Ritual Manual for the *'Chi med srog thig*, as well as the short "inner" Regular practice, and following a request from the fifteenth Karmapa, the similarly short "secret" Regular practice, these three sections constituting the "root scripture",[36] and accounting for some seventy-three folios in the Dudjom *Collected Works*. The *gter ston* himself had also composed the short Treasure Guardians text, and some eighteen further folios mainly connected with the "ultra profound" *(yang zab)* practice. The fifteenth Karmapa's texts incorporated into the volume consist of the short lineage supplication, which is recited at the beginning of any *'Chi med srog thig* practice session, the main empowerment text and the longevity empowerment text (although his most extensive hundred folio em-

[35] *rang nyid tshe 'phrang lnga las brgal te yun du 'tsho ba 'di lta bu yang khyad par 'phags pa'i zab chos mchog 'di'i byin rlabs kyi mthu kho nar nges shes* (Volume Pha: 508). The principle of performing the practice for the master's benefit is explicitly embedded in the instructions on performing the Ritual Manual given in the *Khrigs zin* section of the cycle written by Dudjom Rinpoche, where (Volume Pha: 199, 200, 207) it specifies that longevity prayers for the lamas are to be recited at the end of the first morning session, the midday session and at the conclusion of the final evening session. It would, moreover, seem confirmed in practice by the message we received from Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche (personal communication, 09/06/2008), that he and his group of practitioners in Pemako had performed the whole *'Chi med srog thig* practice for the "long life and good study of both Dudjom Tulkus".

[36] The division of the root practice into outer, inner and secret sections was first brought to our attention by Lama Kunzang Dorjee of Jangsa Dechen Choling Monastery in Kalimpong. A contents list for the volume written by Dudjom Rinpoche's eldest son, Thinley Norbu Rinpoche (Phrin las nor bu), makes the division between these three sections of the root scripture and the supplementary branches of the textual cycle explicit (*tshe sgrub 'chi med srog thig gi rtsa gzhung las byang ldeb 35 nang sgrub rgyun khyer ldeb 2 gsang sgrub sbas sgom ldeb 3 bcas gzhung rtsa ba dang / yan lag kha skong skor la..*, Volume Pha: 1). Dudjom Rinpoche's Commentary (*bsnyen yig*: 471 ff.) discusses the threefold classification at length, as well as an additional fourth category of an ultra secret longevity accomplishment *(bzhi pa yang gsang gi tshe sgrub)*.

powerment text as found in his *Collected Works* is not given here), two fulfilment recitations *(skong ba)*, which can be inserted into the main practice on feast offering *(tshogs)* days, and a half page recitation for elixir offerings *(sman mchod)*, again to be inserted at the appropriate place into the Ritual Manual. Dudjom Rinpoche's role with these texts has essentially been that of an editor, and in the case of the Karmapa's contributions, he also selected the texts he considered most useful for the practice.

The remainder of the volume contains texts by Dudjom Rinpoche himself, the longest single contribution (his forty folio Commentary on the practice, *bsnyen yig*), made up of two sections, the first a scholarly account of the principles involved in longevity practices, and the second, pith instructions for absorbing the practice, including detailed commentary on performing the main Ritual Manual. In the colophon, Dudjom Rinpoche explains that in writing the commentary, he has held principally onto the pith instructions which he received from the *gter ston* himself and the meanings intended in the root *gter ma* scripture. But these he has supplemented with relevant pith instructions from previous *gter ma*s of related family, as well as appropriate and instructive teachings of great vajra masters of the past who were wise scholars and accomplished practitioners.[37] Dudjom Rinpoche also wrote a thirty-two folio Ritual Practice Framework *(sgrub khog)* for the *'Chi med srog thig*, a set of instructions used in particular when conducting large-scale practice sessions *(sgrub chen)*. The colophon to this too reiterates the principle of his reliance on the original intention of the root *gter ma* scripture, but then integrating material—in this case, supplementary recitations—from former *gter ma*s of related family. He adds that he has clarified the key points of the practice by drawing on general tantric instructions, explaining them in a way which is easy to follow.[38]

A further feature of Dudjom Rinpoche's contribution becomes clear in considering his set of supplementary inserts *(zur 'debs)* to use with the main Ritual Manual. A mere five folios long, it contrasts with the twenty-eight folio version found in the fifteenth Karmapa's *Collected Works*. Dudjom Rinpoche draws attention to the Karmapa's text, saying that it is appropriate when performing an elaborate arrangement of the main root text, but then he notes the usefulness of a more concise version, "for those who are lazy

[37] *gter gzhung rtsa ba'i dgongs pa khyab bdag rig 'dzin bla ma'i man ngag gis rjes su gdams pa'i don nyid gtso bor bzung / rigs mthun gter kha gong ma'i man ngag skabs su babs pa dang mkhas shing grub pa brnyes pa'i rdo rje slob dpon chen po rnams kyis legs par bkral ba'i cha shas ji ltar rigs pas kyang gsal bar byes te/* (Volume Pha: 508).

[38] *gter gzhung rtsa ba'i dgongs pa las ma g.yos par rigs mthun gyi gter kha gong ma dag las ngag 'don kha skong du bsdes shing gsang ba spyi'i man ngag gi zab gnad lag len rnam gsal 'jug pa bde ba'i lugs su bkral te/* (Volume Pha: 295.4–5).

like me".[39] Similar thinking appears to be present both in the exclusion of the Karmapa's extremely lengthy full empowerment text, and also in a Fulfilment ritual text *(skong ba)* which is considerably shorter than the Karmapa's long *skong ba* text included in the volume. In this case, we understand that it has become more usual to perform Dudjom Rinpoche's shorter text, although the Karmapa's may be done when there is a large gathering for a long practice session.[40] Although by non-Tibetan standards, it may seem that we can hardly classify Dudjom Rinpoche's rituals as concise, there is at least some implicit recognition of practical constraints on lengthier and more elaborate practices in contemporary conditions.

Dudjom's Fulfilment text demonstrates another interesting dimension of the process of textual development. In this case, the text incorporates Zil gnon's own composition, so that Dudjom Rinpoche has created a liturgy which is consecrated by the master's "vajra speech." Zil gnon had earlier composed a Fulfilment text for a quite different *gter ma*, that of the *Padma gsang thig* cycle of the seventh rJe drung Rin po che, Byams pa 'byung gnas of Ri bo che.[41] Now, rJe drung Rinpoche was also one of Dudjom's principal teachers, who had similarly entrusted Dudjom with his *gter ma*s, and therefore, it was possible for Dudjom Rinpoche to take the Fulfilment text back and re-use it for Zil gnon's own *gter ma*. The original text, however, could not simply be used unchanged, since the maṇḍala of deities for the *Padma gsang thig* is quite different from those of the *'Chi med srog thig*. Thus, Dudjom explains that he needed to amend the lineage list and the deities enumerated, and to add supplementary clarifications.[42]

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[39] *tshul 'dir rgyal dbang mkha' khyab rdo rje'i zur 'debs bzhugs kyang rtsa ba'i gzhung rgyas pa la mtshams sbyor rgyas pa spros pas ma lcogs te rang 'dra snyoms las mkhan gyi mos blo dang 'tshams pa'i gsal byed 'jug pa bde ba'i yan lag tu 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rjes so//* (Volume Pha: 191–192).

[40] This point should not be overstated: the fifteenth Karmapa also composed a very short *skong ba* which is included in the volume (pp. 183–184) and is referred to by Dudjom Rinpoche in his notes on the Ritual Manual's performance (Volume Pha: 201) as an alternative to his own longer version. It seems, however, that this may be considered *too* short in the context of a group/monastic ritual performance, so Dudjom Rinpoche's text fills the niche of a complete Fulfilment recitation which is not inordinately lengthy.

[41] Also known by his *gter ston* name of bDud 'joms nam mkha'i rdo rje. He lived from the nineteen to the early twentieth century, although we have not yet been able to establish his exact dates. Unfortunately, we have also not found Zil gnon's Fulfilment text within the *Padma gsang thig* cycle; it was perhaps kept separately.

[42] *khyab bdag gter chen bla ma bde chen zil gnon nam mkha'i rdo rje'i zhal snga nas padma gsang thig gi kha skong du stsal ba nyid byin rlabs kyi bab che ba'i phyir rdo rje'i gsung sor bzhag la rang gter 'chi med srog thig gi brgyud rim lha grangs su zhal bsgyur kha skong cung zad kyis gsal bar byed pa po ni gter slob lung zin chos kyi bdag por dbugs dbyung thob pa 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rje'o//* (Volume Pha: 182).

The other sections added to the corpus by Dudjom Rinpoche show variations on the theme of reworking the wording of other *gter ma*s of related family and drawing on scholarship, including knowledge of root tantras[43] as well as revelations and commentarial works, on visionary realisation, and on editorial skill to generate the texts. A crucial point concerning the produced texts is that Zil gnon's root *gter ma* practices of the *'Chi med srog thig* have been embedded within a compilation which includes all the ancillary practices necessary to a complete cycle of practice. Thus, there is a self-initiation section *(bdag mjug)* for renewal of the practice, often performed on an annual basis, and which can be integrated into a full performance of the main Ritual Manual; notes on the ritual procedures of the main practice *(khrigs zin)*; a burnt offerings rite *(sbyin sreg)*, a section for making substitute offerings for the benefit of the lamas' longevity *(bstan bzhugs)*; a more general life ransoming ritual *('chi bslu)*; an instruction on the consumption of essences *(bcud len)*, from a "heart practice" *(thugs sgrub)* of the *Byang gter* tradition, and a short extract of yogic exercises *('khrul 'khor)* drawn from the long longevity practice of the Padma gling pa tradition. This latter insert for the Ultra Secret practice fills the necessary niche for such a section within a self-sufficient cycle, although in practice, it is so short, it only briefly indicates the necessary exercises, and would need to be supplemented by extensive oral elaboration and demonstration. More substantial yogic practices for controlling the channels and air currents *(rtsa rlung)* from other Dudjom cycles might be relied on instead at the appropriate points of the Ultra Secret practice section, such as from the *mKha' 'gro thugs thig* (in Volume Ma) or the *gNam lcags spu gri* (Volume Da). Yet this short text could suffice for a practitioner already trained in such yogic exercises.

To sum up, we see how the textual corpus of a *gter ma* cycle has been created and progressively expanded, in a context where it came to have a special significance for followers of the Dudjom tradition. In working on the revelation of his teacher, Zil gnon Nam mkha'i rdo rje, Dudjom Rinpoche had been invested with spiritual authority to generate further sacred texts for recitation. As a *gter ston* himself and a holder of other *gter ma* lineages considered to be related, and also as a scholar drawing on his vast learning of tantric lore, he had the ability to compose materials creatively, integrating sacred words from other practices, and using his editorial skills in shaping and establishing the texts.

[43] As specified in the colophon to the *sbyin sreg* section (Volume Pha: 315).

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RÉSUMÉ

Création et transmission d'un corpus de textes au XXe siècle : le 'Chi med srog thig

Généralement, au Tibet, on associe les productions de textes *gter ma* au *gter ston* responsable de la création du *gter*. Mais les choses sont souvent bien plus complexes. Ainsi, les introductions ou les colophons des textes individuels, ainsi que les explications fournies dans les textes d'initiation, révèlent parfois plus clairement la part prise par les différents lamas des premières transmissions dans la composition ou la compilation du corpus textuel, ou dans sa préparation pour la publication. Le *'Chi med srog thig* et le cycle où il apparaît constituent un cas intéressant dans cette perspective : cette pratique de longévité centrée sur Guru Rinpoche sous la forme d'Amitāyus fut révélée par Zil gnon Nam mkha'i rdo rje (c. 1868–?) au cours de l'année Bois-Dragon (1904), comme texte aux-

iliaire à sa révélation de Phur pa, le *rDo rje Phur pa Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril*. Il avait révélé ce texte dans le Haut Kong po, au cours de l'année 1902. Pourtant le texte d'initiation de la Torma (*bDud 'joms gsung 'bum*, Volume Pha : 58) explique qu'il était nécessaire de protéger la révélation par le secret pendant la période initiale, tandis que le *gter ston* lui-même pratiquait pour absorber son essence. Le *'Chi med srog thig* fut plus tard révélé publiquement au Bhoutan dans la grotte de Ye shes mtsho rgyal, associée à sa retraite de pratique intensive de Phur pa. Bien que cette pratique soit apparemment secondaire, son corpus textuel s'est accru au XX^e^ siècle au point qu'il a éclipsé les textes du cycle où il était inclus à l'origine. Il partage des caractéristiques avec la révélation précédente, comme son ensemble de protecteurs de *gter ma*, mais son *maṇḍala* de divinités ne dépend pas des textes *Yang gsang phrin las bcud dril*, et il possède des rites d'initiation indépendants.

Les premiers textes de ces deux pratiques ont été produits par le *gter ston* dans les années qui suivirent la révélation initiale. Il composa le *Tshe sgrub yang zab snying po* du *'Chi med srog thig* pendant l'année Bois-Dragon, mais ne rédigea son principal manuel rituel (*Las byang*), que quatre ans après sa découverte, au cours de l'année faste Terre-Singe (1908). Les années suivantes, certains bénéficiaires des enseignements ont contribué au développement de la tradition *gter ma* et, en particulier, le quinzième Karmapa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (c. 1870–1921), qui a composé notamment des textes d'initiation pour le *Yang gsang bcud dril* et le *'Chi med srog thig*. Un développement plus radical du cycle a pris place après la rencontre de Zil gnon avec Dudjom Rinpoche (bDud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, 1904–1987) en 1924. Zil gnon reconnut en Dudjom le maître annoncé pour recevoir la transmission, et détenir et diffuser ses enseignements. Zil gnon chargea Dudjom de produire le principal texte de pratique du *Yang gsang bcud dril*, mais Dudjom composa la majorité des pratiques annexes et des textes exégétiques du *'Chi med srog thig*, ou les compila à partir des paroles du *gter ston*, en les complétant à l'aide d'extraits de transmissions de *gter ma* qui lui étaient liées, les siennes incluses. La croissance et la popularisation consécutive des textes du *'Chi med srog thig* furent partiellement dues à l'importance qu'on lui attribuait pour la santé et la longévité de Dudjom Rinpoche. Ses étudiants l'étudièrent dans ce but et lui demandèrent la production de textes supplémentaires.

Cet article fournit des détails sur le processus de création d'un corpus textuel, dans le contexte où le *'Chi med srog thig* a fini par acquérir une portée particulière pour les adeptes de la tradition de Dudjom. Il étudie le rôle de Dudjom Rinpoche en tant que *gter ston* et comme détenteur d'autres lignées de *gter ma*, et montre son habileté éditoriale à mettre en forme et établir les textes.

Les aspects économiques de l'édition xylographique à l'imprimerie de sDe dge (I) : La réalisation des blocs xylographiques sous le règne de bsTan pa tshe ring (1713/14–1738)*

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L'histoire de la xylographie et des éditions xylographiques dans l'aire de culture tibétaine a, jusqu'à récemment, principalement suscité l'intérêt des philologues dans le cadre de leurs recherches concernant l'édition, la constitution et la diffusion des textes et des collections canoniques, notamment du *bKa' 'gyur* et du *bsTan 'gyur*. Les aspects relatifs à l'activité proprement éditoriale (collation, compilation, sélection et correction), généralement menée par des figures charismatiques de l'histoire intellectuelle tibétaine, y sont particulièrement prégnants. Toutefois, si on considère l'ampleur de ces entreprises xylographiques (plusieurs dizaines de volumes), les aspects matériels et humains, ont dû, à l'évidence, constituer aussi des facteurs majeurs dans leur réalisation.

Comme les recherches l'ont montré[1], la technique de la xylographie, qui connut son principal essor en Chine autour du IXe siècle, se développa au Tibet au début du XVe siècle, certainement sous l'influence de la diffusion des éditions xylographiques de textes tibétains réalisées sous le patronage des cours mongole et chinoise entre le XIIIe et le début du XVe siècles. Durant le XVe siècle, les premiers grands projets d'éditions xylographiques menés au Tibet ont concerné les œuvres de Tsong kha pa[2] et celles des fondateurs de l'ordre Sa skya[3]. Les colophons *(par byang)* de ces éditions mentionnent le patronage de la réalisation des blocs xylographiques par des autorités politiques régionales. Récemment, Franz-Karl Ehrhard (2000), puis Michela Clemente (2007), ont publié une série de colophons de textes dont les blocs furent principalement réalisés à Mang yul gung thang durant la première moitié du XVIe siècle. Une part importante de ces colophons est consacrée à

* Je tiens ici à exprimer chaleureusement ma gratitude envers Fernand Meyer pour ses nombreuses suggestions.

[1] Cf. Ehrhard (2000) et Kuijp (1993 et 2004).

[2] Cf. Jackson (1989 et 1990).

[3] Cf. Jackson (1983 et 1987) et Kuijp (1985).

préciser le rôle des différents acteurs (copistes, graveurs, correcteurs, solliciteurs…) ainsi que la liste des donateurs, avec parfois les motifs et les montants de leurs dons. Même si le détail de l'affectation de ces dons n'est pas précisé, ces éléments soulignent l'importance accordée par les auteurs de ces colophons aux ressources matérielles et humaines, notamment économiques, qui ont été requises pour l'accomplissement de ces projets. On peut constater que la réalisation des blocs xylographiques de ces éditions, pourtant d'ampleur moyenne (une vingtaine de volume sur 50 ans), nécessitait un investissement conséquent que seuls un souverain local, une autorité religieuse ou encore un collectif de laïcs et/ou religieux étaient capables de financer.

Le peu d'attention portée jusqu'à présent par la tibétologie aux aspects matériels de l'édition xylographique a contribué à ce que l'histoire des faits économiques antérieurs au XX^e^ siècle dans l'aire de culture tibétaine demeure une véritable *terra incognita*. Plusieurs facteurs conjugués, notamment la difficulté d'accès aux sources et la situation marginale du Tibet par rapport aux grandes voies de commerce international après le X^e^ siècle, permettent d'expliquer, au moins en partie, le nombre restreint de recherches. Les quelques travaux publiés se sont principalement attachés à décrire les structures économiques traditionnelles[4], en particulier ceux liés aux systèmes de taxation.

Afin de compléter un article de Tshe ring phun tshogs (1987) concernant l'imprimerie au Tibet, l'historien Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (1927–1997) fut le premier, voici plus de 20 ans, à présenter, suivant une perspective marxiste, des recherches quantitatives sur les aspects économiques de l'édition xylographique des canons bouddhiques, *bKa' 'gyur* et *bsTan 'gyur*, au XVIII^e^ siècle[5]. Les tables des matières *(dkar chag)* de ces grandes éditions comprennent en effet, comme les colophons du XVI^e^ siècle mentionnés précédemment, une partie plus ou moins élaborée relatant les aspects économiques de ces entreprises : le nombre de personnes employées, la durée du projet, le nom des patrons et des donateurs, le détail des dons, le coût global et parfois celui des rémunérations selon les fonctions occupées. En introduction à son étude, Dung dkar fournit une série de données, méticuleusement recueillies au fil de ses longues années de recherche, qui se révèlent cruciales pour toute approche des faits économiques au Tibet : les diverses unités de mesures et les valeurs d'échange qu'il a relevées à différentes époques. Dans le corps de son étude, l'auteur expose de manière détaillée et quasi exhaus-

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[4] Cf. notamment Carrasco (1959), Cassinelli & Ekvall (1969), Surkhang (1966 et 1986), Goldstein (1971), Chapela (1992) et Tsarong (1998a et 1998b).

[5] Dung dkar (1989).

tive, les différentes étapes, les matériaux et les compétences mises en œuvre pour réaliser ces éditions xylographiques, puis présente sous forme de tableaux récapitulatifs les données mentionnées dans les sources. Certainement dans le but de donner une estimation « parlante » à ses contemporains, il propose des conversions en unités modernes : poids en *rgya ma* et montants monétaires en Renminbi. Ses conclusions apparaissent toutefois peu assurées du fait de l'enchaînement des conversions, approximations et extrapolations qui exposent à un accroissement des marges d'erreurs qui sont susceptibles de devenir très importantes. Il arrive notamment à des évaluations des coûts globaux de la réalisation du *bKa' 'gyur* de sNar thang qui auraient été de 8 044 968 RMB (de 1989) et 2 134 160 RMB à sDe dge. Ainsi, il est peu crédible que le coût de l'édition du *bKa' 'gyur* de sNar thang ait été quatre fois plus élevé que celui de sDe dge, même si ce différentiel peut être atténué en supposant qu'une partie des coûts n'a pas été prise en compte dans les données de sDe dge.

On le voit bien ici, les données relatives à l'histoire économique du Tibet sont encore beaucoup trop éparses et lacunaires pour s'aventurer dans l'estimation d'un coût, traditionnellement exprimé en volume de marchandises diverses, en une unité monétaire constante, tenant compte de l'évolution des prix, afin de livrer des données cohérentes et exploitables. Néanmoins, la voie ouverte par Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las laisse envisager des perspectives nouvelles et fructueuses dans le champ de recherche en histoire économique.

L'imprimerie de sDe dge (Par khang chos mdzod bkra shis sgo mang), officiellement fondée en 1729, constitue une grande et prestigieuse entreprise, dont l'activité et la production peuvent être appréhendées en tant que fait économique relativement autonome et quantifiable. En effet, en dépit de l'absence d'archives comptables disponibles, les sources concernant cette institution et son histoire sont relativement nombreuses et complémentaires. Toutefois, pour la présente étude selon une approche quantitative, je me limiterai aux blocs xylographiques commandité par le roi bsTan pa tshe ring (1713/14–1738), c'est-à-dire ceux du *bKa' 'gyur*, du *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, et du *bsTan 'gyur*.

Les sources

Les tables des matières du *bKa' 'gyur*, du *Sa skya bka' 'bum* et du *bsTan 'gyur* rédigées respectivement par Si tu paṇ chen (1700–1774)[6], par bKra shis lhun grub (1672–1739)[7] et par Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697–

[6] *bKa' 'gyur dkar chag*.

[7] *Sa skya bka' 'bum dkar chag*.

1774)[8], constituent les sources principales documentant la réalisation des blocs xylographiques de ces éditions à sDe dge, tant dans leurs aspects éditoriaux qu'économiques. Un éclairage complémentaire est fourni par les autobiographies et les œuvres de Si tu paṇ chen[9] et de Zhu chen[10].

On peut légitimement se poser la question de la fiabilité de ces sources concernant les aspects économiques, dans la mesure où elles ont été composées par les chapelains du souverain, non seulement dans le but de guider le lecteur à travers la masse de ces corpus, d'expliciter les procédures et les choix éditoriaux, tout en faisant valoir leur maîtrise de la littérature classique et leur talent de composition, mais également, et peut-être surtout, de vanter, bien au-delà des frontières du royaume, la richesse et les mérites du généreux donateur que fut bsTan pa tshe ring (1678–1738) et plus largement la Maison de sDe dge. Malgré cela et l'absence de certaines données parfois cruciales, le croisement de ces différentes sources montre, comme nous le verrons, une relative cohérence entre elles, ce qui permet d'accorder une certaine crédibilité aux chiffres fournis par ces textes. Mais cela soulève également de nombreuses questions quant aux valeurs quantifiées par ces chiffres, et les possibilités d'analyse et d'interprétation qu'ils offrent. Les trois sources principales présentent les données relatives aux coûts de production des blocs xylographiques de manière plus ou moins précise et détaillée : Si tu paṇ chen donne uniquement la somme globale, alors que bKra shis lhun grub et Zhu chen livrent en plus le détail des rémunérations, selon 2 unités de mesure : de thé[11] et d'orge[12].

Ces données, qui nécessitent cependant d'être examinées et interprétées, témoignent de la volonté des auteurs de faire connaître de manière claire les dépenses globales dans des unités « parlantes » à des lecteurs de l'ensemble de l'aire culturelle tibétaine. Le choix d'une unité relative au thé, produit importé au Tibet, peut sembler surprenant, d'autant plus que les rémunérations sont principalement exprimées en unité d'orge. Une des raisons possibles est le fait que l'expansion territoriale du royaume de sDe dge vers le

[8] *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag.*

[9] *Si tu rang rnam.*

[10] *Zhu chen rang rnam.*

[11] L'unité de thé, employée en tant qu'unité de valeur, est le *ja 'khor drug* (syn. : *ja spob rtse*) qui contient 4 *ja bar khag* (*bag chen* au Tibet central). La sous-division en usage au Tibet central, le *bag chung* (1/4 de *bag chen*), est rarement mentionnée dans les sources relatives au Khams où on trouve plutôt mention de « fragments » *(dum bu)* selon différentes divisions (1/7, 1/9, etc. de *bar khag*).

[12] L'unité d'orge est le *khal* (un boisseau, équivalent à ~27–30 livres), une unité de volume, dont les sous-divisions sont, à sDe dge, différentes de celles du Tibet central : 1 *khal* contient 4 *zho* et 1 *zho* contient 10 *'dong.*

Nord (Gling, lDan ma…), depuis le milieu du XVII^e^ siècle, lui a permis de prendre le contrôle d'une partie de la route commerciale entre Dar rtse mdo et le Tibet central, par laquelle transite le thé. L'afflux de cette marchandise dans l'économie du royaume a sans doute contribué à son adoption au nombre des valeurs d'échange de référence. On peut également supposer que ce choix était en mesure de servir la visée glorificatrice de ces auteurs. En effet, la valeur du thé sur le plateau tibétain était largement tributaire de son coût de transport et des taxes de passages, ce qui renchérit sensiblement sa valeur au fil de sa progression vers l'ouest. La valeur d'échange du thé à sDe dge étant inférieure à celle du Tibet central, les dépenses exprimées en prenant celui-ci comme unité apparaissaient plus importantes aux lecteurs du Tibet central, principal public visé.

L'imprimerie à sDe dge avant bsTan pa tshe ring

Avant le lancement du premier grand projet d'édition xylographique, celui du *bKa' 'gyur*, et l'édification de l'imprimerie en 1729, d'autres éditions avaient été réalisées au monastère royal de lHun grub steng. Les travaux récents d'auteurs tibétains sur l'imprimerie[13] de sDe dge mentionnent certains de ces projets prestigieux, mais aucune étude n'a proposé de véritable chronologie de sa production, avant celle du *bKa' 'gyur*. Un examen systématique des colophons *(par byang)* des textes publiés à sDe dge, ainsi que des biographies des chapelains royaux, permettra sans doute de reconstruire, au moins partiellement, cette chronologie. En l'état actuel des recherches[14], il apparaît que les premières éditions xylographiques débutèrent sous le règne de Sangs rgyas bstan pa (1675–1710), au début du XVIII^e^ siècle, à l'initiative et sous la direction de Sangs rgyas phun tshogs (1649–1705), ancien abbé de Ngor E waṃ chos ldan (1686?–1689?) et premier chapelain royal depuis 1699. Leur association, réunissant les moyens humains et matériels ainsi que les compétences éditoriales nécessaires, est évoquée dans le *sDe dge'i rgyal rabs*, qui mentionne, comme première entreprise, la réalisation d'une édition bilingue *(skad gnyis shan sbyar)* de la *Prajñāpāramitā* en 8 000 stances, illustrée de vignettes représentant les douze actes de la vie du Bouddha, et dont le manuscrit original provenait du monastère de Ngor[15]. D'après Karma rgyal

[13] Particulièrement la publication dirigée par Yang Jiamin (2000), dont l'introduction tibétaine de Karma rgyal mtshan constitue l'exposé le plus clair de l'histoire de l'imprimerie de sDe dge.

[14] Mes recherches ont jusqu'à présent porté principalement sur les tirages acquis par André Migot (1948) et déposés à la Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient (Paris), ainsi que sur les versions numérisées de xylographes de sDe dge diffusées par le TBRC (New York).

[15] *sDe dge'i rgyal rabs* (1826, f. 19b).

mtshan[16], le colophon de cette édition, que je n'ai pas pu consulter, mentionne la date de 1703. L'année suivante (IV *shing sprel*, 1704), Sangs rgyas bstan pa finança la réalisation de l'édition d'un commentaire par 'Gos lo Chos skyong bzang po (1441–1527/38) des traités de grammaire attribué à Thon mi Saṃbho ṭa[17], suivi, en 1705, du *Sa skya legs bshad* et du *Ngor pa'i chos 'byung* de dKon mchog lhun grub et Sangs rgyas phun tshogs[18]. En 1709, il patronna l'édition d'un *Byams pa'i smon lam*[19] et celle d'un traité de grammaire de Zhwa lu lo tsa ba[20]. D'après les caractéristiques matérielles (dimensions, organisation de la page et graphie), on peut également admettre qu'une partie des œuvres de Sangs rgyas phun tshogs, notamment le *Thugs rje chen po'i dmar khrid tshem bu lugs kyi nyams len gyi snying po rab tu gsal ba*, a fait l'objet d'éditions xylographiques sous le règne de Sangs rgyas bstan pa. Selon Mu po[21], qui ne cite pas sa source, l'ancien abbé de Ngor et Kun dga' chos 'phel (†1727) auraient également demandé au souverain de réaliser une édition xylographique du *bKa' 'gyur*. Il se serait alors engagé à faire aboutir ce projet dans le futur.

Son successeur au trône de sDe dge, bSod nams phun tshogs (1710–1713/14), poursuivit son œuvre et fit notamment éditer deux traités de grammaire[22]. Les colophons des textes imprimés à sDe dge avant le règne de

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[16] D'après les éléments publiés par Yang (2000: 39, 44 et 76), on constate qu'il s'agit d'une édition aux caractéristiques très particulières (12 lignes/page, édition rouge), également appelée *brGyad stong sum bid* (en trois graphies : *lantsa*, *wartu* et *dbu can*), qui a dû nécessiter l'intervention de calligraphes et graveurs grandement qualifiés et laisse supposer qu'il ne s'agit pas du premier projet réalisé à sDe dge. Yang ne mentionne pas le nombre de blocs xylographiques de cette édition, et seul Mu po (2002 : 140) précise qu'elle comporte 3 volumes.

[17] Il s'agit du *Bod kyi brda'i bye drag legs par bshad pa sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa rtsa 'grel* (fonds Migot EFEOB T0494).

[18] Le *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung tshul bstan pa'i rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen ces bya ba'i bstan bcos chen po'i rtsom 'phro kha skad legs bshad nor bu'i bang mdzod* a été composé par dKon mchog lhun grub, puis complété par Sangs rgyas phun tshogs en 1692 à Ngor E waṃ chos ldan. Republié par Ngawang Topgay, New Delhi, 1973.

[19] Le *Byams pa'i smon lam yon tan gyi rgya mtsho la rnam bshad dad pa'i ngang mo rnam par rtse ba* de gZhung brgya pa dNgos grub dpal 'bar, republié par T.G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, Delhi, 1979.

[20] Le *Bod kyi brda'i bstan bcos legs par bshad pa rin po che'i za ma tog bkod pa*, composé en 1514 par Zhwa lu lo tsa ba Rin chen chos skyong bzang po (1441–1527). Cette édition, en 30 ff., a été sollicitée par *smyug 'dzin pa* Phun tshogs chos grags et calligraphiée par Srungs ma bkra shis (fonds Migot EFEOB T0493).

[21] Mu po (2002 : 140).

[22] Il s'agit du *Bod kyi brda'i bye drag gsal bar byed pa ngag gi sgron ma* (21 f., fonds Migot EFEOB T0498) et du *Bod kyi skad las gsar rnying gi brda'i khyad par ston pa legs par*

bsTan pa tshe ring fournissant une datation nous permettent d'estimer leur nombre à au moins 700 blocs. D'autres ouvrages ont vraisemblablement été édités durant cette période, notamment des textes de rituel dont un certain nombre nous sont parvenus, mais sans élément de datation certaine. Karma rgyal mtshan a, sans fournir d'argumentation, estimé la production à près de 1 500 blocs avant la fondation de l'imprimerie en 1729[23].

Le bKa' 'gyur

Selon la table des matières du *bKa' 'gyur* composée par Si tu paṇ chen en 1733 (VII *chu glang*), le projet d'édition xylographique débuta en 1729 (VII *sa bya*), en même temps que l'édification de l'imprimerie. Cette entreprise réunit près de 60 copistes-calligraphes *(dpon yig pa)*, formés au sein du monastère royal, environ 400 graveurs *(par brkos pa)*, 10 réviseurs *(zhus dag pa)*, ainsi que des menuisiers *(shing bzo ba)*, des papetiers (*shog bu mkhan po* et *shog las pa*), des fabricants d'encre *(snag las pa)*, etc. Ce travail, qui dura 5 ans (1729–1733), fut supervisé par le moine Karma dpal grub et le secrétaire royal, Tshe ring 'phel. Le coût total des rémunérations, des matériaux, de la nourriture et de la boisson *(bza' thung)*, des célébrations marquant les étapes accomplies *('dzugs ston, bar ston, grol ston)* et des différentes festivités s'éleva, selon Si tu paṇ chen, à 7 622 *ja spob rtse (ja 'khor drug)*[24]. Ce *bKa' 'gyur* comprenait 100 volumes plus 3 sections *(dum bu)* de *rNying rgyud* (32 795 blocs).

Les données présentées par Si tu paṇ chen, relativement claires, mais laconiques, doivent cependant être interprétées à la lumière de sources complémentaires : le *dkar chag* de la *Prajñāpāramitā* en 100 000 stances *('Bum)*[25] et les colophons de certaines sections du canon. En effet, ces sources révèlent que l'entreprise se déroula par étapes successives et qu'elle débuta en fait avec la réalisation de l'édition du *'Bum*, en 12 vols (4 723 blocs), achevée en 1718. L'entreprise xylographique se poursuivit avec l'édition de l'*Avataṃsaka* (*Phal po che*, 1 548 blocs), puis celle de la *Prajñāpāramitā* en 20 000

bshad pa li shi'i gur khang de sKyogs ston Rin chen bkra shis (16 f., fonds Migot EFEOB T0495).

[23] Yang (2000 : 39).

[24] *bKa' 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 314), ce montant n'inclut pas l'édition xylographique du *dkar chag* (171 blocs).

[25] O rgyan ye shes en composa le *dkar chag* (26 f.), intitulé *Sher phyin stong phrag brgya pa rnam par spel ba'i phyi mor bsgrubs pa'i rab tu byed pa mthong ba mngon par dga' ba*, dont une section (ff. 13 à 16) est consacrée à l'histoire de la Maison de sDe dge. Je n'ai pas pu consulter de xylographe de ce texte qui est uniquement mentionné dans l'inventaire de l'imprimerie (1980 : 351) et cité par Thub bstan phun tshogs (2007 : 162–166).

stances (*Nyi khri*, 1 156 blocs) en 1722. L'édition de ces deux sections du Canon fut supervisée par bKra shis dbang phyug, un des chapelains *sa skya pa* de bsTan pa tshe ring, qui précise que 250 graveurs *(rko byed)* furent alors employés au monastère royal. Il est par ailleurs probable que durant les années qui précédèrent le début officiel du projet en 1729, d'autres versions de la *Prajñāpāramitā* furent éditées, notamment la *Prajñāpāramitā* en 8 000 stances.

Ces données montrent que l'interprétation et l'analyse des informations données par Si tu paṇ chen auraient été trompeuses. Dans la mesure où il n'évoque pas ces étapes qui ont précédé 1729, doit-on comprendre que le montant global qu'il fournit prend en compte le coût des réalisations de celles-ci ? Le nombre de blocs xylographiques du futur *bKa' 'gyur* produits avant 1723 étant d'au moins 7 427 (soit près d'un quart du nombre total), il n'est pas possible, sans plus d'éléments, d'interpréter les chiffres fournis par Si tu paṇ chen, et notamment de calculer le coût de revient d'un bloc xylographique.

En commençant par des sections du Canon, qui constituaient des corpus autonomes, le souverain avait surtout pu mettre à l'épreuve, sans prendre trop de risques, les capacités de production et la faisabilité de son projet. En effet, fort de l'expérience acquise par ses prédécesseurs, il avait progressivement réuni les moyens humains et matériels nécessaires, tirant profit de ce qui apparaît avoir été un véritable plan de formation locale, sur plus d'une génération, d'artisans qualifiés (menuisiers, papetiers, copistes et graveurs) et de réviseurs (ce qui a été susceptible de motiver le choix d'éditer plusieurs traités de grammaire dès la première décennie du XVIIIe siècle). On constate notamment que le nombre de graveurs passa de 250, en 1722, à 400 au début des années 1730.

En 1729, le souverain était donc en mesure d'inaugurer officiellement l'entreprise, en fait déjà engagée depuis plusieurs années, en disposant d'estimations fiables des coûts prévisionnels, fondés sur les projets précédemment accomplis, ce qui permettait d'assurer sa faisabilité en fonction des moyens disponibles. Une telle stratégie, par étapes, semble avoir également été adoptée par le dGa' ldan pho brang de Lhasa au tournant du XVIIIe siècle, lorsqu'il fit graver 28 volumes de *Prajñāpāramitā* en préalable au *bKa' 'gyur*. Les bouleversements politiques, après 1705, n'ont pas permis d'aboutir à l'édition complète du *bKa' 'gyur*, et ce n'est que sous le patronage de Pho lha nas (1689–1747) que le Tibet central a enfin produit son édition xylographique du *bKa' 'gyur*, déposée à sNar thang[26]. Lorsqu'on confronte les dates de réalisation des éditions de sDe dge (1729–1733), de sNar thang

[26] *Mi dbang rtogs brjod* (p. 530–541).

(1730–1732)[27] et de Co ne (1721–1731)[28], il apparaît clairement que les trois souverains qui les ont patronnées se livrèrent une « course » à l'édition[29]. Cela montre également que les territoires contrôlés par ces souverains connaissaient une période de paix et de prospérité, en particulier le royaume de sDe dge où l'expansion territoriale ainsi que les bonnes relations avec les autorités du Tibet central et l'empire des Qing, assuraient un avenir relativement stable et favorable.

Le Sa skya bka' 'bum

Sans doute afin de poursuivre la formation d'artisans et de conserver les plus confirmés dans la perspective de l'édition du *bsTan 'gyur*, bsTan pa tshe ring commandita, immédiatement après le *bKa' 'gyur*, la réalisation d'éditions xylographiques de moindre ampleur. En 1733, il passa tout d'abord commande de deux traités fondamentaux de médecine : le *rGyud bzhi* (365 blocs) et le *Man ngag yon tan rgyud kyi lhan thabs* (225 blocs), composé par sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho en 1691[30].

Sollicité par bKra shis lhun grub, ancien abbé de Ngor (1722–1725) et successeur de bKra shis dbang phyug au rang de chapelain royal en 1728, le souverain lança, en 1734, la réalisation de l'édition du *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (15 volumes). Le projet fut placé sous l'autorité du ministre *(gnyer pa)* A srung et de deux superviseurs, le secrétaire royal Tshe ring 'phel (déjà responsable d'une partie de l'édition du *bKa' 'gyur*) et le trésorier Gu ru bkra shis. Le travail débuta officiellement le 15 IV 1734. La calligraphie fut terminée le 14 VIII 1735, et la gravure, dirigée par gZungs skyabs *(par dpon)*, fut achevée au début de l'année 1736. Le colophon rédigé par bKra shis lhun grub (daté du 11 IV 1736) énumère les coûts liés à la réalisation de cette édition de manière relativement précise (cf. Tableau 1). Afin de compléter ces données et de permettre l'évaluation des coûts intermédiaires, il faut également préciser que cette édition, qui ne semble pas avoir été modifiée par la suite, a nécessité la gravure de 5 555 blocs (auxquels il faut ajouter les 66 du *dkar chag*), ainsi que la réalisation de 116 vignettes (*dbu lha*, 4 pour le *dkar chag*).

[27] Tshe ring phun tshogs (1987 : 358).

[28] Nor brang o rgyan (1995 : 81) et rGyal mo 'brug pa (1998 : 52).

[29] Cette rivalité entre Pho lha nas et le souverain de sDe dge se poursuivit lors de la réalisation de l'édition du *bsTan 'gyur*. Si tu paṇ chen mentionne dans son autobiographie (p. 164), pour 1735, une tentative de Pho lha nas et de mDo mkhar zhabs drung pour le faire rester au Tibet central en lui offrant notamment des textes sanskrits rares.

[30] Comme le colophon du *lHan thabs* (fonds Migot EFEOB T0561, f. 225a) le précise, la gravure de ces deux traités fut achevée le 23 VIII *chu glang*. Le colophon du *rGyud bzhi* (*nga* 62r–63r) précise que cette édition est fondée sur celle du Potala *(lha ldan po Ta la'i par ma)*.

Comme Si tu paṇ chen, bKra shis lhun grub fournit le nombre d'employés pour les principales tâches (4 réviseurs[31], 16 copistes et 150 graveurs) et donne, sans mentionner les dépenses alimentaires, pour les rituels et les festivités, la somme globale investie dans le projet en unité de thé : 1 013 *ja 'khor drug*. Il précise toutefois la nature des rémunérations (bétail, thé, coton et tabac), les modalités de rémunération des grandes catégories d'employés et le coût des planches brutes *(shing shar)*. Il évoque deux types de rémunération : à la tâche (copistes, graveurs et menuisiers) et à la journée (réviseurs, traceurs de réglures – *thig 'debs pa* – et papetiers). À l'exception du coût des planches brutes, donné en unité de thé *(ja bar khag)*, les rémunérations sont exprimées en unité de mesure d'orge *(khal, zho et 'dong)*. Ces données laissent apparaître une hiérarchie, relativement élaborée, au sein même de deux corps de métier : les copistes et les graveurs. Les copistes (*bris pa*) sont répartis selon trois catégories (supérieure, moyenne et inférieure) correspondant à 3 niveaux de rémunération, l'écart étant de 1 *'dong* par *shog ldebs*[32]. De même, les graveurs sont répartis en 4 catégories salariales (supérieure, moyenne-supérieure, moyenne et inférieure) avec un écart maximal de 2 *zho* par *par ldebs* (bloc xylographique gravé recto-verso). Selon mes constatations, cette édition se compose de 5 555 *par ldeb*. On ignore selon quels critères (de rapidité ou de qualité, ou peut-être les deux) ou selon quelle répartition les rémunérations furent payées. On peut, néanmoins, évaluer grossièrement la dépense totale consacrée aux copistes (en comptant une rémunération moyenne de 14,5 *'dong / shog ldebs*) à près de 4 015 *khal* d'orge[33] ; et aux graveurs (rémunération moyenne de 2 *khal* et 1 *zho / par ldebs*) à environ 12 500 *khal*. Certaines zones d'ombre complexifient cependant l'analyse de ces données. Ainsi, le nombre d'employés dans le traitement des « matières premières » (bois, papier, traceurs de réglures…) n'est pas mentionné. De même, le nombre de jours travaillés par les employés rémunérés à la journée n'est pas indiqué.

Le bsTan 'gyur

Dans son *dkar chag*, rédigé entre 1743 (IV *chu phag*) et 1744 (VII *shing byi*)[34], Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen expose précisément, après avoir fait l'éloge

[31] D'après le *dkar chag*, il s'agit de bKra shis lhun grub, Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen, rMugs sangs pa sByin pa rgya mtsho et bsTan 'dzin rgyal mtshan.

[32] Il s'agit en fait de 2 pages fines correspondant aux recto et verso d'un folio.

[33] Cette somme n'inclut pas la rémunération versée à l'artiste *(lha ris pa)* qui a dessiné les vignettes. Ce dernier, absent du *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag*, n'est mentionné que dans l'autobiographie de Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (p. 476).

[34] Il reçut l'ordre du souverain Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho de rédiger la table des matières durant le premier mois de 1743 (*rang rnam*, p. 507).

de la Maison de sDe dge et relaté les circonstances du projet d'édition du *bsTan 'gyur*, les modalités et les étapes de sa réalisation[35], qu'il convient de reprendre ici succinctement. Une nouvelle fois sollicité par bKra shis lhun grub, bsTan pa tshe ring lança officiellement ce nouveau projet, le 15 V 1737. Parmi les principaux responsables figurent des autorités du royaume tels que Gu ru bkra shis, déjà chargé du *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, ainsi que le ministre A zlos et *dge slong* Tshul khrims rab brtan[36]. D'après le *dkar chag*, le travail débuta par la collation et la révision des textes, sous la direction de cinq réviseurs principaux *(zhus dpon)*, dont Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen lui-même. Il précise, dans son autobiographie, qu'à la fin de cette première année environ trois volumes et demi avaient été corrigés. Mais, le projet fut endeuillé par le décès de bsTan pa tshe ring, le 3 VI 1738[37], puis, l'année suivante, par celui de bKra shis lhun grub. L'entreprise se poursuivit néanmoins sous le patronage du nouveau souverain, Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho (alias Phun tshogs bstan pa, r. 1738–1751). La calligraphie des *shog ldebs* débuta dès l'été 1738 avec 15 calligraphes confirmés, sous la direction de bsTan pa rgyal mtshan et de 'Jam dbyangs, puis s'étoffa dès l'année suivante, pour atteindre un total d'environ 80 calligraphes *(smyug 'dzin pa)*. Zhu chen précise également qu'avant la copie de la section des commentaires des tantras *(rgyud 'grel)*, à partir du VII 1740, la calligraphie de 128 volumes avait déjà été réalisée, comprenant les sections relatives à l'épistémologie *(mtshan nyid)* et aux traités des sciences traditionnelles *(rig gnas)*. Zhu chen précise encore, dans son autobiographie (p. 506), que le travail de copie des *shog ldebs* fut achevé à la fin de l'automne 1742, et qu'à l'exception de 5 ou 6 volumes, la gravure des blocs xylographiques, placée sous l'autorité de gZungs skyabs et de quatre *bhikṣu*[38], touchait à son terme. Accomplie par un groupe d'environ 510 graveurs, elle fut achevé au milieu de l'été 1743.

Dans son *dkar chag*, Zhu chen présente de manière précise et systématique des données chiffrées concernant la production, en commençant par le nombre de volumes et de folios *(yig ldeb)* : respectivement 200 et 62 257[39], précisant que les rémunérations avaient été versées en marchan-

[35] Le 6e chapitre du *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag*, pp. 470–602.

[36] Dans le *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 537), Zhu chen mentionne le ministre lHa bu tshe ring comme principal responsable du projet. Il semble cependant qu'il n'a exercé ce rôle qu'à la toute fin du projet et qu'il fut surtout chargé de la construction de l'extension de l'imprimerie à partir de 1744.

[37] Certaines sources (Karma rgyal mtshan 1994 : 112) mentionnent que 20 volumes auraient déjà été gravés avant sa mort.

[38] Selon le *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 538), il s'agit de Rin chen bkra shis, Blo gros bstan pa, dPal ldan rgyal mtshan et Ngag dbang rin chen.

[39] *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 577).

dises de natures diverses[40]. Les dépenses sont toutefois exprimées dans les mêmes unités d'orge et de thé que celles employées dans le *dkar chag* du *Sa skya bka' 'bum*. Le tableau des postes de dépenses, dont il indique les montants intermédiaires, apparaît toutefois plus complet, avec plusieurs variantes terminologiques (cf. Tableau 1). Ainsi, les réviseurs, dont le nombre total n'est pas mentionné, sont répartis en quatre catégories : les réviseurs en chef (5 personnes, 22 *'dong* / jour), leurs assistants (au moins 3 personnes, 14 *'dong* / jour), les réviseurs de base (13 *'dong* / jour) et les réviseurs d'épreuves (13 *'dong* / jour)[41]. La dépense de la révision initiale est évaluée à 6 960 *khal*, et celle des épreuves à 2 600 *khal*. Zhu chen mentionne ensuite la rémunération du dessinateur des vignettes *(lha bris pa)*, 25 *'dong* / 2 images *(dbu lha)*, et celles des graveurs d'images (*lha brkos pa*, 3 personnes), 3 *khal* / 2 images *(sku brnyan)*[42]. Les dépenses relevées sont respectivement de 135 et 640 *khal*. Il présente ensuite trois catégories de copistes-calligraphes *(yi ge pa)*, qu'il classe selon une échelle différente de celle que nous avons trouvée mentionnée pour le *Sa skya bka' 'bum* : excellent *(yang rab)*, supérieur *(rab)* et moyen *('bring)*. Toutefois, leurs rémunérations ne sont rapportées que par une valeur moyenne *(bar ma'i dbang du btang ba'i grangs kyis rtsis)* et la somme globale : respectivement 22 *'dong* / *yig ldeb* et 32 241 *khal*. Zhu chen procède de manière similaire pour les graveurs *(par brkos pa)*, répartis en trois catégories (supérieure, moyenne-supérieure et moyenne), avec un salaire moyen de 3 *khal* et 1 *zho* / *par ldeb* pour une dépense globale de 202 335 *khal*. Il mentionne ensuite les autres postes de dépense principaux : les traceurs de réglures et les papetiers (10 *'dong* / jour, respectivement 500 *khal* et 2 720 *khal* au total), les menuisiers (5 *khal* / 140 *shing ldeb*, 2 223 *khal*), ainsi que les planches (1 *ja bar khag* / 16 *shing ldeb*, 19 455 *khal*) et le papier (1 *ja bar khag* / 40 *shog bu kha*, 3 123 *khal*). Le coût total, qui correspond à la somme des dépenses mentionnées ci-dessus, est donc évalué par Zhu chen à 274 932 *khal*, pour lequel il donne l'équivalent en unité de thé,

[40] Chaque employé reçut en salaire des marchandises à choisir parmi une longue liste : or, argent, corail, perles, conques, turquoises, brocard, soie, coton, vêtements de coton, différents types d'ornements, nombreuses marchandises utiles, *ardho ka'i phur ma khag* (?), tabac, chevaux et bétail.

[41] Zhu chen mentionne les réviseurs de base *(zhus dag pa)* dans le groupe des réviseurs, puis les réviseurs d'épreuves *(par zhus pa)* entre les graveurs et les traceurs de réglures *(thig 'debs pa)*. Le fait que la rémunération de ces deux groupes fut la même, 13 *'dong* / jour, et qu'ils aient été chargés de phases chronologiquement distinctes de l'entreprise, laisse supposer que c'est le même groupe de personnes qui a effectué ces deux tâches.

[42] Selon Zhu chen, le dessin des vignettes fut exécuté par rMe shod A 'phel, de tradition *bon*, et la gravure de celles-ci fut réalisée par trois graveurs, dont un certain Bu nag. Il ajoute également que deux autres graveurs expérimentés exécutèrent la gravure des parties en graphie *lantsa* ou *wartu* (*bsTan 'gyur dkar chag*, p. 564).

13 746 *ja 'khor drug* 2 *bar khag* et 1 « fragment » (équivalent à 2 *khal*). Il ajoute que les dépenses alimentaires *(bza' thung)* à la charge de l'imprimerie de sDe dge se montèrent à la somme de 168 400 *khal*.

Tableau 1 Rémunérations et dépenses liées à l'édition du *Sa skya bKa' 'bum* et du *bsTan 'gyur* (les données entre crochets sont des valeurs approximatives déduites).

Sa skya bka' 'bum		*bsTan 'gyur*	
poste de dépense	**rémunération**	**poste de dépense**	**rémunération**
Réviseurs (4)	**[~1 000 khal]**	**Réviseurs (5+>3+?)**	**6 960 + 2 600 khal**
		zhus dpon	22 'dong / nyin
		zhus dpon 'og ma	14 'dong / nyin
zhus dag pa	11 'dong / nyin	zhus dag pa	13 'dong / nyin
		par zhus pa	13 'dong / nyin
Copistes-calligr. (16)	**[~2 015 khal]**	**Copistes-calligr. (1+~80)**	**135 + 34 241 khal**
		lha ris pa	25 'dong / 2 dbu lha
bris pa rab	15 'dong / shog ldebs	yi ge ba yang rab	
bris pa 'bring	14,5 'dong / shog ldebs	yi ge ba rab	22 'dong / yig ldeb
bris pa tha ma	14 'dong / shog ldebs	yi ge ba 'bring	
Graveurs (~150)	**[180+~12 750 khal]**	**Graveurs (3+~510)**	**640+202 335 khal**
dbu lha'i brkos pa	1 khal 2 zho / sku brnyan	dbu lha'i brkos pa	3 khal / 2 sku brnyan
brkos pa rab	2 khal 2 zho / par ldebs	par brkos pa rab	
brkos pa 'bring stod	2 khal 1 zho 5 'dong / par ldebs	par brkos pa 'bring stod	3 khal 1 zho / par ldeb
brkos pa 'bring	2 khal 1 zho / par ldebs	par brkos pa 'bring	
brkos pa tha ma	2 khal / par ldebs		

Autres postes de dépenses (?)	**[?+?+200+1 852 khal]**	**Autres postes de dépenses (?)**	**500+2 720+3 123+ 2 223+19 455 khal**
thig ’debs pa	4 ’dong / nyin	thig ’debs pa	10 ’dong / nyin
shog mkhan	4 ’dong / nyin	shog gu’i ’du byed pa	10 'dong / nyin
		shog bu	1 ja bar khag / 40 shog bu
shing gzhog mkhan	1 zho / 7 shing shar	shing gzhog mkhan	5 khal / 140 shing ldeb
shing shar	1 ja bar khag / 15 shing shar	shing ldeb	1 ja bar khag / 16 shing ldeb
Total	**1 013 ja ’khor drug [= 20 260 khal]**	**Total**	**274 932 khal = 13 746 ja ’khor drug 2 bar khag 1 dum bu**
		Dépenses alimentaires	**168 400 khal**

Analyse et interprétation

Ces données, relativement précises, suscitent néanmoins de nombreuses interrogations et nécessitent une analyse poussée avant de pouvoir les interpréter et procéder à des extrapolations. Il convient donc de reprendre systématiquement les chiffres les plus précis relatifs à l’édition du *bsTan ’gyur*, en procédant par une analyse de cohérence « interne », puis « externe », en les comparant avec les données fournies par les *dkar chag* des deux grands projets antérieurs. La somme des montants intermédiaires mentionnés correspond bien au montant global livré par Zhu chen. L’équivalence en unité de thé qu’il donne du montant global, ainsi que les coûts des *shing ldeb* et des *shog bu* exprimés en unité d’orge (alors que les rémunérations sont exprimées en unité de thé), permettent d’établir que la valeur d’échange entre le thé et l’orge à sDe dge, dans les années 1740, était de 1 *ja ’khor drug* pour 20 *khal* d’orge. Dans la mesure où il s’agit de deux marchandises dont la fluctuation de valeur en fonction du rendement annuel était atténué par leur stockage sur plusieurs années, on peut raisonnablement penser que cette valeur d’échange peut aussi s’appliquer aux coûts globaux indiqués par les *dkar chag* du *bKa’ ’gyur* et du *Sa skya bka’ ’bum* ; on obtient alors respectivement 152 440 et 20 260 *khal* d’orge.

La confrontation « interne » des données du *dkar chag* du *bsTan ’gyur* s’avère plus ou moins féconde, notamment suivant le type des rémunérations. Néanmoins elle révèle, au moins partiellement, les modalités par les-

quelles Zhu chen a obtenu leurs montants. Le fait qu'il n'indique pas le nombre d'employés et celui de jours travaillés, dans le cas des salaires à la journée (réviseurs, traceurs de réglures et papetiers), rend l'analyse de ces postes de dépenses complexe. Il n'est donc pas possible de calculer le salaire perçu par chacune des catégories de réviseurs et on peut uniquement en déduire que la révision des épreuves nécessita 8 000 jours de travail (2 600 *khal* / 13 *'dong*). De même, on obtient 2 000 jours de travail pour les traceurs de réglure, et 10 880 jours pour les papetiers. Dans son autobiographie, Zhu chen mentionne que le travail de révision à l'imprimerie se déroulait, du fait des conditions hivernales difficiles, du milieu du premier mois au début du dixième mois de l'année, soit un maximum d'environ 250 jours. On peut aussi raisonnablement penser que certains jours de cette période de travail potentiel étaient chômés, en raison de rituels ou de festivités, ou encore, dans le cas des papetiers qui travaillaient à l'extérieur, du fait de conditions climatiques défavorables (le gel ou la pluie). Malgré ces précisions concernant la durée de travail annuel, il demeure très hasardeux de vouloir en déduire le nombre d'employés dans ces différentes catégories, et encore moins leur salaire annuel moyen. Par exemple, dans le cas des papetiers, si on se fonde arbitrairement sur une base de 200 jours rémunérés par an sur 7 ans (de 1737 à 1743), on obtient un nombre d'employés d'environ 8 personnes, alors qu'une base de 150 jours/an donne environ 10 personnes. Sur ces mêmes bases, l'édition du *bsTan 'gyur* aurait requis 1 ou 2 traceurs de réglures. Toutefois, il convient d'insister sur le fait que nous ne disposons d'aucune donnée permettant de fixer aussi bien la durée totale de leur implication dans l'entreprise que le rythme annuel de cette implication.

L'évaluation des données relatives aux rémunérations à la tâche (du dessinateur, des copistes et des graveurs) semble a priori plus aisée et susceptible d'être exploitée de manière convaincante. Dans le cas de la production de vignettes, nous disposons de données relativement précises dont on s'attend à ce qu'elles soient concordantes entre le nombre de vignettes dessinées et celui de vignettes gravées. Or, ce n'est pas le cas. En effet, en fonction des données de Zhu chen, 432 images [(135 *khal* / 25 *'dong*) x 2] auraient été dessinées par A 'phel, alors que seulement 426 images [(640 *khal* / 3 *khal*) x 2] auraient été gravées. Le nombre total de vignettes dans l'édition initiale (en 200 volumes) n'est pas précisément connu, mais devait avoisiner 400 (les 212 volumes de l'édition actuelle en comportent 428). Cette différence entre les nombres de vignettes dessinées, gravées ou présentes dans l'édition reste malheureusement sans explication probante.

En revanche, les chiffres relatifs à la calligraphie des folios (62 257 *yig ldeb* produits, rémunérés 22 *'dong* / *ldeb*, pour un montant total de 34 241 *khal*) et à la gravure des blocs (62 257 *par ldeb*, 3 *khal* 1 *zho*, 202 335 *khal*) se révèlent parfaitement cohérents. Par ailleurs, l'analyse des coûts des ré-

munérations des menuisiers et ceux des planches fournis par Zhu chen montre qu'ils sont fondés sur le nombre précis de 62 257 *shing ldeb*. C'est cette exactitude même qui doit les rendre suspects et pousser à nous interroger sur les modalités de leur obtention par Zhu chen. Il est en effet raisonnable de penser que, compte tenu de la très grande ampleur de l'entreprise, un nombre non négligeable de pages calligraphiées et de planches gravées, acceptées, a dû être mis au rebut en raison d'accidents ou de défauts inévitables, et que leur total a donc sûrement été nettement supérieur au nombre de blocs de l'édition achevée. Ce type d'aléa est, en fait, évoqué par Zhu chen dans son autobiographie (p. 491) qui précise notamment que les copistes et les réviseurs étaient soumis à un règlement *(bca' khrims)* mis en place par Tshe ring 'phel et Karma dpal grub lors de la réalisation du *bKa' 'gyur*. Il stipulait qu'à la première erreur (*bri nor* ou *bcos nor*), ils devraient s'acquitter d'une amende *(nyes pa'i chad)* de 1 *'dong*, de 2 *'dong* à la seconde, et que leur salaire pourrait être retenu si cela se reproduisait. Si Zhu chen s'était fondé sur des pièces comptables des dépenses réelles, des différences auraient dû apparaître, avec un nombre de *yig ldeb* et de *par ldeb* supérieur à celui de l'édition achevée (62 257). Il semble donc que, pour arriver aux montants intermédiaires des rémunérations à la tâche, Zhu chen se soit fondé sur ce dernier chiffre, qu'il a multiplié par l'unité de rémunération. De même, les chiffres trop ronds, de 8 000 et 2 000 jours de travail que nous avons précédemment calculés pour respectivement les réviseurs d'épreuve et les traceurs de réglure, sont probablement aussi des estimations approximatives à partir desquelles, en les multipliant par les salaires journaliers, Zhu chen a obtenu les coûts globaux pour chacune de ces catégories.

Dans ce tableau (Tableau 1), deux montants restent difficiles à interpréter en l'état actuel des recherches : celui du coût du papier et celui des dépenses alimentaires. Le coût du papier, 3 123 *khal*, permet de déduire le nombre de feuilles *(shog bu)* comptabilisées : 24 984. Comme le nombre minimal de feuillets nécessaires à l'entreprise a été de 124 514 (62 257 x 2) cela signifierait que chaque feuille aurait produit 5 feuillets. Mais, du fait que nous ne connaissons pas la taille des formes à papier employées à sDe dge au XVIII[e] siècle, ni celle des feuillets, cette déduction ne peut être vérifiée. Les dépenses alimentaires, qui représentent une part importante de la dépense globale (38%), restent également inexploitables en l'absence de données précises concernant le nombre d'employés et la durée de travail de chacun d'entre eux.

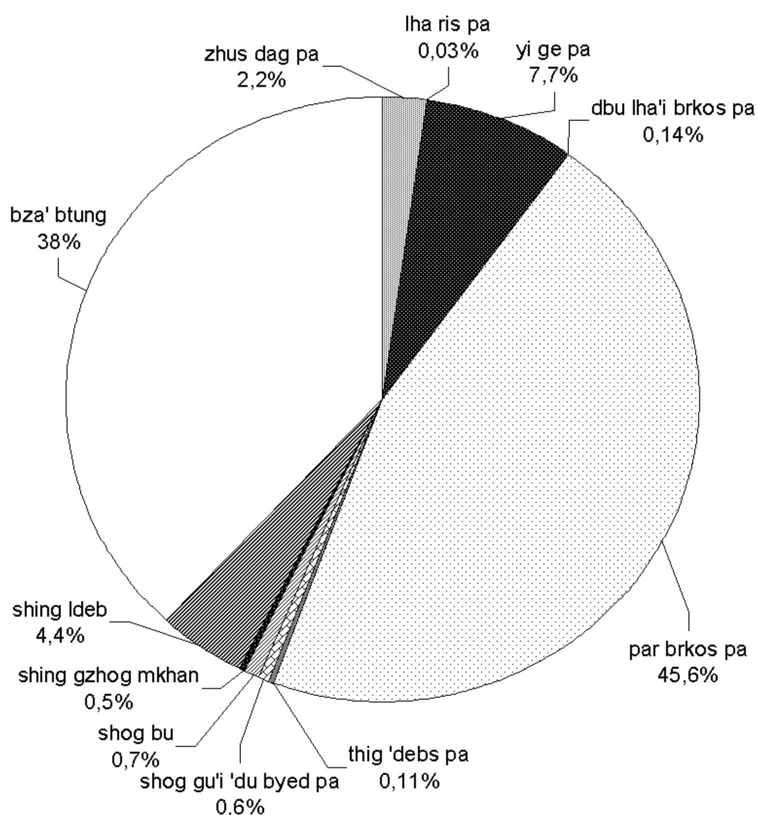
Ces premières constatations ne doivent pas, pour autant, remettre en cause la valeur de ces données et la possibilité de les exploiter. En effet, les chiffres de Zhu chen semblent refléter une estimation minimale, au moins pour les trois postes de dépenses principaux (copie, gravure et planches), des coûts de production des blocs xylographiques du *bsTan 'gyur*, et ne prendre

en compte que les dépenses ayant été à la charge directe de l'imprimerie. Ni les rémunérations des superviseurs du projet (autorités politiques et monastiques) et des fabricants d'encre (*snag las pa*, uniquement mentionnés par Si tu paṇ chen), ni le coût des outils nécessaires, entre autres postes budgétaires, ne figurent parmi la liste des dépenses liées à l'édition du *bsTan 'gyur*. Parmi ces dépenses non comptabilisées, celles relatives aux rituels favorisant ou protégeant le projet *(bskang gso, rim gro…)*, aux rituels de consécration, aux présents offerts aux responsables et aux différentes festivités *(ston mo)* semblent avoir constitué une part importante du coût global, que nous n'avons, en l'état actuel des données, aucun moyen de chiffrer même approximativement. Certains indices permettent cependant d'imaginer leur ampleur. Ainsi, Zhu chen rapporte dans son autobiographie (p. 508) que vers la fin de l'entreprise d'édition du *bsTan 'gyur* (1743), plusieurs réviseurs avaient été pris de fortes fièvres. Mais, l'imprimerie commandita aussi des rituels de guérison dans certains monastères du royaume (lCags ra, dPal spungs, dPal yul, Kaḥ thog…), pour l'équivalent de 80 *ja 'khor drug* (= 1 600 *khal* d'orge). Enfin, les sommes mentionnées dans le *dkar chag* n'incluent pas les coûts liés à la réalisation de celui-ci. On peut estimer, à partir des données fournies pour le *bsTan 'gyur*, que le *dkar chag* a dû coûter environ 2 200 *khal* d'orge.

En prenant en compte uniquement les données livrées par Zhu chen, le coût total de l'édition xylographique du *bsTan 'gyur*, de 1737 à 1743, s'élève à 443 332 *khal* d'orge. La répartition des postes de dépenses fait clairement apparaître l'importance de la rémunération des graveurs et celle des dépenses alimentaires (cf. Graphique 1).

La confrontation des données relatives au *bsTan 'gyur* avec celles qui sont fournies par le *dkar chag* du *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (cf. Tableau 1) met immédiatement en évidence une différence sensible entre les rémunérations dans la majorité des postes de dépenses. Plusieurs éléments d'explications possibles viennent immédiatement à l'esprit : Zhu chen aurait-il surévalué les rémunérations pour vanter les richesses de son patron et du royaume ? La qualité ou la rapidité du travail auraient-elles été différentes ? La réalisation de l'édition xylographique du *bsTan 'gyur* étant plus prestigieuse que celle du *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, cela aurait-il justifié une différence de salaire ? Mais dans ce cas, pourquoi certaines rémunérations auraient-elles été identiques (graveurs de vignettes et menuisiers), ou même inférieures pour les planches ? C'est en fait du côté des caractéristiques physiques, et plus précisément de l'organisation de la page, que semble se trouver la réponse. En effet, on constate que le nombre de lignes par page du *Sa skya bka' 'bum* et du *bsTan 'gyur*, respectivement 6 et 7, et celui des lettres par ligne, ~100 et ~115, font que le premier présente environ 400 lettres de moins par folio (recto-verso, ~1 200 contre ~1 600), soit une différence de près de 25% avec

le *bsTan 'gyur*. Celle-ci permet d'expliquer au moins l'écart entre les rémunérations perçues par les copistes et les graveurs dans la réalisation de ces deux éditions. Pour les deux catégories, les différences de rémunération sont d'ailleurs d'ordres relativement proches : de 29% inférieur pour les graveurs et de 34% pour les copistes de l'édition du *Sa skya bka' 'bum*. En revanche, l'argument qui vient d'être évoqué ne saurait expliquer l'écart de salaire qui est aussi noté pour les réviseurs, lesquels sont rémunérés à la journée (11 *'dong* / jour, 15% de moins que pour le *bsTan 'gyur*). En l'absence d'éléments précis concernant leur temps de travail quotidien et leur statut, il est impossible d'avancer une explication satisfaisante. De même, les rémunérations des traceurs de réglures et des papetiers sont de 60% inférieures à celles qui sont mentionnées pour le *bsTan 'gyur*.



Graphique 1 Répartition des dépenses de l'édition du *bsTan 'gyur* selon les données fournies par le *dkar chag*.

Ces données permettent également de proposer une évaluation du coût de production des blocs xylographiques en fonction de leurs caractéristiques physiques. Ainsi, sans tenir compte des dépenses alimentaires, le coût a été de 4,4 *khal* / *par ldeb* pour le *bsTan 'gyur* (que j'appellerai dorénavant type A) et de 3,65 *khal* / *par ldeb* pour le *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (type B). En intégrant les dépenses alimentaires, on obtient un coût unitaire de 7,1 *khal* pour le type A et de 6,3 *khal* pour le type B. Ces données permettent d'extrapoler les coûts approximatifs d'autres éditions xylographiques à sDe dge durant la même période. Ainsi, le coût de l'édition des deux traités médicaux (590 *par ldeb* de type B) par bsTan pa tshe ring en 1733 peut-être évalué à environ 2 150 *khal* sans tenir compte des dépenses alimentaires.

Par ailleurs, on se souvient que le coût du *bKa' 'gyur* fourni par Si tu paṇ chen (7 622 *ja spob rtse* = 152 440 *khal*) restait difficile à interpréter. Dans quelle mesure les données des deux éditions suivantes peuvent-elles l'éclairer ? Si on admet que le chiffre avancé par Si tu paṇ chen prend en compte l'ensemble des *par ldeb* de l'édition (32 795, type A), cela nous donne 4,65 *khal* / *par ldeb*. Ce montant intégrant les dépenses alimentaires et celles des rituels et des festivités, il est donc très largement inférieur à celui du *bsTan 'gyur*, 7,1 *khal*, qui n'intègre que les dépenses alimentaires. Si on retranche les 7 427 *par ldeb* déjà réalisés avant 1723, cela monte le coût unitaire à 6 *khal*, donc toujours inférieur à celui du *bsTan 'gyur* et même à celui du type B. Les données concernant les deux éditions postérieures au *bKa' 'gyur* n'apportent donc malheureusement pas d'éléments déterminants pour interpréter le montant global du *bKa' 'gyur*. Seules des informations complémentaires (nombre de *par ldeb* inclus dans le montant global, rémunérations des employés, etc.) seraient susceptibles de le permettre.

L'analyse et l'interprétation du type de données que nous venons de considérer ne se limitent pas à leur valeur strictement quantitative. Si on prend par exemple le cas des dessinateurs de vignettes et des copistes, les données fournies par Zhu chen montrent que les premiers gagnent, pour le dessin de 2 vignettes, légèrement plus (3 *'dong*) que les seconds, pour la calligraphie de 1 *yig ldeb*. Or, on peut admettre que compte tenu de ses compétences, un dessinateur devait être mieux rémunéré qu'un calligraphe pour une même durée de travail. S'il en est ainsi, on pourrait conclure que le dessin de deux vignettes prenait le même temps, sinon moins, que la copie de 1 *yig ldeb*. Il en va de même pour la gravure de deux vignettes par rapport à la gravure d'un *par ldeb*. Les données relatives au *Sa skya bka' 'bum* nous permettent de dégager les taux de répartition des rémunérations entre les copistes et entre les graveurs. Les copistes « inférieurs » touchaient 7% de moins que les copistes « supérieurs », alors que la différence entre les graveurs « supérieurs » et « inférieurs » était de 20%. Nous ne connaissons pas le rythme de production d'un *par ldeb* de types A ou B à l'imprimerie de sDe dge, il est donc

impossible d'en déduire un salaire mensuel ou annuel. À propos de l'entreprise concurrente d'édition au Tibet central du *bKa' 'gyur* sous le patronage de Pho lha nas, mDo mkhar Zhabs drung (1697–1763) rapporte que vers la fin, avec l'entraînement, la production mensuelle de *shing byang* (syn. de *par ldeb*) se situait entre trois pour les graveurs les moins qualifiés *(ches dman pa)* et vingt-trois pour les meilleurs *(mchog)*[43]. Ces chiffres ne peuvent toutefois pas être transposés à l'imprimerie de sDe dge, car la qualité du travail et surtout le nombre de lettres par *par ldeb* sont très largement inférieurs à ceux sDe dge (1 000 lettres / *par ldeb* contre 1 600), certainement dans le but de réduire le temps (gravure rendue plus rapide par la moindre densité des lettres) et les coûts de production[44].

Les rémunérations à la journée, telles qu'elles sont rapportées pour l'édition du *bsTan 'gyur* à sDe dge, permettent également de relever les valeurs relatives des écarts de rémunérations parmi les réviseurs et entre catégories professionnelles en fonction des compétences. Ainsi, les réviseurs « de base » percevaient une rémunération inférieure de 7% à celle des réviseurs « en chef assistant », et de 41% à celle des réviseurs « en chef ». L'écart de la rémunération moyenne entre les réviseurs, d'une part, les traceurs de réglures et les papetiers d'autre part, était de 23% au profit des premiers. Ces données ont pour l'instant un intérêt relativement limité, mais leur confrontation avec des données semblables concernant d'autres entreprises de la même époque permettra sans doute d'analyser plus finement et de compléter cette ébauche de hiérarchie socioprofessionnelle à sDe dge au XVIII^e^ siècle.

Afin d'élargir le champ d'évaluation des données fournies par les trois *dkar chag*, il convient également de comparer les coûts des éditions de sDe dge réalisées durant la première moitié du XVIII^e^ siècle avec des données relatives à d'autres éditions xylographiques. L'imprimerie de sDe dge produisit, à la fin du XVIII^e^ siècle, une édition du *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* qui comportait environ 8 500 *par ldeb*. Le coût de cette édition de type A, tel qu'il est rapporté dans la table des matières du corpus[45], a été de 3 125 *ja 'khor drug* (soit 62 500 *khal*, en considérant que la valeur d'échange du thé et de l'orge était restée inchangée depuis 1744), soit un coût approximatif de 7,3 *khal* par *par ldebs*, très proche de celui que nous venons de dégager pour le *bsTan 'gyur* de sDe dge (7,1 *khal*). Nous disposons également du coût de l'édition du *rGyud sde kun btus* (29 volumes) à la fin du XIX^e^ siècle. Mais, celui-ci est exprimé en

[43] *Mi dbang rtogs brjod* (p. 538).

[44] En revanche, ce choix éditorial a eu pour effet d'augmenter les coûts des impressions (liés au papier, à l'encre et au salaire des imprimeurs) du fait du nombre très important de folios (50 019). Ceci explique peut-être également le changement de mise en page (environ 1 500 lettres / *par ldeb*) adopté pour l'édition du *bsTan 'gyur*, dix ans plus tard.

[45] *rNying ma rgyud 'bum dkar chag* (f. 291v).

unitaire monétaire chinoise (5 500 *rgya dngul srang*)[46], dont malheureusement les valeurs d'échange avec les unités de thé ou d'orge à sDe dge, à cette époque, sont inconnues et ne peuvent donc pas servir d'élément de comparaison.

Dans son article, Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las arrive à une estimation du coût global du *bKa' 'gyur* de sNar thang, à 564 273 *khal* pour 50 019 *par ldeb*, soit 11,3 *khal / par ldeb*[47]. Concernant le *bsTan 'gyur* de sNar thang, son estimation est de 1 457 250 *khal* pour 76 409 *par ldeb*, soit 19 *khal / par ldeb*. Ses chiffres sont environ quatre fois supérieurs aux coûts des éditions parallèles de sDe dge, sans que l'on arrive à comprendre ce qui explique une différence aussi considérable.

Selon les *dkar chag* de sDe dge, l'ensemble des dépenses de ces éditions xylographiques fut entièrement pris en charge par la Maison de sDe dge, sans autre contribution institutionnelle ou individuelle. Si tu Paṇ chen et Zhu chen insistent également sur le fait que ni le souverain, ni les chefs locaux de sDe dge, n'ont imposé de taxes *(khral)* ou de corvées *('u lag)* spécifiques afin de financer ces projets[48]. Ces précisions sur l'origine du financement visent tout autant à célébrer la richesse du mécène qu'à le prémunir de critiques qui pourraient l'accuser d'une mise à contribution forcée de ses sujets, et ainsi atténuer son rôle ou son mérite. Cependant, il semble évident que les richesses personnelles des souverains de sDe dge se confondaient alors avec celles du trésor royal, lui-même constitué et alimenté en grande partie grâce à la perception de différentes taxes sur le territoire. Il convient donc d'évaluer l'investissement annuel qui fut celui de la Maison de sDe dge. Ainsi, l'édition du *bsTan 'gyur*, d'un coût global de 443 332 *khal* sur sept ans, a représenté un investissement annuel d'environ 63 333 *khal*. À l'échelle des trois grands projets d'édition (environ 630 000 *khal*), sur environ 25 ans (1718–1743), la dépense annuelle (en incluant les dépenses alimentaires) s'élève à près de 25 200 *khal*. Ce que représente celle-ci par rapport aux richesses de la Maison de sDe dge ou du budget global du royaume ne peut actuellement pas être chiffré en l'absence de toute donnée économique qui le permettrait.

On peut néanmoins tenter d'évaluer grossièrement l'importance relative de l'investissement qu'ont pu représenter ces grandes réalisations éditoriales au regard des quelques faits économiques du monde tibétain pour lesquels

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[46] *rGyud sde kun btus dkar chag* (*a*, f. 162r).

[47] Son estimation prend en compte des dépenses non comptabilisées dans les sources relatives aux éditions de sDe dge : superviseurs, forgerons, couturiers, médecins, etc., mais n'inclut en revanche pas le coût des planches qui furent offertes par le souverain du Bhoutan (Dung dkar 1989 : 439).

[48] *bKa' 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 313) et *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 577).

nous disposons de données quantitatives. L'allocation de base *(phogs)* d'un moine dans un monastère était généralement estimé à environ 10 *khal* d'orge par an[49], ce qui, rapporté au budget annuel de la réalisation des éditions xylographiques à sDe dge, correspondrait à l'entretien d'environ 2 500 moines pendant les 25 ans au long desquels elle s'est déroulée. Par ailleurs, Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las calcule, en se fondant sur le *Baiḍūrya ser po*, qu'à l'époque du Ve Dalaï-Lama (r. 1642-1682), les revenus tirés des principaux domaines *(mchod gzhi)* du monastère de 'Bras spungs s'élevaient à environ 38 000 *khal* / an[50]. Cassinelli et Ekvall estiment le budget annuel de fonctionnement de l'État de Sa skya au début des années 1940 à environ 73 000 *khal* (20 530 *rdo tshad*, valeur d'échange 3,55 *khal* pour 1 *rdo tshad*)[51]. Bien qu'il s'agisse de contextes économiques sensiblement différents, ces deux chiffres incitent à considérer que l'investissement annuel de la Maison de sDe dge dans ses entreprises éditoriales fut très important : 66% des revenus de 'Bras spungs et 35% du budget de Sa skya. Toutefois, cet investissement est fortement relativisé dans sa valeur absolue si on le compare à celui qu'a nécessité une des rares entreprises tibétaines de prestige dont le montant du coût global est facilement accessible dans le *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig gi dkar chag* : la construction du palais rouge du Potala destiné à abriter le stupa funéraire du Ve Dalai-Lama. Cette entreprise, patronnée par sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho à la fin du XVIIe siècle, a représenté un investissement total de 40 298 628 *khal* d'orge (environ 65 fois plus que les trois éditions xylographiques de sDe dge)[52]. Ces quelques éléments de comparaison n'ont ici évidemment qu'une valeur grossièrement indicative tant que la recherche n'aura pas fourni de données moins hétérogènes et donc plus pertinentes à titre de comparaison.

Bien qu'on ne puisse pas mesurer précisément l'ampleur des dépenses d'édition à sDe dge durant la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle, elle a certainement représenté un investissement très important pour la Maison de sDe dge, qui devait sans aucun doute en attendre un certain bénéfice, un « retour sur investissement ». Cette entreprise xylographique n'avait pas pour objectif avoué d'être rentable d'un point de vue strictement économique. En

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[49] Ce chiffre semble être resté relativement constant depuis l'époque impériale, pour laquelle le *dBa' bzhed* mentionne 12 *khal* / an à bSam yas (Wangdu 2000 : 73), jusqu'aux années 1950, pour lesquelles Nornang (1990 : 250) et French (1995 : 4) rapportent respectivement les chiffres de 10 *khal* / an au monastère de Dwags po bshad grub gling, et de 11 *khal* / an à Dagon tsanga chokor ling.

[50] Dung dkar (1991 : 74).

[51] Cassinelli & Ekvall (1969 : 392).

[52] Sans compter les dépenses liées aux rituels qui s'élevèrent à 1 436 279 *khal*, cf. *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig gi dkar chag* (p. 814–815).

effet, traditionnellement, les textes bouddhiques ne sont pas considérés comme des marchandises et idéalement aucun bénéfice « financier » ne doit être retiré de leur impression. Cependant, la question reste ouverte dans le cas de l'imprimerie de sDe dge où les tarifs d'impression sont clairement signalés par Si tu paṇ chen pour l'impression du *bKa' 'gyur* (environ 160 *ja 'khor drug*)[53].

Dans les *dkar chag*, les bénéfices attendus par la Maison de sDe dge ne sont pas exprimés en termes financiers, mais de profits très valorisés dans la civilisation tibétaine et plus largement dans le monde bouddhisé, celui des mérites *(bsod nams)*. Bien que très difficilement quantifiables, ils sont formulés dans une logique de type économique (accumulation, bénéfices futurs…). Cet aspect apparaît clairement dans les *dkar chag* où les auteurs mentionnent formellement que si le souverain a eu les moyens de commanditer ces projets, c'est qu'il a bénéficié des mérites précédemment acquis *(bsod nams kyi dbang gis)*, puis les a, en quelque sorte, réinvestis dans l'entreprise d'édition. C'est grâce à ceux-ci et aux rituels qu'il a patronnés pour protéger et favoriser le projet, que ce dernier a été mené à son terme et que le souverain-mécène a fait fructifier ses propres mérites de manière encore plus grande. Les signes fastes observés pendant l'entreprise[54] et les bienfaits *(phan yon)*[55] qui en résultent sont longuement énumérés dans les *dkar chag*, avant la traditionnelle réversion des mérites *(bsngo smon)*, et sont censés bénéficier non seulement à la Maison de sDe dge, mais également aux personnes ayant contribué aux projets et plus largement à l'ensemble du royaume.

Les dons au profit d'œuvres religieuses sont conçus traditionnellement comme un des moyens les plus efficaces d'accumuler des mérites. Cette conception de la rétribution sous forme de mérites, clairement envisagés comme richesse matérielle potentielle et dont il est dit qu'elle échappe à toute quantification, a donc eu un rôle non négligeable dans les motivations qui ont poussé la Maison de sDe dge à engager de telles dépenses pour l'édition xylographique de corpus religieux et autres.

Enfin, la Maison de sDe dge a également dû attendre un bénéfice en termes d'image, par la diffusion à l'échelle du monde tibétain et même au-delà (notamment en Mongolie) d'un récit historique célébrant ses origines et son histoire, de l'exaltation des qualités « bouddhiques » de ses souverains et même de portraits de ceux-ci. La volonté des auteurs des *dkar chag*, outils

[53] Si tu paṇ chen (1734), *gSung rab rin po che'i phyi mo dam pa 'di nyid las brtsams te legs byas kyi sgo yangs por phye ba'i tshul gyi gtam*, *bKa' 'bum*, Palpung sungrab nyamso khang (1990), vol. *ta*, ff. 525–541.

[54] *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 579–583).

[55] *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 850–875).

indispensables pour accéder aux différents textes des collections, est clairement de se livrer à la propagande, selon des valeurs promues par le bouddhisme, de leur patron-mécène. La visée de propagande et de prestige apparaît très clairement dans le contenu même du *dkar chag* de Zhu chen qui consacre à celle-ci près d'un quart de son texte[56]. De même, autre fait révélateur de cette visée promotionnelle, lorsque Si tu paṇ chen a soumis son *dkar chag* du *bKa' 'gyur* au véritable superviseur de l'édition, bKra shis lhun grub, ce dernier, jugeant l'œuvre trop longue, en a retiré, non pas le chapitre sur l'histoire de la Maison de sDe dge[57], mais les trois premiers chapitres consacrés à l'histoire du Bouddha[58].

La glorification des souverains de sDe dge à travers ces œuvres d'édition apparaît encore dans les vignettes qui les ornent. bsTan pa tshe ring est ainsi représenté sur quatre d'entre elles, dont trois réalisées de son vivant. Sur ces vignettes (cf. Illustration 1), son image gagne en majesté, par l'ajout d'attributs (joyau, lotus, vase d'abondance et roue de la loi) ou le changement d'environnement (nature et palais), passant successivement d'un statut de « simple donateur » dans le *bKa' 'gyur* (1733), à deux portraits plus glorieux dans le *rGyud bzhi* (1733) et le *Sa skya bka' 'bum* (1736), et enfin à celui de *cakravartin* « à la mode des *btsan po* » (turban), dans le *bsTan 'gyur* (1743).



bKa' 'gyur (*lakshmī*, f. 171r)



rGyud bzhi (*nga*, f. 63r)

[56] *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 283–478).

[57] *Bka' 'gyur dkar chag* (p. 275–317).

[58] *Si tu rang rnam* (p. 153).



Sa skya bka' 'bum (*ba*, f. 409v)



bsTan 'gyur (*shrī*, f. 355r)

Illustration 1 Portraits de bsTan pa tshe ring dans les éditions xylographiques.

Conclusion

La question sous-jacente à cette étude était de savoir dans quelle mesure il est possible de se fonder sur les données quantitatives d'ordre économique fournies par des sources secondaires, des *dkar chag* et des biographies, et quelles interprétations et analyses pouvaient en être tirées. Comme nous l'avons vu, la réponse nécessite non seulement une analyse fine des données elles-mêmes, mais également des éléments quantitatifs de comparaison précisément définis et fiables. Or, en l'état actuel des recherches, de nombreuses zones d'ombre persistent et limitent grandement la possibilité d'évaluer les faits économiques selon une approche quantitative. Cette démarche, dont les méthodes et les outils restent encore à définir, ouvre cependant des perspectives nouvelles, notamment dans le domaine de l'histoire socio-économique tibétaine antérieure au XX^e^ siècle. Un relevé systématique des données quantitatives et leur mise en série, notamment les valeurs d'échange des différentes marchandises à différentes périodes et dans différentes régions, en constitueront nécessairement les fondations. Ce processus d'élaboration de méthodes et d'outils sera bien évidemment graduel, progressant au rythme des découvertes de nouvelles sources, livrant non seulement des éléments quantitatifs mais également des précisions quant à la définition ou à la chronologie de ces faits économiques, et permettant ainsi un « affinage » progressif des valeurs précédemment relevées ou déduites.

Dans le cas de l'activité de l'imprimerie de sDe dge, fait économique relativement bien circonscrit, les recherches doivent se poursuivre afin d'évaluer cette entreprise dans son ensemble en intégrant notamment les coûts liés à

l'édification des bâtiments, à la production des impressions et aux bénéfices quantifiables qu'elles ont dégagés. Cette première étude a surtout permis de reprendre les données quantitatives fournies par les *dkar chag* des trois grandes éditions patronnées par bsTan pa tshe ring, et de tester la valeur qui pouvait être accordée à ce type de données. Ainsi, la cohérence des rémunérations entre les éditions du *Sa skya bka' 'bum* et du *bsTan 'gyur* permet de créditer l'ensemble des chiffres fournis d'une relative fiabilité et d'estimer le coût de réalisation de l'ensemble des blocs xylographiques des trois éditions (100 607 *par ldeb*) à un minimum de 630 000 *khal* d'orge. Rappelons que ces montants n'incluent pas les dépenses relatives à la réalisation des *dkar chag* ou liées aux rituels et aux festivités. Les données exposées par bKra shis lhun grub et Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen ont surtout permis de relever des coûts de production unitaire des *par ldeb* en fonction de leur type (A ou B), offrant la possibilité d'extrapolations approximatives pour d'autres productions de types similaires, et d'entrevoir des échelles de rémunération au sein et entre les différentes catégories socioprofessionnelles. L'ensemble de ces données, qu'il conviendra d'affiner, devrait permettre de servir d'éléments de référence aux recherches futures concernant l'histoire économique de l'ancien royaume de sDe dge au XVIII[e] siècle, et même plus largement au sein du monde tibétain.

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ABSTRACT

The Economic Aspects of Woodblock Publishing in sDe dge (I): The Making of Xylographic Blocks during bsTan pa tshe ring’s Reign (1713/4–1738)

Since the early 18th century, the kings of sDe dge have sponsored xylographic edition of Buddhist Scriptures. In the absence of sDe dge printing house’s archives, other sources give valuable data not only on its history but also on its economic aspects. The present and provisional study is limited to the woodblock production of the sDe dge *par khang* (Par khang chos mdzod bkra shis sgo mang, founded 1729) during the reign of king bsTan pa tshe ring, its founder, and the first years of his successor’s reign. During this period, three main collections were published in sDe dge, the *bKa’ ’gyur*, the *Sa skya bka’ ’bum* and the *bsTan ’gyur*, that is to say almost 110,000 woodblocks. Their *dkar chag*, written respectively in 1733, 1736 and 1743/44, give a precious picture of the chain of production as well as a rough estimate of the costs.

These data, expressed either in tea measures *(ja ’khor drug)* or in barley measures *(nas khal)*, allowed to establish rather precise lists and tables of the various classes of specialists involved in the production, of their inner hierarchy, and of their remunerations. But they still have to be carefully compared, explained and discussed, eventually with data concerning earlier or later sDe dge productions or other major publications, as the sNar thang *bKa’ ’gyur* and *bsTan ’gyur*, produced during the same period.

It is said in the three *dkar chag* that the House of sDe dge sponsored entirely the publication, and no taxes or corvées were imposed on the subjects of the kingdom. As the total cost of the *bsTan ’gyur* was estimated to 443,332 *khal* of barley, it means an annual investment of some 60,300 *khal* during each of the seven years of the process. If we consider that the three main collections (approx. 630,000 *khal*) were edited and published in 25 years (1718–1743), the annual investment (including food) amounted to more than 25,000 *khal*. Unfortunately, it is impossible to compare these amounts with the wealth of the House of sDe dge or with the income of the kingdom, still unknown.

Only very few data are actually available to evaluate the real extent of such an investment in eighteenth-century Tibet. The most evocative one is in fact the minimum annual ration for a monk living in a monastery: 10 *khal* of barley. So, the expenses entailed by these three publications would have allowed the support of around 2,500 monks for 25 years.

Even if woodblock publishing was obviously an expensive activity, the House of sDe dge didn't officially expected any financial benefits from these productions. They must however have expected a "return on investment", in terms of prestige and merits.

Some Remarks on *Bka' 'gyur* Production in 17th-century Tibet

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Many modern art publications on the treasures of Tibet contain illustrations of elaborately manufactured books, foremost volumes of handwritten *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* or some versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts.[1] The production of these elaborate editions involved not only numerous craftsmen but also precious materials, which were obtained by several traditional industries. In addition to the information on the production of these elaborate volumes, the texts that I consulted for this superficial survey provide us with information on the production of "simple" *Bka' 'gyur* sets in "black and white" *(skya chos)*, for example the period of time it took for a given number of craftsmen to produce them and how expensive such a production was.

The main sources that I have consulted were the writings of the regent *(sde srid)* Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705) and I also refer occasionally to other contemporary sources, such as the works of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682). Both authors have left us more or less detailed accounts of *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* productions that were commissioned during their incumbency.

Book production in the 17th century received a new *stimulus* with the establishment of the Dga' ldan pho brang government. For religious and political reasons the Dge lugs pa rulers felt the need to provide their old and new convents with the Buddhist canons and other texts, mainly for the purpose of ritual and worship.

As the establishment or production of *gsung rten* is a highly meritorious act, it is not surprising that in addition to the state government financing the production of canons, single individuals of the aristocracy were also involved as donors of complete *Bka' 'gyur* sets.[2] In addition, there was also a

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[1] The present paper is only a short version of a more detailed study on the subject. Special thanks I owe to James Canary, the expert on Tibetan paper, who kindly answered my questions during his short visit to Lumbini. My thanks are also due to Sam Mowe for correcting my English.

[2] See for example 5DL (1989–1991: I, 375): "I wrote an auspicious word for the *Bka' 'gyur* which was established by Bstan 'dzin and Da'i chin *(bstan 'dzin dang da'i chin gnyis kyis bzhengs pa'i bka' 'gyur la shis pa brjod /)*"; 5DL (1989–1991: I, 656): "As Me rgan

demand for *Bka' 'gyur* in Mongolia, as we find references in the written sources of this period that Mongolian chieftains acted as clients or sponsors for a *Bka' 'gyur* set. This great demand for simple and prestigious *Bka' 'gyur* sets led to the establishment of workshops in Lhasa and other places, particularly in places where the raw material could be easily acquired. Favoured sites were 'Ol kha dga' tshal, Bzad (mthong smon) and Shel dkar.

As mentioned above, in the following I would like to deal with the production of a luxury *Bka' 'gyur* set, which is written on dark coloured paper *(mthing shog)* with precious inks, and is also highly decorated with other materials, of which we will learn more about below. We are fortunate that the regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho or his office kept records about these workshops and their production, and that, to some extent, the data in these records was included in the writings of the regent. Of particular importance is a text called *She bam chen mo*, of which we have a modern edition in the collection of law texts, the *Zhal lce phyogs bsdus*, published in the year 1987 in Tibet by the Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang. The text in question contains a mixture of legal decisions, fines and punishments, and the expenses used for the production of *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* during the latter half of the 17th century. This text does not mention any author or any *rab byung*, regarding the date of its creation, only mentioning the combinations of an element and animal of the sexagesimal cycle. Still, it is obvious from other facts that this document must have been started by the first regent Bsod nams rab brtan (1595–1658) and then continued by the other regents, mainly by Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho.[3] The main argument for dating this text to the second half of the 17th century is the mentioning of the tailor

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chos rje needed urgently a sample copy for establishing a new *Bka' 'gyur* and by the hope that it may be of benefit for the continuation of the doctrine, I sent one good copy of a plain *Bka' 'gyur*. His travelers I sent home with many religious and worldly items *(me rgan chos rjes bka' 'gyur zhig gsar bzheng gi ma dper dgos tshul nan che bar bstan rgyun la phan du re bas skya chos dngos gtsang zhig bskur / 'grul pa rnams la byin rlabs rten dang zang zing gi dngos po gya nom pa'i rdzong ba byas /)*"; 5DL (1989–1991: III, 89): "I wrote a praise for the *dkar chag* of the *Bka' 'gyur* which was established by the regent Blo bzang sbyin pa at Sho mdo *(sa skyong blo bzang sbyin pas sho mdor bka' 'gyur ro cog bzhengs pa'i dkar chag che brjod /)"*.

[3] See the remark in Padma skal bzang (1991: 11–12) where it is stated that the regent Bsod nams chos 'phel (= Bsod nams rab brtan) arranged in 1643 the well-known *She bam chen mo* in support of the law code in 13 chapters *(Zhal lce bcu gsum)*. This published version of the *She bam chen mo* seems to be a compilation of different legal documents, because we can find the initial portion of the *She bam chen mo* in other mss. or editions of the Tibetan legal codes, such as the "Tibetan Legal Material" (published in Dharamsala in 1985) or the *Zhal lce bcu drug* (published in Dolanji in 1985). The last part on *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* production seems to have been added later from another source.

Gra phyi Bsod nams don grub, who was employed by the central government during the last years of the Fifth Dalai Lama's life and appears henceforth in a few instances in the writings of the Desi, mainly in the record regarding the Red Potala Palace construction and in the supplements to the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama.[4] Furthermore, the mentioning of the rGyal po and Uchir Tha'i ji as clients of the production of a *Bka' 'gyur* set makes it clear that this entry is from the year 1665, since this matter is mentioned also by the Fifth Dalai Lama.[5] The title *rgyal po* refers here to Bstan 'dzin Dayan Khan (r. 1658–1668), the son of Gushri Khan (1582–1655). That is all I will say here regarding the dating of the *She bam chen mo*.

Several materials and components were involved in the production of *Bka' 'gyur* sets, which we can roughly enumerate as:

- paper – *shog bu, dga' ldan gan shog, dga' ldan shog chen, mon shog, dvags shog*, etc.
- pigments – *sa tshon*
- glue – *spyin, ko spyin*
- lacquer – *shing rtsi*
- precious metals – *gser, dngul, zangs*
- precious stones – *g.yu, byi ru*
- silk, brocade or other precious cloth – *sman tse, kha thi, ding phon*, etc.
- rope – *sitahu, sitahu lhas ma*
- wood – *stag spang gi glegs shing, stag pa'i glegs shing, mon seng gi glegs shing*, etc., and
- different tools – *gcod 'bur*, etc.

The production techniques of traditional Tibetan and Himalayan paper are well-known, mainly from the fine book by Jesper Trier, and I will not repeat them here. However, a few words should be said about the production of

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[4] The tailor *(gos bzo)* Gra phyi Bsod nams don grub is mentioned twice in the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Tham phud* collection [I, 290r6 and II, 298r5] in connection with the tailor Gra phyi Nor skyong. In the hierarchical order of craftsmen in a workshop or during the realisation of a project both tailors from Gra phyi held the position of *dbu chung*. The usual sequence of positions is 1) *do dam spyi khab*, 2) *dbu chen* [occasionally *dbu mdzad*], 3) *dbu chung*, and 4) *byings* or *dmangs* for the common workers.

[5] 5DL (1989–1991: II, 4): "On the first day of the sixth month [of the year 1665] I composed a prayer as requested by *nang so* Dkon [cog] dar [rgyas] and the master scribes at the occasion when the king and O chir thu tha'i ji established both a *Bka' 'gyur* set *(hor zla drug pa'i tshes gcig la .... rgyal po dang o chir thu tha'i ji gnyis kyis bka' 'gyur bzheng skabs nang so dkon dar bas bskul ba'i dpon yig rnams kyi ngag 'don smon lam brtsams /)*". This prayer *(smon lam)* is found in vol. *Zha* of the 5DL Collected works on fols. 57v1–58v1.

mthing shog, the dark glossy paper that is used as the base for writing with ink made out of precious materials.

The paper usually came from Kong po, Dvags po or from Bhutan *(mon shog)* and the single sheets had to be pasted together in order to get a harder and firmer base to write on.[6] The paste was a wheat starch paste yielded from the boiling of extremely refined and carefully sieved wheat flour *(gro zhib)*. The persons who paste the sheets together are called *shog sbyor ba*. The work with the paper was called *shog las*, but occasionally rendering the abbreviation for **shog las pa* or **shog las byed mkhan*, i.e. the "paper worker".

When these sheets with several layers had dried, they were cut into pages of a given size, such as of *mda' tshad* length, the "length of an arrow", which is something like 60 cm.[7] The dried sheets were then pressed under some heavy boards by alternately wetting the single sheets, one dry sheet was pressed between two wet ones, and so on.

This process was left aside for some time while the craftsmen worked on the production of black ink for colouring the whole sheets. The pigment used came from soot, which was carefully ground and mixed with glue and fresh brain matter from yak or goats.[8] The Amdo scholar bKra shis don grub[9] mentions in his short paper on the production of *mthing shog* that brain matter was used in the ink preparation. Brain matter and ink were mixed and firmly kneaded into a liquid. This was followed by straining the liquid through a sieve made of a horse tail.[10] The reason why brain matter was mixed with ink is presumably to make the paper glossy and to prevent the inks made of precious material from dissolving on the paper and getting blurred.

[6] The layers depended on the thickness and the quality of the paper, i.e. for *rab brtan gan shog* three or four layers were sufficient, but *mon shog* of medium quality had to be done in four or five layers *(shog bu sbyor ba shar tshe rab brtan gan shog gsum sbyor dang bzhi sbyor mon shog spus 'bring bzhi sbyor dang lnga sbyor)*. Another kind of paper was the so-called *dga' ldan shog chen*, which was ordered from *Mtsho sna* in south Tibet. This paper was pasted together in two or three layers.

[7] According to military records an arrow without the feathery part at the end should have the length of 20 *sor mo*, a *sor mo* equals ca. 1.5–2.5 cm. The feathery part should be 4 *sor mo*, equivalent to 10 cm, so *ca*. 60 cm in total.

[8] In *Dukūla* suppl. II 20r3–20r4 (by Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho), *bre* and 2 *phul* of finely sieved wheat flour, 113 *khal* of soot which can be kneaded dry, 11 *khal* and 2 *bre* of fresh brain matter, etc. ... *(gro zhib btsags ma khal nyis brgya dang nyi shu rtsa drug bre bcu drug phul do / sgron thul skam bsnur grub pa khal brgya dang bcu gsum / klad rlon khal bcu gcig bre do / ...)* This phrase is repeated in the *'Dzam gling rgyan gcig dkar chag*, see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1990: 496).

[9] Bkra shis don grub (1999: 119–120).

[10] Anonymous (1987: 147): one horse tail for sieving the brain-ink mix *(klad snag tshag par rta'i mjug ma gcig /)*.

The pigments for the different inks used for writing came from finely ground up precious materials, starting with gold and silver, semiprecious stones, such as turquoise or red corals, and conch shells. It is still unclear what the substance used as a binder for these kinds of inks was. Usually for black ink a glue made of long-boiled leather or bones was used. But we still need to determine whether shellac (or another ingredient) was used for these precious inks. The actual writing process was done in the usual way with one or more editors *(zhu dag)* involved and a number of scribes *(bris dmangs)*.

In many instances the first few volumes of the set had their first two or three pages written in a relief type script: *yi ge lto gar 'bur ma*, *yi ge lto gar*, *gser bris lto gar*. The etymology of the expression *lto gar*[11] is still unclear.

The experts who were doing the relief-like scripts were called the *lto gar ba*. Before being painted in gold or silver the letters are created by using a kind of icing pipe *(gcod 'bur)* made out of strong cloth with a fine metal opening at the end through which the paste is pressed.[12] This process is reminiscent of the written decoration of a birthday cake. A special powder was used for the paste. Once dry, it was firmly glued onto the paper while still flexible.[13] Regarding the aesthetics of the work, the pages could be written in alternating gold and silver ink scripts or in inks of different colours. When using such inks, the sequence of the colours would theoretically follow a fixed system, but in reality we find the order of the different colours were quite arbitrary. Volumes written alternating between gold and silver were called *Bka' 'gyur ra ma lug*. This expression refers also to other objects made of both gold and silver, such as posh saddles for high dignitaries.[14]

In addition to letters written in a relief style, those first pages often included small paintings of the protecting deities or important lineage holders to the left and right of the textual part. They were done as two-dimensional paintings, called *'jam bris*. The deities were often surrounded by an aura in the shape of an arch, with a pointed top *(sgo khyim)* made of gilded metal and inlaid with small polished precious stones. In many cases the first page(s) had an elevated border and the space for the text and paintings was called *dbu khang* (figs. 1 and 2 overleaf).

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[11] Presumably it refers to a thick *(gar po)* paste made out of some kind of powder and glue.

[12] See the illustration in Ronge and Ronge (1981: 523, ill. B 1).

[13] I thank J. Canary for his explanation. J. Canary intends to have this material analysed in the near future.

[14] 5DL (1989–1991: I, 220): "a set of a gold-silver mixed incense cup together with a cover *(ra ma lug gi spos phor khebs bcas cha /)*"; 5DL (1989–1991: I, 299): "three saddles made of silver, seven saddles made of gold and silver *(dngul sga gsum / ra ma lug bdun /)*".



Fig. 1 First page showing the *dbu khang* with text in *yi ge 'bur ma* and paintings in *'jam 'bris*. See Grönbold (1991: 139).



Fig. 2 First page showing the *dbu khang* with text in *ra ma lug* and three paintings in *'jam bris*. See Grönbold (1991: 137).

The illustrations of deities on the first pages could also be done in repoussé with inlay of precious stones as shown in fig. 3 overleaf.



Fig. 3 First pages with illustrations in repoussé and in *'jam bris* of a *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* volume. See *Precious Deposits* (vol. 4, 13).

For protection of the paintings or repousssé those pages were covered by a *zhal khebs*, often with several layers of brocade, satin or other fine and expensive cloth.[15] Simultaneously, book covers were also produced, as well as straps to bind the volumes into solid blocks. Later on, *glegs chab (mig gnyis)* were made out of brass or any other precious material for securing the straps. The different shapes and forms of Tibetan book covers are well-known from Günter Grönbold's book[16] and will not be discussed here any further.

Let us now turn to the administrative aspect of a *Bka' 'gyur* production. We learn from the texts that workshops had been established in 'Ol dga' *('ol kha dga' tshal)* and Shel dkar, and some necessary material was produced in Lhasa workshops, such as the one established at Dga' ldan khang gsar, the former Lhasa residence of Gushri Khan. The payments, and the salaries both in cash and kind for the craftsmen at 'Ol dga' and Shel dkar were channeled through the governors of those districts. 'Ol dga' was presumably a locality that yielded wood and other materials that were needed in great quantity.

Different districts were involved in the production of pigments as requested by the central government. The supply of pigments to the government, as well as the production of ink and paper, was included among the taxes of particular districts.[17]

The production work in the workshops was usually done under the supervision of a kind of foreman or master craftsman who was responsible for the quality of the final product. In the construction scenes depicted on the murals of the Potala we can see that in some workshops monks were performing rituals. Presumably they were not only praying for the auspicious outcome of the final work, but may have also been appointed to make sure that the work was done properly and that no production material was misused or stolen by the craftsmen.

To some workshops the government also sent a physician *('tsho byed)* who would take care of the workers, particularly when the work was of great importance and had to be finished at a special time.[18] This happened for instance in 1683, when a gold ink *Bka' 'gyur* was produced in 'Ol dga'.

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[15] 5DL (1989–1991: II, 89): "for the main pages/volumes (?) the cover cloth in three layers, for the other ones in two layers *(gtso bo la zhal khebs / gsum brtsegs / gzhan rnams la nyis brtsegs)*."

[16] Grönbold (1991).

[17] See in Cüppers (forthcoming a) for instance the list which includes ink and *sa sna*, "various minerals", as items to be sent to the central government in Lhasa.

[18] In his book on the history of medicine in Tibet *(khog 'bug)*, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1982: 553) remarks that he himself acted as a physician for the workers and that he distributed a lot of medicine at the Red Potala Palace construction site: "I myself treated, during the time of smallpox epidemics and when the Red Potala Palace was erected with

The work started with a feast *('jugs ston / 'dzugs ston)* given to the workers' crew. Half way through the production there was another feast *(sgang ston / bar ston)*, and finally when the work was finished there was a closing feast *(grol ston / grub ston)* for all workers. The expenses for such festivities also were duly recorded in the production costs.

Regarding the expenses of a *Bka' 'gyur* production, the data for a particular production is scattered over the entire text and has to be compiled in order to get a clear picture of that production. In addition to the expenses, the production time and the number of craftsmen are also listed. Examples:

- For the production of a *Bka' 'gyur* on whitish paper in 108 volumes in the year 1656 in Bzad[19] the number of craftsmen was 111 and the work took 4 1/2 months *(me sprel* [1656] *bzad du skya ser po ti brgya dang brgyad bzhengs par mi grangs brgya dang bcu gcig rgyun zla ba phyed lnga /)*.
- The production of a *Bka' 'gyur* in gold ink of 116 volumes in the year 1659 in Thang chen involved 201 craftsmen and took 4 1/2 months *(sa phag* [1659] *thang chen du gser chos po ti brgya dang bcu drug bzhengs bar mi grangs nyis brgya dang gcig gis rgyun zla ba phyed lng*a /).
- For the production of a *Bka' 'gyur* set each for the king and Uchir Tha'i ji 249 persons completed 222 volumes in a period of 6 months and 10 days *(shing sbrul* [1665] *rgyal po dang u chir tha'i ji'i / bka' 'gyur ra ma lug tshar re bzhengs bar mi grangs nyis brgya dang bzhi bcu zhe dgus rgyun zla ba drug dang zhag bcu la po ti nyis brgya dang nyi shu rtsa gnyis grub /)*.

It appears that a kind of jingle *(mgyogs khyad ngag 'dzin)* circulated among the craftsmen to help get the volumes and the numbers of pages of a set in proper order, but it could have also served the accountants for their calculations of paper and the involved expenses.[20] The total amount of folios of the

its religious objects, all who belonged to the circle of the construction site as the foremen, craftsmen and down to the helpers with not a small amount of herbal tea, powder and pills etc. and distributed a lot of medicine *(rang ngos nas 'brum pa mched che ba snga phyi'i dus dang mchod sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig rten dang brten par bcas pa bzheng skabs bya ba las kyi 'khor lor gtogs pa'i 'go ba / bzo rigs / 'u lag yan chad du thang phye ril bu sogs phon ma chungs pa sbyar te sman byin rgya chen po bgyis /)*".

[19] Bzad (Mthong smon) was an estate of Tashilhunpo [Bkra shis lhun po]-*bla brang* and was situated near Lhun po rtse close to Shigatse.

[20] *rgyal rtse'i bka' 'gyur them spangs zhes pa yis /*
yongs su grags pa'i ma dpe chen mo la /
rgyud mdo myang 'dul 'bum dang nyi khris gtsos /
khri brgyad shes khri brgyad stong khri sna tshogs /
phal chen dkon brtsegs la sogs so sor ni /

111 volumes mentioned in this jingle add up to 39,935. In another case we find 40,312 folios, because the first pages of the volumes may have had as many as four layers *(rtsegs bzhi)* and the last pages were doubled to protect the volume.

In his *Tham phud*-Collection the Fifth Dalai Lama gives a short note with regard to the authenticity of the *Them spangs ma Bka' 'gyur*'s Tantra-section in contrast to the one of the Tshal pa edition.[21] The *Them spangs ma Bka' 'gyur* has been greatly favoured by the Dge lugs pa rulers over the Tshal pa edition, because of the involvement of the "all-knowing" scholar Bu ston rin chen grub as an editor *(zhu dag)*, and it was taken in many cases as a sample for copying new editions.

Finally I wish to point out some data concerning the financial aspect of a *Bka' 'gyur* production. The total expenses for the necessary items of a simple

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po ti 'di dang shog grangs khyon gyi rtsis /
mgyogs khyad ngag 'dzin byed pa 'di lta ste /
rgyud 'bum dag la po ti bco brgyad dang
shog grangs bdun stong nyis brgya lnga bcu tham pa (corrupt verse?)
mdo sde po ti sum cu so bdun gyi /
shog bu'i grangs la khri tsho gcig dang ni /
gsum stong gsum brgya bdun bcu don gnyis so /
myang 'das mdo la po ti gsum yod par
shog bu dgu brgya dang ni bzhi kho na /
'dul lung po ti bcu bzhir shog bu'i grangs /
lnga stong nyis brgya sum cu so drug yod /
'bum la po ti bcu drug shog grangs ni /
stong phrag lnga dang lnga brgya nyi shu (p. 142) *gcig /*
nyi khri po ti bzhi yi shog grangs la
stong dang sum brgya bzhi bcu zhe brgyad 'dug /
khri brgyad stong gi po ti gsum so la /
shog bu stong dang {dgu} bcu go brgyad do /
shes rab khri la po ti gnyis la ni /
shog grangs lnga brgya sum cu so brgyad yod /
brgyad stong shog bur sum brgya lnga bcu bzhi /
khri sna tshogs kyi po ti bse ru la /
shog bu nyis brgya bzhi bcu tham pa dang /
phal chen po ti drug gi shog grangs la /
stong phrag gcig dang dgu brgya bzhi rkyang yin /
dkon brtsegs po ti drug gi shog bu'i grangs /
nyis stong brgya dang bdun cu tham pa'o /
gong 'khod po ti brgya dang bcu gcig gi /
shog grangs khyon bsdoms khri tsho gsum dang ni
dgu stong dgu brgya sum cu so lnga bzhugs / (Anonymous [1987: 141–142])

[21] 5DL (*Tham Phud*: vol. 2, 26v2): "*rgyal ba gnyis pa bu ston rin po ches dag ther mdzad nas dbyung bar brten gsar rgyud tshal pa bka' 'gyur las them spangs ma khungs btsun zhing lo chen tshad thub mang po'i 'gyur dpyad bzod pa dang /*"

Bka' 'gyur set, i.e. one written on white paper with black ink, were in one case 1,823 *dngul srang*.[22] The total expenses for the production of 114 volumes in the year 1683 in 'Ol dga' were 10,398 *dngul srang*, 44 *skar ma* and some minor fractions. This set was written with precious inks on well-proportioned *(chu zheng gab pa)* indigo coloured paper where the indigo resembled[23] the colour of a cloudless sky.

On average the total of the salaries of the workers including the feasts and bonuses etc. *(phogs ston yon sogs)* amounted to *ca.* 3,000 to 4,000 *dngul srang*, representing very roughly 30–35% of the total expenses. The salaries for the single workers depended on their craft and position. Daily wage *(nyin gla)* for a varnisher *(rtsi mkhan)* was 6 *bre* and 4 *phul* (flour or *rtsam pa*), a tailor or worker of brocades *(gos bzo)* received 5 *bre*, and the same amount was given to those who dyed the papers *(sngo bzo)*.[24] A smith received 4 *bre* per day and a carpenter 6 *bre* and 4 *phul*. In addition to flour they were also allotted a small amount of salt and oil. The senior foreman *(do dam rgan pa)* received a monthly salary of 50 *khal* of fine flour, one carcass of a sheep *(lug khog)*, a quarter and something of yak meat, and 2 *nyag* of salt. During a working day tea was served three times to all workers.

In order to get a proper idea about the salaries of the craftsmen and the general expenses for the production of a *Bka' 'gyur* or *Bstan 'gyur* one should try to get the market price of goods at that time. Although it is doubtful that the prices for goods were the same all over Tibet, we still can cull some data from contemporary sources.[25]

The exchange rate of a *dngul srang* in relation to *gshor khal* was 18.[26] The 17th century law code, the *zhal lce bcu gsum*, mentions that the price of an adult male yak *(g.yag grus)* was at that time 1 *gser zho*.[27] One of the law codes

[22] Anonymous (1987: 144): "*bka' 'gyur skya pod tshar gcig gi dgos cha khyon bsdoms par dngul srang stong phrag gcig brgyad brgya nyi shu rtsa gsum rnams /*"

[23] Lit.: rivaled *('gran)*.

[24] I am still not certain about the meaning of this term. The modern editors of the *She bam chen mo* emend this in some instances to *dngul bzo ba*, but judging from the term *sngo chos* in Goldstein (2001) "religious texts written on dark blue paper with gold or silver letters", I tend to identify the *sngo bzo ba* as the dyer. This hypothesis seems to be supported by listing *(b)sngo* together with *rtsi(s) shing*, "dyer, lacquer applier and carpenter".

[25] That there existed a difference in measurements between the provinces Dbus and Gtsang is obvious from the terms *dbus zho* and *gtsang zho*. Regarding the Lhasa market price of goods the regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho suggested a quinquennial adjustment in his Guidelines for Government Officials.

[26] See Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (I, 179r6): "*lha sa'i khrom thang ltar [dngul] srang rer gshor khal bco brgyad re rtsis /*".

[27] See *Zhal lce bcu gsum* (1989: 162): "*g.yag grus pho rer gser zho re rtsi ba dang /*".

says that the relation between gold and silver was 1 : 6 [*i.e.* 1 *gser zho* = 6 *dngul zho*]. As the discussion of Tibetan weights and measures needs a more detailed study and goes beyond the frame of the present subject, I would like to postpone it for now and prefer to conclude here with the remark that the Dga' ldan pho brang rulers of the 17th century had established well-organised workshops and kept records about their expenses that included the materials, the salaries of craftsmen and the overall costs of the production of a complete set of the *Buddhavacana* in Tibetan translation.

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RÉSUMÉ

Remarques sur la production de Bka' 'gyur *au XVIIe siècle au Tibet*

On voit de nos jours dans les livres d'art de nombreuses reproductions de très beaux *Bka' 'gyur* et *Bstan 'gyur* manuscrits. L'existence de ces éditions précieuses suppose de nombreux artisans, une variété de matériaux et de techniques annexes. Les écrits du Ve Dalai Lama et ceux du régent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, notamment, contiennent des informations sur les éditions du *Bka' 'gyur* et du *Bstan 'gyur* faites sous leur patronage, et ces textes nous informent également sur les éditions plus ordinaires, "en noir et blanc", notamment sur les délais de réalisation et le coût des opérations. L'édition connut en effet un regain d'activité au XVIIe siècle, avec l'arrivée au pouvoir des Dge' lugs pa qui jugèrent nécessaire de doter leurs anciens et nouveaux monastères de collections canoniques,

souvent produites avec le soutien financier de l'aristocratie. Et il en fut de même en Mongolie.

Des ateliers furent établis pour la production de ces éditions, simples et ou luxueuses. Les documents donnent des listes de matériaux nécessaires (papier de diverses qualités, encres, laque, pigments, pierres, métaux et textiles précieux, cordelette, bois, outils) et indiquent leur provenance, parfois leur mode de fabrication. On le voit, par exemple, dans le cas de la préparation du papier bleu *(mthing shog)*. Les divers types d'écriture requéraient divers catégories de spécialistes, comme les *lto gar ba*, auteurs de lettres ornementales en relief. Les pages pouvaient être ornées de miniatures peintes *('jam bris)* ou exécutées au repoussé, et étaient alors protégées par un voile de textile.

Des ateliers avaient été établis à Lhasa, notamment au Dga' ldan khang gsar, ancien palais de Gushri Khan, ainsi qu'à 'Ol dga' et à Shel dkar où les salaires étaient distribués par les gouverneurs de district. La production dans ces ateliers était faite sous la responsabilité d'un contremaître, et le gouvernement y envoyait parfois un médecin. Des fêtes marquaient les diverses phases de la production et leur coût entrait dans le prix de revient général. On dispose pour plusieurs *Bka' 'gyur* copiés à cette époque, d'informations sur le nombre d'artisans employés et la durée du travail, le nombre de volumes et de folios.

Les informations ont également trait au coût de ces opérations, et varient largement entre 1 823 onces d'argent pour un *Bka' 'gyur* à l'encre noire sur papier blanc, à 10 390 onces d'argent pour un *Bka' 'gyur* copié avec des encres de couleur sur papier indigo. Les salaires et dédommagements dépendaient du rang et de l'habileté. Certaines indications sont très précises, mais il faut encore une étude de fond des mesures en usage au Tibet pour pouvoir estimer réellement le coût de ces opérations d'édition du *Bka' 'gyur* au XVII^e^ siècle.

Editing and Publishing the Master's Writings: The Early Years of rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559)

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Introduction

In recent years research work on the so-called Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa school of Tibetan Buddhism has intensified. We are now beginning to get a clearer picture of the biographical tradition surrounding Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa (1084–1161) and the literary works and spiritual practices of the *Ras chung snyan brgyud*, representing the esoteric teachings of Tibet's great Yogin Mi la ras pa (1040–1123). The platform for this increased interest was to a large extent set up within the circle of gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507) and his disciples, who codified and transmitted the hagiographies and practice manuals in the medium of xylographic book production, and instilled new life into the ideal of the Buddhist renunciant and yogin in Tibet at the turn of the 15th to the 16th century.[1]

The most famous of the disciples of the "Holy Madman from gTsang" were lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) and rGod tshang ras chen (also known as rGod tshang ras pa sNa tshogs rang grol), each of whom composed a biography of their teacher and furthered his work by making the literary output of the tradition available through the production and distribution of printed texts. This task was continued by gNas Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581), a disciple of both lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal and rGod tshang ras chen. He oversaw the printing, for example, of the biographies of Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa and gTsang smyon's teacher Sha ra Rab 'byams pa (1427–1476); it is also known that he made statues of the lineage holders of the *Ras chung snyan brgyud*. In the present state of research, therefore, it is possible to witness the development

[1] On the various biographies devoted to Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa, see Roberts (2007: 7–56). For the literature, transmission lineages and esoteric doctrines of the Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa school, see Sernesi (2004: 251–287) and Sernesi (2006); compare Quintman (2006: 74–76). The hagiography of La phyi ba Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1372–1437), an important lineage holder of the *Ras chung snyan brgyud*, is available in Pahlke (2007). For a treatment of the life of gTsang smyon Heruka, see Stearns (1985: 21–65) and Smith (2001: 63–67); an overview of the different printing projects of gTsang smyon Heruka and his disciples is provided by Larsson (2009: 205–244) and Schaeffer (forthcoming).

of the Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa school over three generations, covering roughly the period of one century.[2]

Nevertheless, there are still gaps in our knowledge of the spiritual careers of individual teachers. In the case of rGod tshang ras chen there is the problem of determining exact dates for his years of birth and death, and those in which he composed his major writings. Although it has been noted that he wrote a short autobiography in verse, there exists only an incomplete manuscript version of the text (the first two folios), the hope having been expressed that the remaining folios would be found in order to shed more light "on the presently dark land of his adult life."[3]

A xylograph of this autobiography is now available. In the following section I present a partial translation of it as a source of information for the early years of rGod tshang ras chen. The text (partly quoted in Appendix 1 below) does not cover the full life span of gTsang smyon Heruka's disciple, but we can at least follow the steps of his spiritual training up to the most decisive event: the encounter with his master. We are further informed in a very concise way about travels before and after the death of gTsang smyon Heruka and about how he began to make the latter's writings available as xylographic prints. These publishing and editing activities are further documented in the "printing colophons" *(par byang)* of the relevant works. It is

[2] Concerning the biographical tradition of lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal as contained in two consecutive texts, see Ehrhard (2000: 78–79) and Clemente (2009); an overview of the xylographs produced at Brag dkar rta so, a monastery founded by lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal, is presented in Clemente (2007: 124–126). For basic information on the person of rGod tshang ras chen, see Smith (2001: 62); his literary activities in propagating the *Ras chung snyan brgyud* included a detailed exposition of the Cakrasaṃvaratantra and its different traditions and a catalogue of the so-called *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* or *mKha' 'gro snyan brgyud* as codified by gTsang smyon Heruka; see notes 11 and 29. This material has been studied by Sernesi (forthcoming). The life of gNas Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs—like his teacher lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal, a native of Mang yul Gung thang in south-western Tibet—is treated in Ehrhard (forthcoming a).

[3] These words conclude the note on rGod tshang ras chen's life and his verse autobiography in Roberts (2007: 43–49); the dates proposed on the basis of the available textual material lie between 1470 and 1542. A second set of hypothetical dates for rGod tshang ras chen is 1494–1570; see, for example, Martin & Bentor (1997: 82). The latter dates are based on the introduction to the biography of Lo ras pa dBang phyug brtson 'grus (1187–1250) written by rGod tshang ras chen; see "Bka-brgyud-pa Hagiographies", vol. 2, Tashijong, 1972, pp. 237–381. It is stated there that the dates are taken from the so-called *Zhe chen chos 'byung* (= Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, vol. 10), Leh: Sonam W. Tashigangpa 1971, pp. 254.6–256.4; the person in question, however, is not rGod tshang ras chen sNa tshogs rang grol but sPrul sku sNa tshogs rang grol, the reincarnation of the treasure discoverer Rig 'dzin Ratna gling pa (1403–1478).

thus possible to obtain concrete details about the sponsor, the editors and the particular workshop of Buddhist craftsmen who were responsible for collecting and printing the master's writings. Although rGod tshang ras chen does not refer to these editorial activities in his autobiographical account, they must have contributed to his self-understanding as a tantric siddha and a follower of the Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa school.

[a. Home Region, Family and Birth]

The elongated land of the Yar mo [River], the place in the centre of Tibet enclosed by glaciers:
In its upper part [lies] lHa gnyan gangs,
In its lower part Turquoise Lake, and in the middle beautiful landscapes,
Including mGon [po] ri, Shel brag [ri] [and] Sham po gangs,
[All] possessing astonishing places for spiritual practice, [and each] endowed with manifold blessings;
[There are] many vihāras and receptacles for the Body, Speech [and] Mind [of the Buddha],
including bTsan thang, Khra 'brug [and] Yum bu Bla mkhar;[4]
The site, too, where communities for the exposition [and] practice of the Jina's doctrine have spread very much,
[And] where many incarnations and great beings have set foot,
Including kings [and] ministers, bodhisattvas, scholars, noble monks [and] siddhas—
[It is there that] my birthplace is: gSer pa khab gsar [in the village of] lHa ru.[5]

[4] The "land of Yar (or the Yar-mo River)" *(Yar [mo] lung)* and its geographical boundaries in upper and lower Yar-lung (corresponding to Yar lung phu and Yar lung mdo) are described in Gyalbo, Hazod & Sørensen (2000: 10–14). mGon po ri and Shel brag ri are situated at the entrance to the valley, a short distance from where the Yar mo River enters the gTsang po, while the Sham po Mountains are in Yar stod in the south; for the topography of the region and the location of bTsan thang, Khra 'brug and Yum bu Bla mkhar (or Bla sgang) in lower Yar lung, see the map (*ibid.*: 241). The pilgrimage guide to Khra 'brug records that a chapel of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara was erected at the vihāra by rGod tshang ras chen (quoted there under the name Kun mkhyen sNa tshogs ras chen); see Sørensen, Hazod & Gyalbo (2005: 86).

[5] The village of lHag ru or lHa ru is located to the south of Yum bu Bla mkhar and is chiefly renowned for being the former site of the lHa ru sMan pa'i rgyal po, a temple dedicated to the Eight Medicine Buddhas; on the village and the sanctuary, known as one of the "three receptacles" *(rten gsum)* of the Yar lung region, see Sørensen, Hazod & Gyalbo (2005: 99–100). I take gSer pa khab gsar to be the name of the family residence in the village.

My family was known as mGos, a clan that occupies land in a small principality.
My father bSam rdor [and] mother rDo rje [had] four daughters and three sons, [of whom] I was the eldest brother.
[I was born] when [my] father was twenty-five [and my] mother nineteen,
In the night of the tenth day of the [eleventh] Hor [month of] Mṛgaśiras, in the [water-male] tiger year (= 1482),
At the break of day, [and] it was said that good omens [appeared as if] the warm season had arrived;
I remained in a state of staring gaze, uttering the [sacred] sounds *āḥ* and *hūṃ*.
By the power of the best medicine, which had been blessed by an Indian yogin,
I became known for developing an ever more beautiful voice. (= Appendix 1/a)[6]

[b. Early Adventures and First Teachers]

For about five years I remained in my mother's lap.
Then, up to [the age of] twelve, I stayed with my mother at rGod tshang brag in [the region of] rKyam yul.[7]
Once, in my eighth year (= 1489), I performed [the act of requesting] 'religious release',

[6] Members of the clan called mGos or 'Gos are known to have been present in the region since the time of the early Yar lung rulers. Indeed its members were among the families who invited the first ruler to Yar stod; see Gyalbo, Hazod & Sørensen (2000: 27). The year of birth is the first of only two events dated by the author in the text. This "tiger year" in the autobiography has elsewhere been conjectured as corresponding to 1470; see notes 3 and 8. As can be seen in the following, I move it twelve years forward on the internal evidence of rGod tshang ras chen's meetings with secular and religious contemporaries, including his teacher gTsang smyon Heruka. The year of death has been dated to 1559 on the basis of details contained in the biography of his disciple gNas Rab 'byams-pa Byams pa phun tshogs; see Ehrhard (forthcoming a).

[7] I have not been able to identify rGod tshang brag and the region of rKyam yul. rGod tshang brag may, like the birthplace, be in Yar lung, and was possibly where the mother's family resided. A pair of brothers called "officials [from] rGod tshang" *(rgod tshang nang so)* are mentioned as donors for the production of the xylograph of rGod tshang ras chen's biography of gTsang smyon Heruka; see *id.*: *gTsang smyon He ru ka phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam thar rdo rje theg pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i snying po* in "The Life of the Saint of Gtsaṅ" (= Śata Piṭaka Series, 79), New Delhi, 1969, p. 289.1–2. They are listed immediately after the "officials [from] bSam[grub] bde[chen]" *(bsam bde nang so)*, an important district subunit close to Yum bu Bla mkhar; see Gyalbo, Hazod & Sørensen (2000: 31–32).

But I was brought [back] by two preceptors [of my family]—returned and set free.
At that time, from two tea traders who had been to lHa sa, I heard that there was a yogin who wears a human skin and is called the Holy Madman from gTsang.
Immediately the hairs on my body stood up, and for a long time tears came forth.[8]
In my ninth year (= 1490), when I was at the palace of sNe'u gdong rtse,
The princess [and] the sovereign Tshes gnyis Rin po che [sPyan snga Ngag gi dbang po (1439–1490)]
Made me a lay official at dGa' ldan chos chen, whereupon I offered the [customary] gift [to them] and asked for the allowance document;
For one month I had to endure a lot of time and remain [at the palace].[9]
During my tenth year (= 1491), I remember, the Dharma Lord Sangs [rgyas] blo[gros] and
sMan lung rtse pa bestowed initiations on me,
While bSod [nams] bstan [pa], the Dharma Lord of Kun bzang bde chen,
Gave guidance for [understanding] the *Bram ze snyan brgyud* [of Cakrasaṃvara] and [the reading authorization for] the biographies of Mitrayogin; [Dharma mDo sde,] the deceased son of Mar pa [Chos kyi blo gros (1040–1123)]; [and] Lo Ras [pa dBang phyug brtson 'grus].
"I have not broken free of death but [nevertheless] possess a commitment to the Buddhist doctrine"—
[Such] pronouncements I was able [to mutter] in recitation;

[8] This episode was used by Roberts (2007: 43–44) to deduce the year of rGod tshang ras chen's birth. The episode of gTsang smyon Heruka wearing human skin for the first time and becoming known as the Holy Madman from gTsang can be dated on the basis of lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal's biography of the master to the years 1474 or 1475. On the strange outward look and outrageous behaviour of gTsang smyon Heruka, aged twenty-three at the time, and his visit to lHa sa (via Yar lung and sNe'u gdong rtse) see Stearns (1985: 30 and 56, note 37). I would imagine that some years had elapsed since the event, and that the tea traders told the story in order to entertain—and frighten—the young boy, who had just gotten permission from the estate to which his family belonged to become a novice monk; for this kind of permission, called "religious release" *(chos bro)*, see Goldstein (2007: 11, note 16).

[9] The palace of sNe'u gdong rtse, the residence of the Phag mo gru rulers, was located in lower Yar lung. For details concerning the rule of the Eighth Phag mo gru sDe srid sPyan snga Ngag gi dbang po, known as Tshes gnyis Rin po che (referring to the memorial day of his death), see Paṇ chen bSod nams grags pa (1478–1554): *rGyal rabs 'phrul gyi lde mig gam deb ther dmar po gsar ma*, Chengdu, 1989, 84.17–87.8 and Tucci (1971: 224–227). Concerning his tenure, which fell during the period of the declining political power of the Phag mo gru regime and lasted from 1481 to 1490, see Ehrhard (2002: 86–87, note 49) and Ehrhard (2010: 219–220).

I was also known at that time [for possessing] faith and great knowledge.
This Dharma Lord was a very kind teacher [in the way he] guided me. (= Appendix 1/b)[10]

[c. Further Teachers and His Ordination]

At the age of eleven, twelve [and] thirteen (= 1492–1494),
I went each winter to the one who knows no equal, whose fame is widespread,
The incomparable guide, the manifestation of wisdom [called] ’Khrul zhig Kun dga’ bsam gtan.
He bestowed on me in their entirety the four maturing empowerments
For entering the maṇḍala of the glorious unsurpassable nine gods [of Cakrasaṃvara]—
The culminating point of the Vajrayāna, [the vehicle of] the Secret Mantras;
[At the same time] he gave the *Phyag chen ga’u ma*, *’Chi med ’chug med*, *Phyag chen lhan [gcig] skyes [sbyor]* [teachings] [and] the *Bram ze snyan brgyud* [transmission]
To my mother’s brother and his wife.[11]

(…)

[10] Up to know I have not found any information on the three teachers mentioned here. The *Bram ze snynan brgyud* seems to be in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition that goes back to the Brahmin Trinetra; see note 11. Concerning Dharma mDo sde, the son of Mar pa Lo tsā ba, who practised the *grong ’jug* teachings before his untimely death and his association with the esoteric teachings brought from India by Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa, see Sernesi (2006: 50). For biographical accounts of the Indian master Mitrayogin, compare Vira (1965: 161–168) and Roerich (1976: 1030–1039). Lo ras pa dBang phyug brtson ’grus was the founder of the “Lower ’Brug [pa school]” *(smad ’brug)* of Tibetan Buddhism. rGod tshang ras chen composed a biography of this master; see *Chos rje lo ras pa’i rnam par thar pa bdud rtsi’i ’phreng ba*, Xining, 1995, as well as the edition referred to in note 3.

[11] ’Khrul zhig Kun dga’ bsam gtan’s name is mentioned in rGod tshang ras chen’s work on the history of the Cakrasaṃvaratantra and its traditions in his discussion of the lineage that goes back to the Kashmirian scholar Jñānavajra; see id., *bCom ldan ’das dpal ’khor lo sdom pa’i spyi bshad theg mchog bdud rtsi’i dga’ ston ye shes chen po’i sman mchog*, Bir: D. Tsondu Senghe, 1982, p. 13.1–4. This particular lineage, which accords primacy to the work titled *lHan skyes nam mkha’ dang mnyam pa’i rgyud*, was passed on by members of the ’Jag pa tradition of the Shangs pa bKa’ brgyud pa school. In the list of nine transmissions of the Cakrasaṃvara tradition in Tibet, it is cited by rGod tshang ras chen as the final one, and there called “The Co-emergent [Deity] of the System of the Three-eyed Brahmin” *(bram ze spyan gsum pa’i lugs kyi lhan skyes)*. The latter term refers to the Brahmin Trinetra, the teacher of Jñānavajra; see *ibid.*, p. 6.3–4. For the residence of ’Khrul zhig Kun dga’ bsam gtan, see note 14. At that early age rGod tshang ras chen also received transmissions of Shangs pa und Tshal pa bKa’ brgyud pa teachings from further

Once I had fully completed thirteen [years]—the actual [age of] becoming fourteen [years] (= 1495)—
On the fifteenth day (i.e. full moon) of the eleventh Hor month,
Under my star of birth of the complete Mṛgaśīras [month],
At a time [when I was part] of my kinsmen, who performed the yearly offerings,
In mutual consent with the yogin friends, who had made the appointment for the autumn barley,
I disguised myself by wearing the garments of a mute,
[And] because I felt cold, hungry [and] tired at Byang srid 'bre mo Pass,
I reached [the place] called glorious sPrul sku lung [only] at midnight.
[There] I met the noble scholar-monk, the Lord of Shel dkar;
[Afterwards] my hair was cut, my body transformed (i.e. my clothes exchanged for a habit) [and the old clothes] buried at the upper hermitage.
Then, on the tenth [day] of the next [month] we stayed at Gangs la Chi bo mgul, a sacred site of Dung mtsho ras pa [Shes rab rgyal mtshan (b. 1267)], the protector of beings.[12]
On the fifteenth day [of the month] I requested from the lordly scholar-monk
The upāsaka [vows] of a fully ordained brahmācārya monk,
[And] was given the [religious] name Byams pa Śākya dpal bzang [po].
I requested, [further,] guidance in understanding "The Three Meanings of the Essence" of the *Phyag chen lnga ldan* [teachings],
[The initiations of] the White Tārā, which ensures [long] life, [reading authorizations of] the *bKa' gdams [skyes bu rnams kyi gsung sgros] thor bu* and the *dPe chos rin chen spungs pa*, [together with] the biography of the Mahāsiddha [known as] Iron Bridge [Builder] [Thang stong rgyal po (1361–1485)].
Thus were manifested renunciation [at the suffering of saṃsāra],
Belief in [the law of] karma [and] a firm generation of the Mind of Enlightenment.[13]

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teachers. It is also reported that he encountered Ngag dbang grags pa (1418–1496), the 12th abbot of sTag lung monastery, an important master of Sha ra Rab 'byams pa.

[12] I have not been able to locate the region of sPrul sku lung and the sacred site associated with the treasure discoverer Dung mtsho ras pa. Given that he was a native of Yar lung, it is quite possible that both sites are situated in that region; for the birthplace of Dung mtsho ras pa, called g.Yag mkhar sngon po, see Roerich (1976: 717).

[13] The ordination name suggests that the teacher Shel dkar rje had been a follower of the dGa' ldan pa or dGe lugs pa school of Tibetan Buddhism. It should be noted that the two works of the bKa' gdams pa school transmitted by this teacher were printed only several decades later, in 1535 and 1555 respectively; see Ehrhard (2000: 36 & 78). The

This is the biography [which describes] how I obtained entry through the gate of the Buddhist doctrine. (= Appendix 1/c)

[d. Studies and a Pilgrimage to Tsā ri]

Then I went as an attendant of my uncle [when he went to] request [instructions on how to] approach [and] realize [his personal deity]
From the incomparable Lord 'Khrul zhig Kun [dga'] bsam [gtan]
At [the place called] Chos 'khor bde chen [in] sPu ring[s] [Phug mo che];
I requested the *Phyag chen lhan gcig skyes sbyor* [teachings] of the best of beings, the noble Dharma Lord 'Ba' ra ba [rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391)].[14]
A state arose [in which I was able to] slightly maintain the spiritual experience of śamathā;
And when, in accordance with the intention of my parents, I remained in retreat for the blossoming of that [experience],
[The sound] *had* was pronounced [by someone] in my retreat.
Due to this circumstance, whenever I was [later] in retreat,
A slight obstacle [to my spiritual experience] would regularly occur;
[So said] the teacher ['Khrul zhig Kun dga' bsam gtan]—words I took to be very strong.
(…)
During this time, the yogin rTogs ldan Rin [chen] grags [pa] arrived and spoke extensively about
The outward appearance and deeds in the life of gTsang smyon Heruka, a true Vajradhara, a
Dharma Lord, a Jina of the three realms,
And I consequently lost my senses, as if having become mad:

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biography of Thang stong rgyal po mentioned in the text must be the one composed during the lifetime of the Tibetan siddha known for his construction of iron bridges; see Shes rab dpal ldan (15th cent.): *rJe grub thob chen po lcags zam pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*, 283 fols. In "Collected Works of Thang-stong rgyal-po", 1, Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan, 1984, pp. 1–565. For further details of this work and its author, compare Stearns (2007: 7–9).

[14] sPu ri Phug mo che, also known as sPu ring[s] Pho mo che, is one of the "three secret [caves]" *(gsang gsum)* of the Yar lung area. It is located at the border with Yar stod, the name sPu ring referring to a territorial deity called sPu ring[s] Phu mo che. Also known as Yar lung Phung mo che, it had earlier been frequented by the First Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193); see Sørensen, Hazod & Gyalbo (2005: 109). The writings of 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po were printed and distributed as xylographs from the 16th century on; see Ehrhard (2000: 55, 61–62). For the location of the original monastery of the teacher 'Khrul zhig Kun dga' bsam gtan, see note 20.

Ordinary appearances dissolved,
[And] I considered dropping my studies and leaving immediately the next day.
I requested [permission from] the ācārya [dGe 'phel chos rje], [but] he replied that this would be an obstacle [to my practice].
During autumn and winter I mustered the patience [to bear] the suffering, and [so] stayed on;
It was decided that I should go in the spring, [and so] I joined my friends,
[But] my heart was grieved at not having [earlier] departed; [it was] like being without a ferry at a riverbank.[15]
Then, from [bSod nams bstan pa], the Dharma Lord of Kun bzang bde chen,
I received lines from his writings and some scattered teachings;
I remained [in a state] where at the same time the doctrine and the world, [these] two, are not separate.
"I have hope that you will be the owner of my books!"
[Thus the teacher] spoke, and I was very much taken with the compassion of the Dharma Lord.
The [teacher's] wife was very vain about this—openly so; she made very open advances, and lost face under the power of a *Glu khrid* demon by demanding them back.
I knew that I was afraid of women, [who are] alluring illusions,
But [despite] a faint heart, I sincerely swore over and over [not to succumb].
The master and disciples—all of them—went [afterwards] on a pilgrimage to [r]Ts[v]a ri .
I requested the reading authorization of the *mDo sde skyer ba* from this Dharma Lord at Dvags la sgam po and proceeded [thence] to [r]Ts[v]a ri;
At bKra shis sgang I met the Dharma Lord dBus smyon Kun dga' bzang po (1458–1532), [and]
He made the prophecy that I would be a [lineage] holder of the *[Ras chung] snyan brgyud*;

[15] After his first retreat, the young Buddhist novice continued his studies with three masters identified in the verse autobiography as mKhas pa'i dbang po bKa' bcu pa Nam [mkha'] bkra [shis], lHa ru mKhan chen and mKhas grub Nus ldan dGe 'phel chos rje; see the text (as in appendix I), fols. 3b/7–4a/5. Under these teachers he studied doctrines of the Sa skya pa and Bo dong pa schools and was advised by the last teacher mentioned to finish his studies with the traditional "round of the monasteries" *(grva skor)*. As the name of the second master suggests, the place where rGod tshang ras chen engaged in these studies may have been lHa[g] ru, the village of his birth.

It always seemed [to me] something great that I should have been his attendant.[16]
This is the biographical account of how I displayed the extensive hearing of these [teachings]. (= Appendix 1/d)

[e. Practising the Inner Heat and Undertaking a Three-Year Retreat]

Afterwards, when I went [again] into the presence of 'Khrul zhig Kun [dga'] bsam [gtan]
At Chos 'khor bde chen in my home region [of Yar lung],
[The teacher] gave to an ocean[-like] assembly—[including] my uncle and others—
The complete [teachings of the] *Ri chos skor gsum*, [also called] the "Four Ornaments" of rGyal ba Yang dgon pa (1213–1258).
When I [later] performed a three-month retreat for the blossoming of the accomplishment [of the spiritual practice],
I experienced extreme hunger, since there was no flour for food.
Once again I obtained [reading authorizations for], among other things, the *Bram ze snyan brgyud*, the Six Doctrines [according to the system] of 'Ba' ra [ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po],
[And] the complete doctrines of the 'Ba' [ra ba bKa' brgyud pa school], including the "Eight Great Guidances".[17]
In the spring I was guided by [my] close friend from Mon, bSod [nams] glo [ba], [who served] as an attendant, and I stayed in mTsho sna Mon khrab and Dom tshang dKar po [b]zang in Mon during the summer.

[16] Concerning the biographical tradition of dBus smyon Kun dga' bzang po, and especially the second part of his life story, written by lHa mdong Lo tsā ba bShes gnyen rnam rgyal (b. 1510), see Ehrhard (2010: 236–242). The text states that in the year 1495 the "Holy Madman from dBus" considered undertaking a third and final journey to the sacred sites of Tsā ri; I take this pilgrimage in the second half of the 1490s to be the one during which the yogin met the young rGod tshang ras chen.

[17] In his history of the Cakrasaṃvaratantra and its transmission lineages, rGod tshang ras chen presents the different traditions of the teachings of "Mahāmudrā" *(phyag chen)* and the Six Doctrines of Nāḍapāda or Nāropa" *(nā ro chos drug)* as they developed in Tibet. This section ends with the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa school, and with the "Lower 'Brug [pa]" *(smad 'brug)* branch in particular, founded by rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1198–1258). From this branch arose the Yang dgon bKa' brgyud pa and—later—the 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa schools; see his work (as in note 11), pp. 18.4–19.2. The "Eight Great Guidances" *(khrid chen brgyad)* are identified as writings of rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje, while the commentaries of 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po on them are referred to as the "three or six cycles of the [work called] 'The Great Boat [on Which] One Enters Liberation'" *(thar par 'jug pa'i gru chen bskor gsum pa'am drug)*.

On the way I met the Noble Lord of Refuge, and he provided a link to his teachings.
[Thus] I learned the offering for the teacher [and] the *Do ha skor gsum* [according to the system] of Phag mo [gru pa rDo rje rgyal mtshan (1110–1170)].
[When] everything was complete and full I applied myself to [the spiritual practice of controlling] the inner wind:
The door of its out-flowing was blocked and the heat of bliss blazed forth like fire; the qualities of the inner wind arose, including the ability [to be covered only by] clothes without any lining and so forth.[18]
In the autumn, [the period of] hail, I stayed at Bre mkhar rdzong in my home region.
Once, when the leader of great renown [started] thinking about his friends, financial resources materialized and service was rendered.[19]
[Nevertheless,] I remembered my teacher, and wishing from [the bottom of] my heart to leave without complaint,
Went into the presence of the Lord [of Shel dkar] in sPrul sku lung.
[Although] this was [a period of] noble retreat, he granted me an audience,
And having understood my heart, delivered a ceremonial scarf and guidance [to me];
I made prostrations and offered prayers for empowerment [in return].
[Then] I went to the monastery of bDe chen Chos sdings in Outer Gr[v]a
[And there] met [once again] the Lord ['Khrul zhig] Kun [dga'] bsam [gtan], whose favour does not pass away;
For [a period of] three years I stayed near the [spiritual] father

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[18] The region of mTsho sna lies to the south of Yar lung, and borders on Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh. Its inhabitants are known as the "people of Mon" *(mon pa)*. The central Mon pa were ruled by the so-called "kings of Mon", whose palace was at Dom kha in Kalaktang district; see Aris (1980: 10–11). The places mentioned were presumably located in that region. It is not clear what teacher the author is referring to under the name rJe btsun sKyabs rje. For the presence of sKyabs rje rTogs ldan at the seat of the rNgog pa bKa' brgyud pa school in the gZhung valley, see note 22.

[19] The only fortress in the Yar lung area bearing a name similar to Bre mkhar rdzong is mKhar thog rdzong. mKhar thog is the the toponym of the confluence of the 'Phyong po and Yar lung rivers. The structure is said to have been in place by the 9th century. It was of particular importance in the Phag mo gru pa period and is reported to have also been the residence of the Rin spungs pa ruler mTsho skyes rdo rje (1438–1501); see Sørensen, Hazod & Gyalbo (2005: 56–57) and Yar lung pa A 'bum: *dPal ldan rin chen spungs pa sger gyi gdung rabs che long tsam zhig* (incomplete manuscript) in *Ne'u gyi gtam me tog gi phreng ba*, Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1996, p. 131.6. If this identification of Bre mkhar rdzong is correct, the renowned leader mentioned may well have been the Rin spungs pa ruler.

[And] remained among the ranks of the community engaged in spiritual practice at the rDza phu hermitage.[20]
Relying on the wages of half a bushel [of flour] every month as provision
[And staying] sometimes in the barren land of sTes pho rDza,
rDo rje grags pa (the Dharma Lord of the hermitage), Blo gros dpal dge (the Dharma Lord of gDung la),
[And I]—[we] three monks—united together [and] strove earnestly for spiritual attainment;
At that time my two [companions] indeed [attained] a high [degree of] spiritual experience [and] realization. (= Appendix 1/e)

[f. The End of the Retreat and the Receiving of Further Transmissions]

On the eighth day of the twelfth Hor month of the [iron-male] monkey year (= 1500)
The paternal aunt Le gsal arrived and performed outward prostrations.
On the morning of the tenth day [more] of my parents' relatives arrived, [and]
Because I was greatly attached to my mother [and my brothers and sisters], they saw me off on a long distance.
My tears were many [and] cool, [and] my heart was [full] of love [for them]:
That I would not meet them in the future, my mind perceived [as well].
Then, in [the monastery of] bDe chen Chos sdings in Outer Gr[v]a in the night of the fifteenth day (i.e. the full moon) I offered to the Lord ['Khrul zhig Kun dga' bsam gtan] outward prostrations,
Requesting initiations and receiving prayers [and] the four initiations [in return].
With goodness and great love [the teacher] urged on all my siblings [and] friends with the words "See him off!"
All of them accompanied me up to the stūpa [of Gr(v)a Byams pa gling];
From [the reflection] within his porcelain cup the Lord ['Khrul zhig Kun dga' bsam gtan] looked on with love.
In a loving frame of mind I made a request from deep within,
And being attached to [that state of] mind tears came forth uncontrollably:

[20] The region of Gr[v]a is situated to the west of Yar-lung and is divided into "Outer Gr[v]a" *(grva phyi)* and "Inner Gr[v]a" *(grva nang)*. This region also includes the "plain of Gr[v]a" *(grva thang)* along the gTsang-po River. See the map in Gyalbo, Hazod & Sørensen (2000: 239). The monastery of bDe chen Chos sdings and its affiliated hermitage in Gr[v]a seems to have been the original residence of the teacher 'Khrul zhig Kun dga' bsam gtan. Chos 'khor bde chen in Phu ring[s] Phug mo che, in Yar lung, can thus be regarded as a branch of it.

All my brothers [and] sisters became a single shrieking sound [at the sight of me];
I heard [afterwards] that the Lord ['Krul zhig Kun dga' bsam gtan] had also shed tears.[21]
Then I gradually made my way to the residence of rNgog [Chos kyi rdo rje (1036–1102)].
For [a period of] three months I stayed at [the site called] the Mi la [ras pa] cave;
[There] food supplies were provided by the ruling lady of bShag.
Byang chub dpal grub, the great teacher of rNgog,
Gave [me the reading authorization of] the biographies of the [rNgog] bKa' brgyud [pa masters]—the genealogy [of the rNgog family] and so forth,
The countless complete instructions, tantras [and] initiations of
The Hevajra[tantra] [and] Dhūmavatīdevī, and
The countless tantra classes of the Cakrasaṃvara[tantra];
I was seized by his compassion, and my thoughts became satisfied.
[Having performed] prayers and outward prostrations, I requested the Four Initiations and other ones.
After the Lord of Refuge, the Realized One, arrived, I took the upāsaka and the bodhisattva vows in their entirety.[22]

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[21] The end of the three-year retreat is the second event in the autobiography marked by a date. The eighteen-year-old anachorite was accompanied by his siblings and friends up to the bKra shis sgo mang stūpa located in Gr[v]a thang. This enormous religious building had been erected in the years 1472–1474 by the "Great Translator" *(lo [tsā ba] chen [po])* bSod nams rgya mtsho (1424–1482) in the vicinity of the monastery Gr[v]a Byams pa gling. For the account of the construction of the religious edifice in the biography of bSod nams rgya mtsho, written by the Fourth Zhva dmar pa Chos kyi grags pa ye shes (1453–1524), compare Ehrhard (2002: 83–85).

[22] The seat of the rNgog bKa' brgyud pa school, going back to Chos kyi rdo rje, a disciple of Mar pa Lo tsā ba, was located at sPre'u zhing in the gZhung valley. The so-called "seven maṇḍalas of the [doctrine of] the rNgog pa" *(rngog pa'i dkyil 'khor bdun)* had been kept in a family lineage up to rNgog Byang chub dpal ba (1340–1446), who transmitted the teachings at, among other places, the court of the rulers of sNe'u gdong rtse; for a transmission to the Sixth Phag mo gru sDe srid Grags pa 'byung gnas (1414–1445), regarded as a disciple of rNgog Byang chub dpal ba, see Ehrhard (2000: 38) and Ehrhard (2004a: 258). This master is listed in rGod tshang ras chen's work on the history of the Cakrasaṃvaratantra and its transmission lineages on several occasions immediately before rNgog Byang chub dpal grub. Except for the lineage going back to the Kashmirian scholar Jñānavajra, all other transmissions of the Cakrasaṃvaratantra that rGod tshang ras chen describes were received from that master; see the text (as in note 11), pp. 6.7–13.1. gTsang smyon Heruka had also met rNgog Byang chub dpal grub at his residence and stayed at the site known as the Mi la ras pa cave; see the biography (as in note 7), pp. 118.3–119.7. The teacher, who conferred further Buddhist vows upon

I [then] met some pious persons who had faith in me—[with whom] I was connected by [former] prayers.
[Afterwards] two of these friends came along with me. (= Appendix 1/f)

[g. The Meeting with gTsang smyon Heruka]

After departing on the third day of the third month,
Accompanied by much hunger, thirst, tiredness [and] hardship,
We [advanced] by stages, arriving in the early part of the twenty-eighth [day] at [the site of] sPrul sku'i pho brang [in] Chu dbar;
We made friendship with A pha rDo rje rgyal mtshan,
[And finally,] in the early morning of the twenty-ninth day,
At Pho brang dar rgyas in the upper part [of a place] known as Tshag,
I met in person the Lord Pha rgod gTsang smyon [Heruka].
[He is the one] who unites the compassion of all the Buddhas into one,
Samantabhadra-Vajradhara, the main [deity] of all maṇḍalas,
Who has arisen as the Nirmānakāya, the powerful one among the Jinas,
[And] who is like the reflection of sun [and] moon in many water pitchers:
Although it disperses into many [parts], its essence is not divided.[23]
Happiness which cannot be expressed [was felt], the phenomena of flapping sounds stopped,
[My three doors (i.e. body, speech and mind) were] in a drunken state of undefiled bliss;
I was in a dimension [reached by] passing straight through [all] turmoil [and] unrest,

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rGod tshang ras chen, must be the same one met during the previously mentioned stay in the Mon region.

[23] The "Palace of the Transformation Body" *(sprul pa'i pho brang)* is another name for the Khyung sgong cave in the centre of sMan lung Chu dbar, the area just to the north of the Gaurishangkar range near the Tibet-Nepal border. According to the pilgrimage guide to La phyi Chu dbar, this area was the final one pacified by Mi la ras pa, whose activities there included the healing of the local goddess Tshe ring ma; see Huber (1997: 258–261). The site was later used by Tibetan travellers as the point of departure and return for journeys to Nepal via the route passing through Dolakha; see Ehrhard (2002: 65, 71). The eighth chapter of rGod tshang ras chen's biography of gTsang smyon Heruka closes with the stay of the master at Chu dbar sPrul sku'i pho brang; see the work (as in note 7), pp. 194.2–208.4. He had been invited there principally by gNyer pa rDo rje rgyal mtshan, and resided in private quarters known as gZims khang Dar rgyas; see *ibid.*, pp. 194 ff. and 202.4 ff. rGod tshang ras chen's arrival in the spring of 1501 fell within the three-year period spent by the master in the region. This period ended when the latter left for the renovation of the Svayaṃbhūnāthstūpa in Nepal in the spring of 1503; for these three years in the life of gTsang smyon Heruka, see Stearns (1985: 37–38).

[And] owing to something unlike anything [I had experienced] before, my mind [and the master's] stream of consciousness became one.
The conception, free from doubt, that he was a Buddha [in person] arose,
And although he uttered many scolding and devastating words,
There was no hesitation—only [pure] happiness from deep within:
Even if I died, a mind of genuine love would irresistibly arise!
On that day I remained for the preparation [of the disciples who would] line up for the feast of the *dgu gtor* [ritual],
And the thought arose [in me] that something like this should not be wished for, and exceeded [the bounds of propriety, in view of the fact]
That in earlier times the Translator Mar pa [Chos kyi blo gros] had witnessed the gaṇacakra in the presence of Nā ro [pa] [and] Maitripa.
Then, for a while, I did corvée labour [imposed] from [Bre] mkhar [rdzong],
[And] was eventually provided with a salary; from the meadows at the centre of the sacred place [of Chu dbar]
I was [then] accompanied to [a site] known as g.Yag mkhar phug and stayed [there].[24]
[gTsang smyon Heruka] said: "Practise the Guru Yoga the profound way!"
[And] at my having practised perfectly for two days
He displayed a smile of felicity and said: "[You have] great knowledge!"
To me and about ten close friends assembled [there]
He [then] gave the complete four initiations of [Vajra]varahī in association with the five deities,
[But] kept back the direct guidance of [the Mahāmudrā doctrine] called the "Four-lettered One", the path of liberation.[25] (= Appendix 1/g)

[24] In the mid-15th century the Phag mo gru pa administration had established a monastery at sMan lung Chu dbar that would go on to exert some influence over the region. After the Rin spungs pa rulers usurped power in Central Tibet, this institution came into the hands of the Zhva dmar pa lineage; see Huber (1997: 243). If the fortress for which corvée labour was performed by the young anachorite was the one earlier referred to in the section telling of a stay in his home region, the salary would have come from the court of the Rin spungs pas.

[25] In his work on the history and transmission of the Cakrasaṃvaratantra, rGod tshang ras chen lists three systems disseminated not in India but in Tibet. Among these is a tradition of the *bDe mchog lha lnga*, going back to the Mahāsiddha Siddhakirti and received in a vision by Paṇ chen Gayadhāra; see the text (as in note 11), p. 6.5–6. This may be the same system transmitted by gTsang smyon Heruka. On the expressions "Path of Liberation" *(grol lam)* for the Mahāmudrā doctrine and "Path of Means" *(thabs lam)* for the *Nā ro chos drug*, see *ibid.*, pp. 3–4. gTsang smyon Heruka gave to his disciple the same Mahāmudrā teachings he had received from his teacher Sha ra Rab 'byams pa, and these were later kept alive by rGod tshang ras chen's disciple gNas Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs; see Ehrhard (2004b: 587, 593, note 6). Concerning this par-

[h. Further Travels and Printing the Master's Works]

Then I appealed [to the master] to grant [further] personal [teachings],
remaining in the mountains of La phyi Gangs [kyi] ra [ba] and gNya' nang.
Afterwards I stayed in his presence for a period of one winter
[And] strove eagerly [to live up to] the standards of what he gave in spoken teachings;
I requested wholeheartedly [at that time] the [methods of] cutting the countless fears of unhappiness.[26]
Then, when it turned out that the Lord [gTsang smyon Heruka] would be setting off to the east (i.e. towards Ras chung phug),
I [went back and] remained again in La phyi Gangs [kyi ra ba].
Further, I travelled on a number of occasions to royal domains, but for the greater part to the mountains,
[These latter] being confined to the hermitages of Chu dbar, to the six [outer] fortresses [of Mi la ras pa], Yol mo [Gangs kyi ra ba], Zab bu [lung], Tsā ri [and] Kong po,
[And] to the cemeteries at the major and minor sacred sites [of Tibet].[27]
After the one of unending kindness had passed to a pure field (= 1507)

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ticular tradition of the Dvags po bKa' brgyud pa school, associated with the four letters or syllables of the term *Phyag rgya chen po*, see Sernesi (2006: 197–198).

[26] After the first transmission received at g.Yag mkhar phug, the autobiography describes the ensuing efforts of rGod tshang ras chen to practise the teachings. This closes the section of "the [auto]biography of how I entered the host of realized ones" *(rtogs ldan gral du tshud pa'i rnam thar)*; see the text (as in appendix I), fol. 7a/3–b/2. The concluding section of the work begins with further studies under gTsang smyon Heruka and the transmission of such tantras as the Cakrasaṃvara and Hevajra, the cycle of the dohas and, most significantly, the *mKha' 'gro snyan brgyud* or *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* of the Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa school; see *ibid.*, p. 7b/2–7. It is stated that the disciple thus "obtained in their entirety the collected writings [of the masters] of the bKa' brgyud pa [tradition]" *(bka' brgyud bka' 'bum yongs rdzogs thob)*.

[27] Among the sacred sites visited by rGod tshang ras chen were the so-called six outer fortresses of Mi la ras pa, located in the sKyid grong area in the royal domain of the rulers of Mang yul Gung thang; see the map in Quintman (2008: 386). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these were favoured pilgrimage destinations; compare Ehrhard (2004a: 419, note 180). rGod tshang ras chen's sojourn in the Yol mo region, present-day Helambu, to the north-east of the Kathmandu Valley, led to the foundation of a monastery known as rGod tshang gling; for a description of the place in the year 1556, when his disciple gNas pa Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs visited the site, see Ehrhard (2004b: 584–586). Concerning Zab bu lung in gTsang, a sacred site for the followers of Padmasambhava, it is known that during that period it was in the charge of representatives of the treasure teachings of Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–1396); see Ehrhard (forthcoming b). On rGod tshang ras chen's position as a lineage holder of these particular treasure teachings, see note 29.

I performed the service of offering [to his mortal remains] by [first] collecting donations and erecting the reliquary shrine.
Roused by the words of the Victorious Mother Kun [tu] bzang [mo]—
And given the auspicious circumstance that I myself had entertained such a wish—
I executed as an inexhaustible print the extensive version of the biography from the very beginning [of his life], [together with] the spiritual songs of the Lord [gTsang smyon Heruka].[28]
With a mind set on performing hearing, reflecting [and] practising, [these] three,
All my actions—wherever I went [and] wherever I stayed—
Were on the whole performed for the sake of the Buddhist doctrine and for whatever benefit [they could bring] to beings. (= Appendix 1/h)

Conclusions

The remaining few lines of the verse autobiography point out that rGod tshang ras chen had a total of thirty-two teachers, a few of whom are mentioned by name. The list includes gTsang smyon Heruka and his female partner Kun tu bzang mo, the Sa skya pa scholar Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507), the Seventh Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506) and yogins, two of whom were associated with the hermitages of La phyi Gangs kyi ra ba. This part of the text closes with three encounters, highlighting three distinct transmissions of teachings; they obviously took place during the travels of rGod tshang ras chen to the sacred Buddhist sites mentioned above.

The first event relates to his study of the tradition of 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po in its entirety at 'Ba' ra brag in the Shangs valley, the

[28] For the story of the death, funeral, and relics of gTsang smyon Heruka as contained in the biography written by rGod tshang ras chen, see Schaeffer (2007: 218–221). Kun tu bzang mo was a native of the gNya' nang region. She was mainly engaged in studying doctrines of the Bo dong pa school at the monastery of dPal mo chos sdings in Mang yul Gung thang. She became the female partner of gTsang smyon Heruka at a time when the master was undertaking the difficult project of preparing the first xylograph edition of the *Mi la'i rnam mgur*; see Stearns (1985: 71–74 and 90–91, note 30). Concerning her role in the composition of rGod tshang ras chen's biography of the master, see the colophon of the text (as in note 7), p. 284.1. For the place and date of completion, see *ibid.*, p. 284.3–4 *(lho gnas mchog dpal gyi rtsa ri ye shes kyi 'khor lo'i rkad tshang gsang ba chen po'i dur khrod … spre'u lo'i zla dang po yar tshes bcvo lnga la grub par sbyar ba'o)*. I take this "monkey year" to correspond to 1512, when rGod tshang ras chen was thirty years old and staying at Tsā ri. On Kun tu bzang mo and rGod tshang ras chen's earlier editorial efforts to make the writings of gTsang smyon Heruka available, and idealized portraits of them, see Appendix 2.

original seat of the ’Ba’ ra ba bKa’ brgyud pa school; no teacher is named for this particular transmission. In the other two cases, rGod tshang ras chen presents the teachers who conferred the transmissions by name or title; in both cases they were representatives of the rNying ma pa school. The first one was rJe btsun bla ma Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan, whom rGod tshang ras chen met at a site known as gTsang lha’i gangs, located in dPal mo dpal thang, a vast plain in the Gung thang region in south-western Tibet dominated by the lake called lHa mtsho srin mtsho; the teachings received on that occasion were known as *Kun bzang rdzogs chen*. The second one is mentioned under the series of titles “lord, the noble vidyādhara [who is] an emanation” *(sprul pa’i rig ’dzin dam pa rje)*, and it was from him that rGod tshang ras chen obtained the complete transmission of the treasure cycle of the *Bla ma dgongs pa ’dus pa* of Rig ’dzin Sangs rgyas gling pa; this occurred at the “Grove of the Tree Leaves” *(shing lo ’tshal [= tshal])* in Kong po.[29]

These are the only additional details about the later years of rGod tshang ras chen. They provide us at least with some knowledge of his affiliations to the rNying ma pa school. This is of no little consequence, given that he employed, for example, categories common to this school’s revealed teachings in order to structure the transmission history of the esoteric tradition of the Ras chung bKa’ brgyud pa, as can be seen from his index to the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* collection, the literary legacy of gTsang smyon Heruka.

Although the original xylograph set of this collection is still missing, there does exist a manuscript version of its index from the pen of rGod tshang ras chen. It is a comprehensive overview of the collection and shows—like the work on the Cakrasaṃvaratantra and its different transmis-

[29] For this concise final section of the autobiography, see the text (as in the appendix), fol. 8a/5–b/2. The main teacher at ’Ba’ ra brag during the period in question was Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan (1475–1530), regarded as an incarnation of his ancestor ’Ba’ ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po; see Ehrhard (2000: 52–55). I have not been able to identify the teacher Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan, but the teachings of the *Kun bzang rdzogs chen* must belong to the cycle *Kun bzang thugs gter ’khor ’das rang grol*, found by the treasure discoverer Bya mang po Byang chub gling pa (14th cent.) near lHa mtsho srin mtsho in dPal mo dpal thang; on this cycle and the location of its rediscovery, see Ehrhard (2004a: 97, 286). According to the historiographical literature of the rNying ma pa school, rGod tshang ras chen held the teaching lineage of Rig ’dzin Sangs rgyas gling pa as transmitted at the monastery [rKyen] Bya khyung in Kong po; see Karma Mi ’gyur dbang gi rgyal po (17th cent.): *gTer bton brgya rtsa’i mtshan sdom gsol ’debs chos rgyal bkra shis stobs rgyal gyi mdzad pa’i ’grel pa lo rgyus gter bton chos ’byung*, Darjeeling: Taklung Tsetrul Rinpoche Pema Wangyal, 1978, p. 126.2–4. The mentioned teacher can only be dPal ’bar dbang phyug, the son of the founder of that institution. The teachings of the *Bla ma dgongs pa ’dus pa* were later also spread by the disciples of rGod tshang ras chen; see Ehrhard (forthcoming a).

sions—the disciple's ability to organize the writings of his tradition into coherent treatises.[30]

Although the verse autobiography does not mention Ras chung phug—a meditation cave of Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa located in the south-central part of Yar lung, and both the place where gTsang smyon Heruka died and the residence of rGod tshang ras chen in his own latter years, where he composed most of his works and was involved in local printing activities—it does describe in detail rGod tshang ras chen's home region and its wider surroundings along with the different teachers influential in the early part of his life. Thus, some light is shed on the land of his birth and youth, and we can get a glimpse of the platform from which he would extend his influence as editor and publisher in the years after his peregrinations.

Appendix 1

The title of the verse autobiography is *rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug rgod tshang ras chen pa'i rnam thar tshigs su bcad ma dngos grub rgya mtsho* (block print), marg. Ka, 8 fols.; size: 44.4 x 8.2 cm. It was filmed by the NGMPP under reel-no. L 978/7. The text has a short colophon at the end; see *ibid.*, fol. 8a/5–6. It has the following wording: "At the strong urging of Mi pham rdo rje, the one overflowing [with knowledge of] scriptures and understanding, the steward mGon po set down this [work] in order that [my] collected writings might later be written in gold [ink]. May auspiciousness be [in its extent] similar to the limits of the sky" *(zhes pa 'di nyid lung rtogs par 'byams po mi phan [= pham] rdo rjes nan cher bskul bzhin pa las / slar gsol dpon mgon pos bka' 'bum gser las bzhengs pa'i don du bkod pa dge legs nam mkha'i mtha' dang mnyam par gyur cig)*.

This statement implies that the text was composed on the occasion when a manuscript set of the writings of rGod tshang ras chen was being prepared. Up to now no set of this collection has surfaced and a complete overview of his writings—and his activities as editor—is still missing. What is generally available are the biographies of gTsang smyon Heruka, Ras chung pa rDo rje grags pa and Lo ras pa dBang phyug brtson 'grus, the latter two having been composed and printed in Ras chung phug (as was the work on the

[30] See rGod tshang ras chen: *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro'i snyan brygud kyi dkar chags rin po che'i gter* in "Rare dKar brgyud pa Texts from the Library of Ri bo che rJe druṅ of Padma bkod", Tezu: Tseten Dorji, 1974, pp. 13–24. The work, referring at the end to the *rNam thar gsal byed nyi ma* (rGod tshang ras chen's biography of gTsang smyon Heruka), was composed at the "Wisdom Enclosure of Tsā ri ṭrā" *(rtsā ri ṭrā'i ye shes kyi 'khor lo)*; see *ibid.*, p. 24.1–3. It is quite possible that the text was written during the sojourn at Tsā ri when rGod tshang ras chen wrote the biography of gTsang smyon Heruka; see note 28.

Cakrasaṃvaratantra and its different traditions). The verse autobiography was thus possibly written in the latter part of rGod tshang ras chen's life and executed as a xylographic print at his residence in Ras chung phug in Yar lung.

[a.] (fols. 1b/6–2a/4)

gangs ris bskor ba bod yul dbus kyis (= kyi) kyi sa /
yar mo lung rings phu na lha gnyan gang (= gangs) /
mda' na g.yu mtsho bar na yul ljongs bde [2a] */*
mgon ri shel brag sham po gangs la sogs /
ngo mtshar sgrub gnas byin brlabs (= rlabs) du ma ldan /
btsan thang khra 'brug yon bu glang 'khar (= yum bu bla mkhar) sogs /
sku gsung thugs rten gtsug lag khang chen mang /
thub bstan bshad sgrub sde yang shin tu dar /
rgyal blon byang sems mkhas btsun grub thob sogs /
sprul sku skyes chen du ma byon pa'i gnas /
skyes yu (= yul) lhag ru gser pa khab sar (= gsar) yin /
rigs ni rje'u ris ni mgos zhes bya /
pha ni bsam rdor rdo rje bu khrid ma /
bu mo bzhi dang bu gsum phu bo nga /
pha ni nyer lnga ma ni bcu dgu'i lo /
stag lo hor zla tshes bcu mgo zla'i nub /
tho rangs ltas bzang drod skyes byung zhes zer /
lta stangs ngang 'dug a (= āḥ) dang hūṃ sgra sgrogs /
rgya gar mdzo gis byin brlabs sman mchog byin /
skad bzang yid 'ong skyes ches yong zhes grags /

[b.] (fol. 2a/7–b/4)

lo lnga tsam lon rtsam a ma'i rtsa ru sdad (= bsad) /
de nas bcu gnyis bar du rkyam yul du /
rgod tshang brag tu a ma'i drung du bsdad /
lo brgyad steng du chos bros lan gcig byas /
mchod gnas gnyis kyi khur nas zlog cing bus /
de dus lha sar phyin [2b] *pa'i ja tshongs pas (= tshong pas) /*
gtsang smyon zhes bya mi lpags gsol ba yi /
rnal 'byor pa gcig 'dug zhes thos ma thag /
ba spu g.yo zhing mchim 'khug par (= khug par) byung /
lo dgu'i steng du pho brang sne gdong rtser /
dpon sa gong ma tshes gnyis rin po ches /
drung 'khor byas tshe dga' ldan chos chen du /
phyag rten btang zhing bza' yig zhus pas so /

zla ba gcig tu snyugs bud (= 'bud) sran zhing bsdad /
lo bcu'i dus su chos rje sang (= sangs) blo dang /
sman lung rtse pas dbang bskur mdzad par dran /
kun bzang bde chen chos rje bsod bstan pas /
bram ze snyan brgyud khrid dang mi tra dang /
mar pa'i sras grong (= 'grongs) lo ras rnam thar gnang /
'chi ma shor zhing chos la yid dam bcas /
gsung rnams bdag gis skyor chos thub pa byung /
dad dang shes rab che ba der yang grags /
rje de 'dren pa'i bla ma drin chen yin /

[c.] (fol. 2b/4–6 & 3b/1–5)

bcu gcig bcu gnyis bcu gsum par rnams su /
dgun re bzhin du mnyam med grags sgo ba /
'dren pa mtshungs med ye shes sprul pa'i sku /
'khrul zhig kun dga' bsam gtan de phebs nas /
gsang sngags rdo rje theg pa'i mthar thug pa /
dpal ldan bla med lha dgu'i dkyil 'khor du /
smin byed dbang bzhi yongs su rdzogs par bskur /
phyag chen ga'u ma dang 'chi med 'chug med dang /
phyag chen lhan skyes bram ze snyan brgyud rnams /
a ma'i drung pa yab yum rnams la gnang /
(…)
bcu gsum ril po bcu bzhi 'gro ba'i ngo /
hor zla bcu gcig tshes pa bcva (= bcvo) lnga'i nyin /
mgo zla 'dzom pa rang gi skyes skar la /
gnyen 'khor lo mchod byed pa'i grel (= gral) dus su /
ston nas dus btab bya btang grogs dang bstun /
lkug pa'i chas brdzus byang srid bre mo'i la /
'khyags ltogs dub pa'i ngang la spyad de phyir /
nam gung dpal ldan sprul sku lung du sleb /
mkhas btsun dam pa shel dkar rje dang mjal /
skra bcad lus bsgyur ri khrod gong mar skung /
de nas phyi ma'i bcu par gang (= gangs) la ci bos mgul /
'gro mgon dung mtsho ras pa'i gnas la bsdad /
bcva (= bcvo) lnga'i nyin par mkhas btsun rje yis (= yi) drung /
yongs rdzogs tshangs spyod go ma'i (= go mi) dge snyen (= bsnyen) zhus /
nga ming byams pa śākya dpal bzang zer /
phyag chen lnga ldan snying po don gsum khrid /
sgrol dkar tshe sgrub bka' bsdam (= gdams) thor bu dang /
dpe chos rin spungs grub chen lcags zam pa'i /
rnam thar zhus shing nges 'byung skyo shas dang /

rgyu 'bras yid ches sems bskyed brtan par byung /
bstan pa'i sgor tshud thob po'i rnam thar yin /

[d.] (fols. 3b/5–7 & 4a/7–b/3)

de nas spu ring chos 'khor bde chen du /
mnyam med rje btsun 'khrul zhig kun bsam drung /
khu bo bsnyen sgrub zhu ba'i phyag phyir phyin /
skyes mchog dam pa chos rje 'ba' ra pas /
mdzad pa'i phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor zhus /
zhi gnas nyams kyi gnas pa cung zad byung /
de yi me thog 'tshams la bsdad pa'i tshe /
pha ma'i blo bstun 'tshams la had 'don byas /
de yi rten 'brel 'tshams la nam bsdad tshe /
bar chad cung zad rgyun du 'ong ba byung /
bla ma'i bka' 'di shin tu gnyan par go /
(…)
de dus rnal 'byor rtogs ldan rin grags pa /
byon nas khams sum (= gsum) rgyal ba chos kyi rje /
rdo rje 'chang dngos gtsang smyon he ru ka'i
sku dang rnam thar mdzad pa rab brjod pas /
smyo 'bog 'dra par dran med chod kyis song /
tshe 'di'i snang ba khral ma khrol mar zhig (= bzhig) /
slob gnyer bzhag nas sang rang 'gro dgos snyam /
slob dpon drung zhus bar chad yin zhes gsung /
ston dang dgun par sdug sran bskyed te bsdad /
dpyid phyogs 'gro bar thag gcad grogs la btugs /
ma thon yid skyo chu khar gru med 'dra /
de nas kun bzang bde chen chos rje'i drung /
bris thig dang ni chos bka' thar thor thob /
chos dang 'jig rten gnyis med lham lhom bsdad /
nga'i dpe cha'i bdag po khyod la re /
gsung zhing chos rje'i thugs rjes shin tu [4b] *bzung /*
jo mos de lkog med par ha cang bzab /
glu khrid bdud kyi dbang du ngo shor byas /
slu byed cho 'phrul skye dman zhed par go /
zhe gcad drag pos dam bca' yang yang byas /
dpon slob kun gyis rtsa ri bskor du phebs /
dags la sgam por chos rje de nyid la /
mdo sde skyer ba lung zhus rtsa rir sleb (= bslebs) /
bkra shis sgang du dbus smyon chos rje mjal /
snyan brgyud bdag po yin zhes lung bstan mdzad /

phyag phyir sdod dgos nam yang che bar byung /
de rnams thos rgya ston pa'i rnam thar yin /

[e.] (fols. 4b/3–5a/3)

de nas rang yul chos 'khor bde chen du /
'khrul zhig kun bsam drung du sleb pa'i tshe /
rang gis (= gi) khu sogs tshogs pa rgya mtsho la /
ri chos skor gsum brgyan (= rgyan) bzhi yongs rdzogs gnang /
sgrub pa'i me tog zla gsum 'tshams byas tshe /
lto phye med par shin tu bkres par myong /
slar yang bram ze snyan brgyud 'ba ra chos drug sogs /
khrid chen brgyad sogs 'bar chos tshang ma thob /
sos ka mched grogs mon pa bsod glo ba /
phyag rdzir khrid te mtsho sna mon khrab dang /
dom tshang dkar po zang la dbyar zhugs byas /
lam du rje btsun skyabs rjes chos 'brel gnang /
bla mchod phag mo mdo (= do) ha skor gsum slabs (= bslabs) /
kun rdzogs stong ra bcas shing rlung la 'bad /
'dzag sgo khegs shing bde drod me ltar 'bar /
rlung rkyang thub sogs rlung gi yon tan skyes /
ston ser rang yul bre mkhar rdzong du bsdad /
dpon po snyan grags grogs dang snyan 'dug tshe /
mthun rkyen 'dzom zhing zhabs tog thon na yang /
bla ma dran te ma zug 'gro snying 'dod /
sprul sku lung du rje'i spyan sngar phyin /
sku 'tshams dam yod bdag la mjal kha gnang /
snying la 'phrod pas zhal lta (= zhal ta) gsal 'debs gnang /
phyi phyag phul zhing zhabs dbang smon lam btab /
grva phyi bde [5a] *chen chos sding (= sdings) dgon par phyin /*
bka' 'drin 'khor med kun bsam rje dang mjal /
lo gsum bar du pha yis (= yi) drung du bsdad /
rdza phu ri khrod sgrub sde'i gral la bzhugs /
rgyags su zla re khal phyed phogs la brten /
res 'ga' stes pho rdza'i lung stong du /
ri khrod chos rje rdo rje grags pa dang /
gdung la chos rje blo gros dpal dge ba /
dpun gsum phyogs cig sgrub la nan tan byas /
de tshe khong gnyis nyams rtogs mtho bar 'dug /

[f.] (fols. 6a/4–b/3)

spre lo hor zla bcu gnyis tshes brgyad la /
a mi (= a ne) le gsal phyis phyag tshal te 'ongs /

tshes bcu'i snga gro (= dro) pha ma'i drung nas 'ongs /
ma sring 'phreng bas thag ring bar du skyal (= bskyal) /
spyan chab mang bsil yid la 'phreng bar byung /
phyis mi 'phrad par sems kyis tshor bar 'dug /
de nas grva phyi bde chen chos sdings su /
bcvo lnga'i nub mo rje la phyis phyag phul /
zhabs dbang zhus zhing smon lam dbang bzhi slangs (= blangs) /
dges shing brtse pas mched grogs thams cad la /
skyel thung gyis zhes bka' yis nan skul gnang /
mchod rten bar du kun gyis gshegs skyel mdzad /
zhal dkar nang nas rje yang brtse bas gzigs /
dung pa'i (= gdungs pa'i) sems kyi gsol ba gting nas btab /
bdag yid 'phreng bas mchi ma dbang med shor /
mched lcam thams cad ku dir gcig tu gyur /
rje yang brtse bas spyan chab shor zhes thos /
de nas rim bzhin rngog gi gdan sar phyin /
mi la phug tu zla gsum bar du bsdad /
'tsho [6b] *pa'i yo byad bshag pa dpon mos gnang /*
rngog ston chen po byang chub dpal grub drung /
gdung rabs la sogs bka'rgyud (= brgyud) rnam thar dang /
dges rdor ma ya dur gsol lha mo yis (= yi) /
dbang rgyud gdams pa ma lus rdzogs pa dang /
'khor lo sdom pa'i rgyud sde ma lus gnang /
thugs rjes bzung zhing bsam pa tshim par byung /
smon lam phyis phyag zhabs dbang dbang bzhi zhus /
der yang skyabs rje rtogs ldan phebs pa las /
dge bsnyen byang sems sdom pa rdzogs par thob /
smon lam 'brel pas dad ldan 'ga' dang 'phrad /
grogs po gnyis tsam bdag gi rjes su 'brangs /

[g.] (fol. 6b/3–7)

zla ba gsum pa'i tshes gsum la chas nas /
bkres skom ngal chad dka' spyad du mar bcas /
rims kyis chu dbar sprul sku'i pho brang du /
nyi shu brgyad kyi snga ba'i cha la sleb /
a pha rdo rje rgyal mtshan zhu sna mdzad /
nyer dgu'i snga dro nyi ma rtse shar la /
tshag zhes steng du pho brang dar rgyas su /
sangs rgyas kun gyi thugs rje cig bsdus pa /
dkyil 'khor kun gtso kun bzang rdo rje 'chang /
chu snod du mar nyi zla'i gzugs snang ltar /
du mar 'gyed kyang ngo bo dbyer mi byed /

rgyal ba'i dbang po sprul pa'i skur bzhengs pa /
pha rgod gtsang smyon rje dang dngos su mjal /
dga' spro brjod med hur nur snang ba 'gags /
sgo gsum zag med bde ba'i ra ro ba /
ban bun zang zing zang thal ngang du lus /
sngar dang mi 'dras sems rgyud cig tu gyur /
sangs rgyas 'du shes the tshom bral bar skyes /
tshar gcod bka' bskyon (= bkyon) mang du gnang byung kyang /
dga' spro ma gtogs yid gnyis gting nas med /
shi yang phod pa'i gdung sems bcos min shar /
des (= de) nyin dgu gtor tshogs gral bsham du bsdad /
sngon dus na ro mi tris (= maitris) drung nyid du /
sgra bsgyur mar pas [7a] *tshogs 'khor gzigs pa yang /*
'di las lhag cing smon du med snyam byung /
de nas re shig mkhar las 'u lag rgyugs /
khad kyis phogs gnang gnas 'thil spang mo las /
g.yag mkhar phug zhes bya bar skyal te bsdad /
zab lam bla ma'i rnal 'byor zung zhes gsung /
zhag po gnyis la tshang mar zin pa las /
shes rab che zhes dges pa'i 'dzum mangs mdzad /
bdag cag dang 'dus grogs mched bcu tsam la /
phag mo lha lngas (= lnga'i) dbang bzhi rdzogs par gnang /
grol lam yi ge bzhi la dmar khrid skyangs /

[h.] (fols. 7b/7–8a/5)

de nas [8a] *lo gcig bka' yis gnang ba zhus /*
la phyi gangs dang gnya' nang ri la bsdad /
slar yang drung du dgun thog gcig tu bsdad /
gsung chos gnang tshad rnams la nan tan byas /
ma bde'i dogs gcod ma lus rdzogs par zhus /
de nas rje nyid shar phyogs phebs pa shar /
bdag gis slar yang la phyi gangs la bsdad /
gzhan yang chu dbar rdzong drug yol mo dang /
za phu (= zab bu) rtsa ri dags kong ri khrod dang /
gnas chen gnas phran dur khrod bas mtha' sogs /
phal cher ri dang res 'ga' rgyal khams 'grims /
bka' 'drin khor (='khor) med dag pa'i zhing gshags (= gshegs) rjes /
'bul sdud rten bzhengs sbyi pa'i (= sbyin pa'i) zhabs 'degs byas /
rgyal yum kun bzang bka' yis bskul ba dang /
rang gis bsam 'dun cig pa'i rten 'brel las /
rje nyid rnam thar mgur 'bum rgyas pa rnams /
thog ma tsam nas mi zad par du bzhengs /

thos bsam bsgom gsum g.yel med byed blo nas /
gar phyin gar bsdad spyi byed thams cad kun /
sangs rgyas bstan dang 'gro la gang phan byas /

Appendix 2

The most extensive biography of gTsang smyon Heruka, written by rGod tshang ras chen, mentions that the master's writings were made available after his death as xylographic prints through the efforts of his female partner Kun tu bzang mo. See the text (as in note 7) fol. 282.2: "Also, the mother Kun tu bzang mo printed the lord's own spiritual songs as a receptacle of [his] speech. These had been written down in notes by the disciples. [She] additionally [printed] the biography written by the Dharma Lord Rab 'byams pa dNgos grub dpal 'bar." *(gzhan yang yum kun tu bzang mos gsung gi rten du rje rang gi gsung mgur bu slob rnams kyis zin bris su mdzad pa dang / rnam thar chos rje rab 'byams pa dngos grub dpal 'bar mdzad pa spar du gzhengs).*

Both works are now available and bear the following titles: *rJe btsun gtsang pa he ru ka'i thun mong gi rnam thar yon tan gyi gangs ri la dad pa'i seng ge rnam par rtse ba*, 31 fols., NGMPP reel-no. L 834/2 [= marg. Ga], and *rJe btsun gtsang pa he ru ka'i mgur 'bum rin po che dbang gi rgyal po thams cad mkhyen pa'i lam ston*, 28 fols., NGMPP reel-no. L 567/2 [= marg. Nga]. It is quite possible that this particular *rnam mgur* collection was transmitted together with the *rnam mgur* collection of Mi la ras pa, which gTsang smyon Heruka had made xylographs of a few years earlier [= marg. Ka and Kha].

The author's colophon of the first text states that Śākya dge slong dNgos grub dpal 'bar composed the biography in the year 1508 at bSam gtan gling, the "sacred site" *(gnas chen)*, located at rGyal gyi śrī ri in La stod lho; see *rJe btsun gtsang pa he ru ka'i thun mong gi rnam thar*, fol. 30b/2–4. The printing colophon is reproduced here in order to document the further details of the production of this xylograph (names of sponsors and craftsmen are printed in bold); see *ibid.*, fols. 30b/2–31a/3:

e ma ho //

zung 'jug sgyu ma'i nyams kyi gsal ba'i sku /
mchog tu mi 'gyur bde bas zab pa'i thugs /
zab gsal gnyis med 'char ba'i gsung dbyangs kyis /
tshul chen gsung ba khyab bdag he ru ka'i /
ngo mtshar gtam gyi rtogs brjod mdzad pa gsum /
'dod yon 'dzom pa'i gnas chen dgon gsar 'dir /
par du bsgrubs pa'i mthun rkyen ma lus pa /
ye shes mkha' 'gro'i mtshan ldan rgyal ba'i yum */*

zab don man ngag kun la rang byan chud /
dga' bzhi'i gros kyis nang gi sa lam bgrod /
bzang po'i yongs 'dzin dges pa'i dpal yon mo /
gang de'i dgos chen sems bskyed rkyen gyis sbyar //

'khrul yig 'dzum sgeg sum lugs gru bzhi 'di /
lhag bsam dag pas sgo gsum rab bsgrims [31a] *nas /*
***sman khab stod pa nam mkha' 'phel les** bris //*

spu rgyal bod yul 'dzam gling byang phyogs 'dir /
rkos la mkhas pa la stod zur tsho nas /
***sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan rdo rje dpal** dang ni /*
***g.yang 'phel** zhes dang **dge 'dun rgyal mtshan** zhes /*
grogs pa'i ming can rnams kyis legs par bkod //

dad 'dun ngang nas sgo gsum bsgrims byas te /
tshig gi sdebs sbyor la sogs zhus dag ni /
***lo paṇ 'jam dpal chos lha** bdag gis bgyis //*

It was thus Lo paṇ [ras chen] 'Jam dpal chos lha, another disciple of gTsang smyon Heruka, who edited the earliest biography of the master and published it as a xylographic print. The printing colophon mentions gNas chen dgon gsar as the place where the actual printing occurred and this name obviously refers to bSam gtan gling, where the text had also been composed. It is known from the historical chronicle *Shel dkar chos 'byung* that both 'Jam dpal chos lha and dNgos grub dpal 'bar had acted as abbots of this monastery, originally founded by lHo bdag Chos kyi rin chen (d. 1402); see Wangdu & Diemberger (1996: 53) and Everding & Dzongphugpa (2006: 191). The scribe of the printing sheets and the four engravers came from sMan khab stod and Zur mtho, two regions in La stod lHo.

The xylograph of the collection of the spiritual songs of gTsang smyon Heruka provides further details concerning the process of editing and publishing the master's writings; see *rJe btsun gtsang pa'i he ru ka'i mgur 'bum*, fols. 27b/4–28a/5:

e ma ho //

sprul sku'i zhing khams mi 'jed (= mjed) 'jig rten gyi /
'dzam bus mtshon pa'i gling gi byang phyogs ngos /
gangs ri'i phreng bas mdzes par brgyan pa'i ljongs /
'jig rten dbang phyug 'phags mchog skyabs grol gyi /
gdul byar gyur pa'i zhing khams 'di nyid du /
thub bstan lung rtogs zab mo'i chu gter 'khyil / [27b]
chu gter dbus na rin chen khang bzangs (= bzang) ni /
rang byung gzhal med gnas gsum gangs ri ma /

grub mchog gtsang pa gdengs can rgyal po ni /
lung rtogs bstan pa chu gter kun gyi bdag /
thugs rje'i dpal 'byor 'dod rgu grub byed pa'i /
zab don rin chen dang mdzod mang po las /
thugs sras skal ldan ded dpon tshogs rnams kyis /
gsung mgur rin chen dbang gi rgyal po 'di /
mos gus rdzu 'phrul gru yis rim par slangs /
dbul phongs bsal nas zab don dpal la spyod /
dgos 'byung rin chen phreng ba 'di nyid kyi /
thugs sras chos mchog la gdams yan chad bar /
rje btsun drung du ***yum chen kun bzang*** *gis /*
lhag chad bsal nas mi rjed gzungs su bkod /
slar yang rjes 'jug skal ldan tshogs rnams la /
dgos 'dod char phab (= bab) dbul bar kun bsal phyir /
sprul pa'i yum chen kun tu bzang mo *yi (= yis) /*
gzhan phan kang bzangs (= bzang) lhag bsam rgyal mtshan rtser /
gsung mgur nor bu gus pas spar du bzhengs /
rgyu dngos longs spyod phangs med mchod par phul /
tshigs gi sdeb sbyor ma dag dri ma rnams /
shes rab spos chus lhag bsam lag pa yis /
thugs sras lo paṇ chos rjes *dag par bgyis /*
chos rgyal bsam lde la gdams man chad kyi /
don gyi dri ma snga phyi nor bu sogs /
rje btsun gsung bzhin mtshams sbyor dang bcas nas /
nyes pa'i 'dri bral gzi 'od ldan pa 'di /
gsung mgur rin chen dbang gi rgyal po zhes /
don ldan phyir na mtshan kyi (= gyi) mnga' gsol bcas /
lhag bsam dad nas ***rgod tshang ras pas*** *sbyar /*
de las byung ba'i rnam dkar dge ba yis /
lung rtogs bstan pa srid mthar gnas pa dang /
dbang phyug brgyad ldan [28a] *gtsang pa he ru ka'i /*
go 'phang mchog der 'gro kun myur grub nas /
khams gsum srid mtsho'i rting nas skams par shog /
rten 'brel slu med bden gnyis nus pa yis /
lhag bsam dag pa'i smon lam grub gyur cig //

gsung mgur nor bu par du bzhengs pa yi /
yi ge'i 'du byed mkhas pa'i rtser son pa /
sman khab stod pa nam mkha' phel le *yis /*
sgo gsum bsgrims te lhag bsam dad pas 'bris //

bzo khyad ldan pa par gyi 'du byed 'di /
rkos mkhan rnams nas mkhas pa'i rtser son pa /

la stod lho pa'i nang tshan zur tsho nas /
***sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan rdo rje dpal** dang ni /*
***nor bu g.yang 'phel dge 'dun rgyal mtshan** te /*
rnam pa bzhi yis legs par bzabs nas rkos //

This printing colophon, like the one of the biography, highlights Kun tu bzang mo, the female partner of gTsang smyon Heruka, as the person mainly responsible for the printing projects, and it can thus—again like the preceding one—be seen as further proof of the important role women played in the production of Buddhist block prints in the Himalayan regions; see in this regard Schaeffer (2004: 42–43) and Diemberger (2007: 44, 64). A portrait of Kun tu bzang mo can be found on the final folio of gTsang smyon Heruka's spiritual songs—testimony to her prominent place in the process of collecting and printing the songs (fig. 1).

The colophon of the collection of spiritual songs states further that the work was actually compiled by rGod tshang ras chen following the initial editorial efforts of the previously mentioned 'Jam dpal chos lha; this task must have been quite substantial as the mentioned section he started in on—the songs addressed to the Gung thang ruler bSam grub lde (1459–1506)—occurs quite early in the text.

But this was not the only cooperative venture among Kun tu bzang mo, 'Jam dpal chos lha, the young rGod tshang ras chen and the Buddhist craftsmen from the region of La stod lHo. Among the writings of gTsang smyon Heruka executed as xylographic prints soon after his death was a work dealing with the literary genre and the history of Buddhist spiritual songs and a short catalogue of the master's songs, structured along the same lines as the *mGur 'bum* collection. The first work bears the title *mGur gyi dkar chags ma rig mun sel dad pa'i mig 'byed* (block print), 10 fols. It has survived in the so-called "Sammlung Waddell" in the State Library in Berlin [= Wadd 120 h (1)]; see Schuh (1981: 126–127). The printing colophon notes again Kun tu bzang mo as the person who secured financing for the print, 'Jam dpal chos lha as the editor, and the same scribe and the same engravers as above. See *ibid.*, fol. 9b/5–7:


Fig. 1

e ma ho /

mgur gyi dkar chags mun sel sgron me 'di /
sangs rgyas bstan dang 'gro ba'i don bsams nas /

kun du [sic] ***bzang mos*** *spar du sgrubs pa yi /*
yig mkhan ***sman khab stod pa 'phel le*** *ste /*
rkos mkhan ***zur tsho'i sangs rgyal*** *grogs mched yin /*
zhus dag ***lo paṇ chos lhas*** *bgyis /*
'di bsgrubs dge bas mkha' mnyam 'gro kun gyis /
tshogs rdzogs sgrib byang sku gsum myur thob shog //

rGod tshang ras chen must have been also involved in this project, as can be seen from the catalogue of the spiritual songs of gTsang smyon Heruka added to the work. This piece of writing bears the title *dKar chags nyi 'od snang ba* [= Wadd 120 h (2)]; see Schuh (1981: 127). The final part of the colophon states that the catalogue was compiled by rGod tshang ras chen; see *ibid.*, fol. 10 b/1–2:

rdo rje chang chen 'di nyid kyi /
rdo rje glu'i gsang tshig rnams /
rdo rje'i theg pa'i gsal byed du /
rdo rje'i mgur chings dkar chags ni /
nyi 'od snang ba zhes bya 'di /
nyi ma'i rjes 'brang dkar tshogs kyi /
dkar phran ***rgod tshang pas*** *sbyar /*
'gro kun rdo rje 'chang thob zhog //

It is known from the biography of gTsang smyon Heruka that he composed several works in Chu bar sprul sku pho brang in the year 1503, including the previously mentioned *mGur gyi dkar chag.* Among the disciples present during this time was the "youngest of the heart-sons of the Noble One Endowed with Bone Ornaments" *(rje btsun rus pa'i rgyan can gyi thugs sras rnams gyi nang nas tha chung du gyur pa)*; see the text (as in note 7), pp. 207.2–208.3. This epithet refers to the 21-year-old rGod tshang ras chen, who used it himself in the author's colophon of the biography, written a few years later in Tsā ri; see *ibid.*, p. 284.4. The same colophon includes an idealized portrait of rGod tshang ras chen as a Buddhist tantric siddha, highlighting his position as a disciple of gTsang smyon Heruka; involved from the very beginning in editing and publishing the master's writings, he was thus the ideal person to compose the most comprehensive biography of his teacher (fig. 2).



Fig. 2

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RÉSUMÉ

Edition et publication des écrits du maître :
les jeunes années de rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559)

Des recherches récentes ont permis d'approfondir notre connaissance de l'école Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa. Elles ont en particulier étudié le cercle de gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1527) et de ses disciples qui transmirent et diffusèrent par l'écrit les hagiographies et les manuels de pratique de cette tradition.

Les plus célèbres de ces disciples furent lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) et rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559) qui composèrent chacun une biographie de leur maître et s'attachèrent à l'édition, l'impression et la diffusion des textes de l'école. Cette tâche fut poursuivie par leur élève gNas Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581).

Mais si l'on dispose désormais d'une connaissance affinée de l'école Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa, sur trois générations, soit à peu près un siècle, des lacunes demeurent cependant. Ainsi, on hésitait encore sur les dates exactes de rGod tshang pa, ainsi que sur les dates de composition de ses principaux ouvrages. La lecture d'une édition xylographique de son autobiographie en vers, qui n'avait été mentionnée jusqu'à présent que dans un état très fragmentaire, donne une relation précise de sa jeunesse: de son pays, de sa famille et de sa naissance, de ses années de formation et de son ordination, de ses études, de ses voyages et pèlerinages, enfin de sa rencontre avec son maître gTsang smyon Heruka, et, après la mort de ce dernier, de ses premiers efforts pour l'impression de son œuvre (Annexe 1). D'autres éléments pour l'étude de l'édition de cette œuvre se trouvent dans ses colophons (Annexe 2).

L'autobiographie de rGod tshang ras pa mentionne parmi ses nombreux maîtres outre gTsang smyon Heruka et sa partenaire Kun tu bzang mo, le savant sa skya pa Śākya mchog ldan et le VIIe Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho. Elle mentionne aussi son étude de la tradition de 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po. Il reçut également de rJe btsun bla ma Kun dga' rgyal mtshan un enseignement désigné comme le *Kun bzang rdzogs chen*, et reçut d'un autre maître rnying ma pa la transmission du cycle du *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa* de Sangs rgyas gling pa. Ses liens avec l'école rnying ma pa ne furent pas sans conséquence et on en retrouve la marque dans sa structuration de l'index du *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* qu'il rédigea et dont il existe une seule copie manuscrite.

Les traductions tibétaines des discours politiques chinois de Sun Yat-sen sur les « Trois principes du peuple » en tant qu'exemples de traductions modernes d'un texte politique

FABIENNE JAGOU[1]
(Paris)

Sun Yat-sen 孫中山 (1866–1925) prononça entre janvier et mars 1924 une série de discours relatifs à sa philosophie politique des « Trois principes du peuple ». Le texte qui en a résulté est une retranscription écrite de ces discours, comme chacun peut s'en rendre compte à sa lecture.

Ces *Trois principes* sont le nationalisme, la démocratie et le bien-être du peuple. Ils furent les points politiques fondateurs de la République chinoise de 1928, date de la création du gouvernement de Nankin (南京 *Nanjing*), à 1949 (année de la création de la République Populaire de Chine. Les nationalistes, après leur fuite sur l'île de Taïwan 台灣 en 1949, continuèrent à appuyer leur politique sur ces principes.

Dans le cas des versions tibétaines des « Trois principes du peuple » de Sun Yat-Sen, on est frappé par l'absence d'une traduction arrêtée. Je vais ici tenter de comprendre les raisons d'une absence de production ou au contraire celles qui ont conduit à la réalisation de ces traductions en fonction des lieux et des contextes historiques. Aucune version au Tibet même n'est attestée avant la première moitié du XX^e s., mais plusieurs versions ont été composées à l'époque républicaine en Chine et plusieurs traductions ont vu le jour à Taïwan après 1949. Cet article essaye de comprendre les raisons de cette absence au Tibet dans la première moitié du XX^e s. et celles qui ont conduit à la réalisation de ces traductions en Chine républicaine et à Taïwan. Je conclurai par une analyse philologique des termes tibétains choisis pour désigner « nationalisme », « démocratie » et « bien-être du peuple », c'est-à-dire les « trois principes du peuple ». Cela permettra d'approcher l'évolution des techniques de traduction et de classer ces textes par ordre chronologique.

L'absence de version tibétaine des « Trois principes du peuple » au Tibet

Il semble qu'aucune version en tibétain des « Trois principes du peuple » n'ait été rédigée ou préparée au Tibet. On peut parfaitement le comprendre

[1] Je remercie très sincèrement Heather Stoddard de sa relecture attentive.

pour les années précédant 1930 : le 13e Dalaï-lama (1875–1933) avait entrepris un train de réformes visant au renforcement de l'indépendance du Tibet dès 1913. En Chine, les seigneurs de la guerre régnaient et les présidents, qui se succédèrent à la tête du gouvernement de Pékin (北京 *Beijing*), ne menaient ni politique nationale, ni politique internationale, si ce n'était, dans ce dernier cas, pour trouver des capitaux susceptibles de les aider à maintenir leur armée en état de marche. Enfin, Sun Yat-sen prononça ses discours en 1924. C'est donc seulement après cette date, et la création du gouvernement de Nankin en 1928 – avec Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887–1975) à sa tête – que les « Trois principes du peuple » devinrent le texte de philosophie politique des nationalistes. En même temps, la question du Tibet revenait sur la scène politique chinoise avec, notamment, la création de la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines (蒙藏委員會 *Meng Zang weiyuanhui*). L'importance de cette administration n'avait fait que croître sous la République, avatar de la Cour d'administration des Vassaux (理藩院 *Lifan yuan*) de la dynastie Qing (1644–1911). Celle-ci était devenue en 1911 le Bureau des affaires mongoles et tibétaines (蒙藏事務處 *Meng Zang shiwu chu*), puis le Département (蒙藏事務局 *Meng Zang shiwu ju*), le ministère (蒙藏院 *Meng Zang yuan* ou 蒙藏部 *Meng Zang bu*) et enfin la Commission (委員會 *weiyuan hui*). À partir de 1928 et alors qu'aucune politique n'avait jusqu'alors été véritablement définie, trois missions, plus ou moins officielles, furent chargées de transmettre la politique du gouvernement chinois au dalaï-lama : en 1929–1930, celles de Liu Manqing 劉曼卿 (1906–1941)[2] et de dKon mchog 'byung gnas (1883–1944)[3] et en 1934,

[2] Liu Manqing naquit à Lhasa d'un père chinois ou mandchou, membre du *yamen* mandchou à Lhasa, et d'une mère tibétaine, originaire du Khams. À l'avènement de la République, en 1912, la famille quitta Lhasa et s'installa à Darjeeling en Inde où elle tint un commerce avant de retourner en Chine. Là, Liu Manqing reçut une éducation en chinois. En 1929, elle se fit remarquer par Chiang Kai-shek, devenu le président de la République de Chine, lorsqu'elle lui servit d'interprète lors de sa rencontre en Chine avec le représentant du 13e Dalaï-lama, qui résidait au Wutai shan 五臺山. Elle entra ensuite à la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines à un poste subalterne et proposa bientôt à son supérieur de partir pour le Tibet. Il accepta mais il ne semble pas, cependant, qu'elle ait été investie d'une mission officielle de la part du gouvernement chinois. Son premier voyage dura du 15 juillet 1929 au 3 février 1930. Elle se rendit au Tibet *via* le Khams. Il semble qu'elle fut l'une des premières femmes à arriver jusqu'à Lhasa et à rencontrer le 13e Dalaï-lama. Cf. Jagou (2009).

[3] dKon mchog 'byung gnas, abbé du monastère du Yonghe gong 永和宮 à Pékin à partir de 1924, qui deviendra le représentant du 13e Dalaï-lama à Nankin à son retour de mission. Il quitta Nankin le 7 novembre 1929 (quatre mois après que Liu Manqing eut quitté Nankin) et arriva à Lhasa le 16 janvier 1930 (trois semaines avant l'arrivée de Liu Manqing). Il voyagea par l'Inde, contrairement à Liu Manqing qui traversa le Khams. Comme Prasenjit Duara le mentionne, à cette époque, il était de bon ton de « voyager de

celle de Huang Musong 黃慕松 (1885–1937)[4] qui assista aux funérailles du 13e Dalaï-lama.

Malgré ces missions, aucun document relatif aux « Trois principes du peuple » ne semble avoir été laissé ou rédigé au Tibet. Or, on sait par exemple que, durant son séjour à Lhasa, Liu Manqing demeura dans la résidence de Tsha rong (1885–Juin 1959), ancien commandant en chef de l'armée, ancien ministre et ancien directeur des finances, encore très influent à Lhasa, et que celui-ci fut son conseiller lors de son premier passage dans la capitale tibétaine. D'après son journal de voyage, lors de son premier séjour à Lhasa (en 1929–1930), malgré le fait que sa mission ait été officieuse, elle s'entretint avec le 13e Dalaï-lama à propos de la création du nouveau gouvernement à Nankin et insista sur sa politique basée sur les « Trois principes du peuple » et le principe de la « coexistence des cinq nationalités » de son gouvernement[5]. Liu Manqing retourna à Lhasa en 1938. Sa mission consistait à expliquer la politique de résistance contre le Japon aux autorités tibétaines. Les membres de sa mission prononcèrent des discours et montrèrent des films de propagande au palais du régent Rwa sgreng (régent de 1934 à 1941), dans la maison de Tsha rong et à la résidence des agents de la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines présents à Lhasa.

On sait également que dKon mchog 'byung gnas qui, contrairement à Liu Manqing, agissait en tant qu'envoyé officiel du gouvernement chinois, discuta avec les autorités tibétaines de questions politiques, notamment celle relative au statut du Tibet. Il eut également la responsabilité de remettre une lettre de Chiang Kai-shek au 13e Dalaï-lama[6]. Pourtant, leur passage et les propos échangés semblent n'avoir laissé aucune trace écrite ou photogra-

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Chine au Yunnan en prenant le bateau au Vietnam pour emprunter ensuite le train français pour revenir au Yunnan 雲南 ou bien de voyager jusqu'au Xinjiang 新疆 en transsibérien et de revenir *via* la Russie et, au même titre, le Tibet était plus facilement accessible *via* l'Inde », Duara (2003 : 188–189).

[4] Diplômé de l'Académie militaire japonaise de Shikan Gakkô en 1908, il entra à l'Académie militaire de Baoding 保定軍校 *Baoding junxiao* en 1912. Toutefois, Huang Musong était avant tout un diplomate. En cette qualité, il œuvra en République mongole (1913), en Europe (de 1920 à 1923), en Suisse (1931), au Xinjiang (1933) et au Tibet (1934) tout en gardant de forts appuis militaires puisqu'il entra à l'Académie militaire de Huangpu 黃埔軍校 *Huangpu junxiao* (1924), fut général d'armée (1926) et chef d'état-major (1928). Il devint directeur de la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines en 1936. Cf. Boorman (1967 : vol. II, 203–205).

[5] Liu Manqing, pp. 44–47. Le principe de la « coexistence harmonieuse des cinq nationalités » (五族共和 *wu zu gonghe*) consiste à prôner l'égalité des cinq peuples (les Han, les Mongols, les Mandchous, les Ouïghours et les Tibétains) qui peuplaient le territoire de l'empire mandchou, espace que la Chine républicaine revendiquait.

[6] Dong Shufan (1985 : 16–18) ; Thub bstan sangs rgyas (1982 : 17–18).

phique et n'avoir suscité aucune curiosité politique ou intellectuelle. Liu Manqing ne semble avoir reçu aucun encouragement de la part du gouvernement tibétain et dKon mchog 'byung gnas devint le représentant officiel du Tibet en Chine.

La mission Huang Musong était différente : son chef vint assister aux funérailles du 13e Dalaï-lama en 1934 et mena des négociations officieuses avec les membres du gouvernement tibétain. Sa mission avait un caractère religieux et c'est à ce titre que les Tibétains avaient accepté sa venue[7]. Mais, là aussi, son message politique resta lettre morte à moins de considérer que le Parti de « l'Union heureuse » *(skyid phyogs kun mthun)* fondé par Lung shar (1880–1938) dans les années trente se fût inspiré de ces rencontres. On peut cependant également supposer que Lung shar fut influencé par son séjour en Angleterre (1913–1914) et une visite en Allemagne[8]. Toujours est-il que, selon toutes les apparences, aucune version tibétaine des « Trois principes du peuple » ne fut rédigée à cette époque.

Si aucune traduction ne semble avoir été entreprise au Tibet, il n'en reste pas moins vrai que Liu Manqing, dKon mchog 'byung gnas et nombre de maîtres tibétains comme, par exemple, le 9e Panchen-lama (1883–1937) ou Norlha qutuγtu (1863–1936)[9], en désaccord avec le gouvernement tibétain, vivaient en Chine. On peut dès lors se demander si une ou des traductions en tibétain des « Trois principes du peuple » de Sun Yat-sen y ont été entreprises.

Les versions traduites en Chine à l'époque républicaine (entre 1928 et 1949)

En fait, si le travail de dKon mchog 'byung gnas reste vague, celui de Liu Manqing est mieux connu grâce à ses écrits. Celle-ci, après son retour du Tibet, devint fondatrice et membre de nombreuses associations tibétaines et frontalières[10]. Son voyage au Tibet et ses liens, par le côté maternel, avec le

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[7] Shakabpa (1988 : 276).

[8] Sur ce parti de l'Union heureuse, voir Stoddard (1985 : 75–76) et Goldstein (1989 : 190–212). La principale réforme proposée par ce parti politique concernait la sélection et le contrôle des membres du Cabinet ministériel tibétain. Il serait intéressant de connaître la dénomination tibétaine utilisée pour désigner le « Parti républicain ».

[9] Norlha qutuγtu, d'obédience rNying ma pa, était un maître du monastère de Ri bo che. Il fut arrêté et condamné à la réclusion à perpétuité après qu'il eut aidé la garnison chinoise à Ri bo che lors du conflit sino-tibétain de 1917. Il s'échappa et se réfugia en Chine. Il devint membre de la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines et œuvra au Tibet oriental en tant que pacificateur. Il abandonna ses prérogatives à la suite de désaccords avec le gouverneur de la province du Sichuan, Liu Wenhui 劉文輝 et lutta finalement pour l'autonomie du Tibet oriental.

[10] Liu Manqing fonda, en 1931, l'Association des frontières de la Chine (中國邊疆學會

Khams, lui assurèrent une place importante au sein de la communauté tibétaine de Nankin. D'un point de vue pratique, les membres de ces associations agissaient en tant qu'enquêteurs pour la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines. Ils étaient également des agents de propagande. Liu Manqing livre aussi quelques détails concernant la nomination de sKal bzang tshe ring (chin. : Gesang Zeren 格桑澤任ou Wang Tianhua 王天 1899–1941) en tant que chef de la branche du parti nationaliste au Xikang 西康省黨部 *(Xikang sheng dang bu)* et sur son travail de propagande auprès des chefs locaux[11]. À ma connaissance, sKal bzang tshe ring laissa des écrits en chinois, mais pas en tibétain (ce dont il est légitime de douter compte tenu de sa nationalité tibétaine). Cependant, il semble évident que pour pouvoir assurer ce travail de propagande, les uns et les autres devaient bénéficier d'outils, tels que des traductions, au moins partielles, ou de brochures[12]. À moins que, comme le montrent les exemples suivants, ces agents fissent appel à des méthodes religieuses, comme le chant ou la prière, pour que le message soit accepté et compris. Ainsi, par exemple, d'après les mémoires de 'Ba' pa Phun tshogs dbang rgyal, recueillies par M. C. Goldstein, peu après la prise de 'Ba' thang en 1932, sKal bzang tshe ring convoqua ses habitants dans la cour de l'école et leur enseigna une nouvelle chanson, qu'il avait composée lui-même, appelée « La chanson du nouveau Khams ». Le thème de cette chanson était que les Tibétains devaient adhérer aux « Trois principes du peuple » de Sun Yat-sen et qu'une nouvelle ère commençait pour les habitants du Khams et de 'Ba' thang[13]. L'un des écrits laissés par sKal bzang tshe ring mentionnant les difficultés rencontrées dans son travail de propagande au Khams montre que les « rituels politiques » qu'il organisait, par exemple s'incliner face au portrait de Sun Yat-sen, réciter son testament politique, ou chanter l'hymne du Parti nationaliste au quartier général

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Zhongguo bianjiang xuehui) ; en octobre 1931, celle de l'Association des compatriotes khampas et tibétains de Nankin pour résister aux Japonais et sauver le pays (康藏旅京同鄉抗日救國會 *Kang Zang lu Jing tongxiang kang Ri jiuguo hui*) ; en novembre 1937, elle fonda et devint présidente d'une « équipe de propagande de Khampas et de Tibétains dédiée à la résistance contre les ennemis » (康藏民眾抗敵赴難宣傳團 *Kang Zang minzhong kangdi fu nan xuanchuan tuan*) ; enfin, au cours de l'été 1938, Liu Manqing, et entre autres sKal bzang tshe ring, créèrent un nouveau groupe, « L'équipe de Khampas, représentante de Chiang Kai-shek, réconfortant les lignes de front » (西康民眾慰勞前線蔣士代表團 *Xikang minzhong weilao qian xian Jiang shi daibiao tuan*).

[11] Liu Manqing, p. 155.

[12] sKal bzang tshe ring mentionne qu'il s'appuyait sur les discours prononcés par le 9[e] Panchen-lama à Nankin pour montrer qu'il n'y avait pas contradiction entre la doctrine politique des Trois principes du peuple et le bouddhisme. Cf. Gesangzeren (réimp. 1974 : 5).

[13] Goldstein et al. (2004 : 11).

du Parti, furent considérés comme des « rituels religieux » afférant à une religion étrangère susceptible de porter préjudice au bouddhisme tibétain. sKal bzang tshe ring choisit alors de placer une image du Bouddha à côté de celle de Sun Yat-sen au quartier général du Parti nationaliste. En conséquence, un missionnaire américain en visite refusa de s'incliner devant le Bouddha et finit par s'exécuter devant le drapeau chinois et le portrait de Sun Yat-sen, en précisant toutefois qu'il n'acceptait de s'incliner qu'en raison de la nature purement protocolaire de cette visite[14].

Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que des traductions tibétaines des « Trois principes du peuple » devaient exister. En effet, Rab dga' sPom mda' tshang (1902–1974), un « intellectuel laïc tibétain » pour reprendre le qualificatif de C. Mcgranahan, traduisit Sun Yat-sen, sans que les dates de ces traductions soient connues et sans que cette version soit disponible aujourd'hui[15]. C. Mcgranahan trouva cependant dans la bibliothèque de Rab dga' à Kalimpong un volume des « Trois principes du peuple » en anglais annoté de sa propre main[16]. Il semble qu'en 1935 Rab dga' rencontra Chiang Kai-shek et qu'à la suite de cette rencontre il devint membre de la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines[17]. Puis, il retourna en Inde pour revenir en Chine où il rencontra plusieurs fois Chiang Kai-shek en 1938[18]. De retour en Inde, il entreprit de créer le « Parti progressiste tibétain » *(Nub Bod legs bcos skyid sdug)* pour un Tibet réformé et unifié. Ce parti conçu au Tibet, encouragé en Chine et basé en Inde, s'appuyait sur le modèle du Guomindang 國民黨[19].

Rab dga' sPom mda' tshang utilisait la presse tibétaine pour communiquer ses idées. Même si seuls quelques journaux tibétains furent distribués au Tibet pendant la première moitié du XX[e] s., l'information parvenait jusqu'à une certaine élite[20]. Au Ladakh, c'est d'abord A. H. Franke, un chrétien morave, qui entreprit la publication du premier journal tibétain le *Lha dwags ag par* en 1904[21], titre qui devint le *La dwags kyi pho nya* en 1908. Puis, il y eut

[14] Peng Wenbin (2002 : 65, note 203) qui cite Gesangzeren 格桑澤任 (réimp. 1974 : 4–5).

[15] Stoddard (1985 : 85–86).

[16] Tuttle (2005 : 152) ; Mcgranahan (2005 : 255, 257).

[17] Mcgranahan (2005 :265). En 1936, Rab dga' rencontra Huang Musong en Inde qui le convainquit de se rendre en Chine et, la même année, Rab dga' devint membre de la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines. Cf. Stoddard (1985 : 81, 97).

[18] Mcgranahan (2005 : 266).

[19] *Ibid.*, 267.

[20] Il semble que *Le miroir de l'information de toutes les régions (Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long)* n'était tiré qu'à 50 exemplaires et que le 13[e] Dalaï-lama y était abonné.

[21] Bray (1988).

Kyelang gi akhbar fondé par Asboe en 1927, qui devint en 1936 *La dwags kyi pho nya*. Il s'interrompit en 1947 et reprit en 1952. En Inde, à Kalimpong, Tharchin Babu (1890–1976), originaire d'Himachal Pradesh, édita *Le miroir de l'information de toutes les régions (Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long)* de 1925 à 1960. Ce journal reprenait entre autres les opinions politiques des Tibétains qui s'intéressaient aux idées républicaines et citait donc les « Trois principes du peuple » de Sun Yat-sen[22]. Au Tibet, à Lhasa, l'*amban* Lian Yu 聯豫 lança *Le journal en langue vernaculaire du Tibet* (chin. : *Xizang baihuabao* 西藏白話報 ; tib. : *Nub Bod kyi phal skad tshags par*) en version bilingue en 1909[23].

Du côté des maîtres tibétains en exil en Chine à l'époque de la Chine républicaine, le 9e Panchen-lama fit référence, dans une lettre de son bureau du Qinghai 青海 à la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines, à une traduction en tibétain des « Trois principes du peuple » entreprise par son bureau de Xining 西寧 en 1929. Pour G. Tuttle, il s'agirait de la première traduction tibétaine des « Trois principes du peuple »[24]. On ne sait cependant si cette initiative aboutit. Il semble également improbable que le Panchen-lama ait ordonné une telle traduction alors qu'il se vouait à conférer des enseignements en Mongolie Intérieure. On peut envisager toutefois que lui-même, ou ses compagnons d'infortune qui certainement rédigeaient ses lettres en chinois, cherchaient à « séduire » les membres du gouvernement chinois. D'un point de vue pragmatique, le 9e Panchen-lama semble avoir adhéré aux « Trois principes du peuple » et à la politique des nationalités après qu'il eut été fait membre du gouvernement chinois. Cependant, le manque de sources tibétaines sur la question, notamment l'absence de transcription en tibétain de ses interventions publiques, laisse planer un doute quant à sa sincère adhésion aux principes. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que le Panchen-lama adhéra aux « Trois principes du peuple » dans un contexte religieux et qu'il opéra un rapprochement entre la doctrine bouddhique et les « Trois principes du peuple ». Selon H. Stoddard, les progressistes tibétains considéraient que le texte de philosophie politique de Sun Yat-sen « pouvait s'appliquer aussi bien au Tibet qu'à la Chine et s'harmoniser avec la doctrine du Bouddha »[25]. Quoi qu'il en soit, le 9e Panchen-lama fit publier plusieurs revues : « La Revue mensuelle du propagateur des valeurs dans les régions de l'Ouest » (西陲宣化師月刊 *Xichui xuanhua shi yuekan*)

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[22] Stoddard (1994 : 126).

[23] Je remercie F. Robin pour ces précisions. Lian Yu fut *amban* au Tibet de 1906 à 1912.

[24] Tuttle (2005 : 130), qui cite 中國第二歷史檔案館 *Zhongguo di er lishi dang'an guan,* comp. (1992 : 10). Remarquons que le document est non daté et qu'il fut enregistré à la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines le 12 juin 1929.

[25] Stoddard (1985 : 88).

et « La Revue mensuelle du Bureau de Nankin du Panchen-lama du Tibet » (西藏 班禪駐京辦事處月刊 *Xizang Banchan zhu Jing banshi chu yuekan*)[26]. Ces publications, en trois langues (chinois, tibétain et mongol), se faisaient l'écho des politiques du gouvernement de Nankin.

Shes rab rgya mtsho (1884–1968), érudit tibétain qui s'était réfugié en Chine en 1937 après que ses propositions de réforme terminologique du *bKa' 'gyur* (le canon bouddhique tibétain) eurent été mal reçues à Lhasa, se présenta à la frontière sino-tibétaine, à Nagchukha exactement, en 1944[27]. D'après H. Stoddard, qui cite une source britannique, il aurait alors transporté avec lui plusieurs exemplaires d'une traduction des « Trois principes du peuple » dont quelques-uns circulèrent à Lhasa la même année[28]. Cette même source attribue cette traduction à Shes rab rgya mtsho[29].

Quittons les individus, dont certains ont tenu le rôle important d'interprètes ou de traducteurs, pour examiner si les organes gouvernementaux, en l'occurrence la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines, ont entrepris des traductions en tibétain des principes directeurs de la politique du gouvernement nationaliste. Les traductions les plus anciennes que j'ai pu trouver[30] furent publiées dans les revues éditées par la dite commission :

- « L'Hebdomadaire sur la Mongolie et le Tibet, 蒙藏週報 *Meng Zang zhoubao* » ;
- « Le Journal adapté à la Mongolie et au Tibet, 蒙藏適報 *Meng Zang shibao* » ;
- « Le Mensuel sur la Mongolie et le Tibet, 蒙藏月報 *Meng Zang yuebao* ».

Ces trois revues furent créées après la fondation du gouvernement de Nankin. Elles étaient publiées séparément en quatre langues : le chinois, le mongol, le tibétain et l'arabe. On ne sait rien de leur diffusion et de leur lectorat. Elles s'organisaient toutes à peu près selon le même schéma. Par exemple, pour le *Meng Zang zhoubao* :

- Informations concernant le Tibet (en réalité le Khams) et la Mongolie
- Nouvelles intérieures
- Nouvelles internationales
- Politique générale de la Chine.

[26] 西陲宣化使月刊 *Xichui xuanhua shi yuekan*, vol. 1, n°6, avril 1936, p. 131.

[27] Sur Shes rab rgya mtsho, cf. Stoddard (1985 : 86–88) ; Tuttle (2005 : 207–212) ; Stoddard (1988).

[28] Stoddard (1985 : 87, 301, note 112).

[29] I.O. L/P&S/12/4201, 01/12/1944, cité par Stoddard (1985 : 301, note 112).

[30] Il est important de rappeler que la recherche est en cours et que la prudence est de rigueur tant qu'un corpus exhaustif ou un peu plus complet ne sera pas disponible.

Autre exemple, pour le *Meng Zang yuebao* :

- Nouvelles quotidiennes relatives aux régions frontalières
- Nouvelles internationales
- Nouvelles au jour le jour de la résistance contre le Japon.

La première tentative de traduction officielle en tibétain des « Trois principes du peuple » date donc vraisemblablement de 1929 et fut publiée dans le *Meng Zang zhoubao*, dans la rubrique *Brèves hebdomadaires sur le Tibet et la Mongolie (gza' 'khor re'i Bod Sog gsar gnas)*, sous le titre « Le nationalisme de la Chine » *(grung sgo'i kwa ming tang gi kru yi)*. On trouve ensuite des mentions de l'enseignement de Sun Yat-sen dans ces mêmes revues tout au long des années suivantes[31].

La situation est surprenante en ce qui concerne la réalisation d'une traduction officielle entreprise par la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines ou tout autre organisme gouvernemental. Aucune ne semble disponible avant 1943, soit quinze années après la création du gouvernement de Nankin. Publiée dans la collection « Premier livre relié de la philosophie du Parti en traduction tibétaine » (藏譯當義書刊之一 *Zang yi dang yi shukan zhi yi*), cette traduction en tibétain, datée de 1943, semble être la première version officielle comme le nom de la collection l'indique. Elle n'est cependant qu'une version abrégée en chinois et en tibétain de la retranscription des discours originaux prononcés en chinois. Elle s'intitule en tibétain :

> *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. « dPal dkyil mi ser rgyal khab srid lo 32 tshes la, Krung go go min tang krung yang rtsa 'dzugs las khungs kyi mtha' mtshams skad yig rtsom sgyur lhan khang nas bsgyur cing dpar du bskrun pa'o ». D'un format 18 x 13,5 cm, la partie tibétaine de ce livre comprend 112 pages sans photographie ni illustration.

Cette traduction tibétaine ne contient pas de préface. Toutefois, elle possède un colophon qui, dans la culture tibétaine, clôt un texte en indiquant les détails circonstanciels de l'ouvrage : l'auteur, le commanditaire, l'éditeur, le graveur, l'imprimeur, le lieu d'édition, etc. Dans le cas présent, l'éditeur est Shes rab rgya mtsho mais c'est son disciple Byams pa rnam rgyal qui prépara le texte[32]. La traduction et l'édition du texte se fit donc en un maximum de

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[31] Il faudrait également mener une recherche systématique dans les revues publiées à cette époque et qui concernent plus spécifiquement le Khams.

[32] Byams pa rnam rgyal fit partie d'un programme d'échange, mis en place par la Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines en 1936, qui consistait à subventionner les séjours de moines chinois et tibétains dans les monastères du Tibet central alors que deux moines tibétains du Tibet central allaient se former en Chine. À Lhasa, Byams pa

six ans, si l'on considère l'année d'arrivée de Shes rab rgya mtsho en Chine (1937). On peut également supposer que Byams pa rnam rgyal, qui était alors au Tibet, suivit son maître à ce moment-là. Le cas échéant, Byams pa rnam rgyal aurait respecté le programme d'échanges entre la Chine et le Tibet auquel il participait et qui prévoyait que les moines envoyés au Tibet devaient y rester cinq ans. Il serait alors revenu en Chine en 1940 et la traduction en tibétain et l'édition des « Trois principes du peuple » auraient alors été réalisées en trois ans.

> Dans sa version chinoise :
> 三民主義要義 (藏譯) *Sanmin zhuyi yaoyi (Zang yi)*. « 中央組織部邊疆語文編譯委員會譯印 Zhongyang zuzhi bu bianjiang yuwen bianyi weiyuanhui yi yin. (藏譯當義書刊之一 Zang yi dang yi shukan zhi yi) ». Mai 1943. Il compte 40 pages. Il est dépourvu de préface.

Aujourd'hui, à ma connaissance, aucune autre version n'est disponible sur la période allant de 1924 (année durant laquelle Sun Yat-sen prononça ses discours) à 1949 (année du repli du gouvernement nationaliste à Taïwan). Il semble cependant évident que les Tibétains, membres du Guomindang et/ou du gouvernement nationaliste, devaient disposer de prospectus, de brochures ou de photographies leur permettant de délivrer le message du gouvernement chinois sur les marches sino-tibétaines. Si tel était le cas, aucun de ces documents ne semble être parvenu jusqu'au Tibet central avant 1944 (voir *supra*).

Les versions écrites à Taïwan (après 1949)

À leur arrivée à Taïwan, les nationalistes réorganisèrent leur gouvernement en adoptant la même structure gouvernementale que celle qui existait à Nankin et en gardant comme principe directeur les « Trois principes du peuple de Sun Yat-sen ». La Commission des affaires mongoles et tibétaines fut donc réouverte et officia pour gérer les relations de ce gouvernement avec la Mongolie et le Tibet. Ses membres furent d'abord recrutés parmi des Tibétains qui avaient suivi Chiang Kai-shek dans sa fuite puis des Tibétains recrutés au Népal notamment. Il semble qu'à partir de 1949, trois traductions tibétaines des « Trois principes du peuple », au moins, furent entreprises à Taipei :

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rnam rgyal étudia à 'Bras spungs où il devint le disciple de Shes rab rgya mtsho. Le nom chinois de Byams pa rnam rgyal serait Yang Zhifu, transcrit en tibétain Yang Kri hphu. Malheureusement G. Tuttle n'en donne pas les caractères chinois Cf. Tuttle (2005 : 201–202). Je remercie Gray Tuttle d'avoir partagé cette information, cf. Tuttle (à paraître) et *San min kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 111–112).

- *Mi mang gi sgrig lam gsum. Sun yen sen.* « dByin skad nas Bod skad du pa bsgyur ba'o », non datée, non signée. Cette version tibétaine compte 96 pages. Elle fut élaborée à partir d'une version en anglais. Il s'agit du manuscrit original d'une traduction tibétaine des « Trois principes du peuple », recopié à la main sur des feuilles libres qui ont été ensuite recollées avec du ruban adhésif sur d'autres feuilles plus solides.

Aucun nom de traducteur n'est indiqué, ni aucun autre détail la concernant d'ailleurs. On peut cependant supposer que cette traduction date des années 80. En effet, sa préface fait référence à la politique menée les trente dernières années à Taïwan et à ses résultats, comparée à celle menée en Chine continentale à la même époque[33]. Les termes employés dans cette préface pour rendre « Taïwan » *(The wan)*, « communisme » *(dmar po'i ring lugs)* et « Chine continentale » *(skam sa chen po)* sont autant d'indicateurs que le manuscrit fut composé à Taïwan[34].

- *dMangs gsum ring lugs ni krung go'i gzi 'od dang ldan pa'i lam chen yin*, Krung go skam chen don gnad brtab gzhig khang, non datée, non signée[35]. Ce document se présente sous la forme d'un fascicule au format 18,5 x 13 cm, de 16 pages. Une carte de la Chine reprenant les frontières de l'empire mandchou illustre l'ouvrage. Elle est stylisée par la reproduction de la couverture d'un livre intitulé *San min zhuyi* « Trois principes du peuple », symbolisant le soleil qui rayonne sur l'ensemble du territoire chinois. Un portrait de Sun Yat-sen figure en deuxième page. Le texte est reproduit en caractères d'imprimerie.

Ce texte n'est pas une traduction des conférences données par Sun Yat-sen. Il offre une présentation des trois principes du peuple et des comparaisons avec la politique menée en Chine continentale. Il semble également être un texte destiné à être diffusé auprès de la population tibétaine et fait, par exemple, largement usage du titre de *rgyal yab* (littéralement : « père de la patrie »), qui transcrit l'épithète « 國父 *Guofu* » attribuée à Sun Yat-sen après

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[33] « *The wan nang lo gsum bcu'i ring gi nyams myong gang byung la mi mang gi sgrig lam gsum gyi rgya mi'i mi ser la 'tsho ba yag po zhig byung ba dang dmar po'i ring lugs kyis skam sa chen po'i nang dbul phongs dang 'dzings 'khrugs mang du 'gro nges yin*, p. 2. « Le bon mode de vie atteint par le peuple chinois grâce aux Trois principes du peuple tels qu'ils ont été expérimentés à Taïwan durant trente ans et l'accroissement des luttes et de la pauvreté en Chine continentale à cause du communisme ».

[34] pp. 1–2. Cette traduction révèle l'absence de méthode de la part du traducteur qui n'a pas pris soin d'établir des grilles de traduction de l'anglais vers le tibétain et, de fait, démontre les hésitations, les incompréhensions ou au contraire les certitudes décelées dans les discours de Sun Yat-sen.

[35] Je remercie très sincèrement la personne qui m'a remis ce document et qui tient à rester anonyme.

sa mort[36]. Il reste difficile à déterminer si le traducteur tibétain souhaitait établir un néologisme avec « *rgyal yab* », qui désigne le père du dalaï-lama et signifie « père du Victorieux » (« *rgyal ba* », « victorieux », devenant un des titres du dalaï-lama à partir du XVII^e s.)[37]. Enfin, le texte date probablement lui aussi des années 80 puisqu'il y est fait référence à la politique menée à Taïwan les trente dernières années[38].

- bsTan pa lhun 'grub nas sgyur, *dMangs gsum ring lugs*, Bod yig deb. 中央週報社 Zhongyang zhoubao she. Ce texte des « Trois principes du peuple » totalise 908 pages. Il est suivi de la reproduction en tibétain des discours de Chiang Kai-shek (pp. 909–1129, soit 220 pages). L'ensemble fut publié pour la première fois le 24 novembre 1974 à l'occasion du quatre-vingtième anniversaire de la création du Guomindang et de la révolution (1894). Il fut réédité le 31 octobre 1985 (version dont je dispose).

Cette traduction demanda trois années de travail au traducteur nommé Gao Qiangui 高搴桂 (nom tibétain : bsTan pa lhun 'grub). Ce traducteur passa plus de dix années (sans que les dates exactes de son séjour soient précisées) au Khams et au Tibet central pour y étudier le tibétain. Il créa la maison d'édition *Zhongyang zhoubao she* pour l'édition de textes en tibétain *(Zang wen Zhongyang zhoubao she)*. Il fut assisté dans sa tâche par un « correcteur » *(zhus dag pa*, 校對者 *xiao dui zhe)* dont le nom chinois indique sans aucun doute qu'il était Tibétain : 貢覺却增 Gongjue queceng (nom tibétain : dKon mchog chos 'dzin) et par un aide imprimeur *(par rogs mkhan)* d'origine tibétaine également : lHun 'grub chos 'phel (nom chinois : 農州恪培 Nongzhou kepei). Le traducteur mentionne également, dans sa préface, avoir rencontré beaucoup de difficultés typographiques pour imprimer le texte. La préface est en chinois. La table des matières est bilingue. Un soleil noir sur blanc symbolisant le Guomindang dans une forme simplifiée est représenté sur la page de couverture. Il est suivi par une photographie de Sun Yat-sen et par une autre de Chiang Kai-shek. Deux symboles de bon augure tibétains sont reproduits en en-tête et en fin de traduction. Ce texte est manifestement la traduction tibétaine la plus complète de l'ensemble des

[36] L'usage veut que « *Guofu* » soit traduit « Père de la nation » en français. Cependant, étant donné que le terme « nation » n'existe pas en tibétain, la traduction littérale a été préférée ici. Cf. Bergère (1994 : 159). Je remercie F. Robin d'avoir attiré mon attention sur ce point.

[37] pp. 4–5. Ce texte et la traduction officielle *dMangs gsum ring lugs* (1974) utilisent ce titre pour qualifier Sun Yat-sen. Les préfaces des autres textes, quand il y en a, se contentent de le désigner par son nom sans lui ajouter d'épithète.

[38] *The wan gzhi sa'i thog lo sum cu'i ring 'bad brtson byas par brten...* (p. 6)

discours prononcés par Sun Yat-sen concernant les « Trois principes du peuple ».

Pour synthétiser : il semble qu'aucune version des « Trois principes du peuple » n'ait été publiée au Tibet central ; que, en Chine et à l'époque républicaine, une version abrégée parut sous forme de livre ainsi que des extraits édités dans des revues ciblées ; enfin, que deux versions sortirent à Taïwan et qu'une troisième existe sous forme manuscrite non publiée, vraisemblablement préparée à Taïwan comme l'indique le vocabulaire utilisé.

L'analyse philologique

Compte tenu du caractère unique de chacun de nos manuscrits et d'une absence de base commune à ces traductions, il semble logique de procéder, dans le cadre de cet article, à une analyse des termes les plus fréquemment utilisés dans ces textes avant d'entreprendre une étude du vocabulaire utilisé dans chacun des textes pris individuellement.

L'analyse de la lexicologie politique permet également de dater ces différents manuscrits. Le vocabulaire utilisé tant dans les titres que dans le corps de ces ouvrages révèle, en effet, une nette évolution lexicale entre les deux périodes (de 1912 à 1949 d'une part et de 1949 à aujourd'hui d'autre part). Les premiers rendus des termes chinois se contentent d'être des calques phonétiques alors que les traductions suivantes font appel à un vocabulaire tibétain existant ou à la création d'un nouveau vocabulaire.

Durant la première période (1912–1949), les traductions de l'expression « *les Trois principes du peuple* » sont significatives. Elles furent phonétiques :

- *krung sgo'i kwa ming tang gi kru yi (San Ming kru'i) ;*
- *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don*

Krung sgo, Krung go

On observe que le toponyme *Krung sgo* (qui sera plus tard orthographié *Krung go*) remplace le tibétain *rGya nag* pour désigner la Chine[39]. Il apparaît, en effet, que quand il s'agit de la Chine républicaine et de la nation chinoise, comprenant les cinq nationalités de l'ex-Empire mandchou (Han, Mongols, Ouïghours, Tibétains et Musulmans), l'usage du terme *Krung sgo* se généralisa. On peut dès lors supposer que cet usage inclut les nouvelles notions de « nation » et de « citoyenneté » qui sont clairement explicitées lorsque les auteurs précisent *krung sgo'i rgyal khab*[40] et non pas *rGya nag gi rgyal khab*.

[39] *Zhongguo* faisait référence aux « royaumes du centre » à l'époque des Zhou occidentaux (1121–771) à la fin du X^e^ s. avant notre ère avant de désigner la Chine.
[40] *gZa' 'khor re'i Bod Sog gsar gnas*, décembre 1929, 5, p. 1.

rGya nag, contrairement à *Krung sgo*, fait référence à l'ethnicité et ne sert pas à désigner la Chine en tant que « nation ». *rGya nag* était d'ailleurs utilisé par les Tibétains pour désigner la Chine avant 1911. On trouve cependant dans ces textes l'expression *rGya nag gi mi rigs rnams* pour désigner les nationalités de Chine[41] alors que *rGya nag* aurait du être remplacé par *Krung sgo*, si une logique avait été respectée et si le concept de nation avait été bien compris.

kru yi, kru'u yi'i

Kru yi et *kru'u yi'i* sont des traductions phonétiques de 主義 *zhuyi*[42]. Bien que la version abrégée précise bien que *kru'u yi'i* signifie *ring lugs*, le traducteur reste fidèle au chinois et, pour rendre les « trois principes », a recours à une traduction hybride, mi-tibétaine, mi-chinoise *(mi ser rigs rgyud kru'u yi, mi ser gyi dbang gi kru'u yi et mi ser gyi 'tsho ba'i kru'u yi)*[43]. En revanche, il utilise *ring lugs* pour traduire le « -isme » de, par exemple, « cosmopolitisme » (世界主義 *shijie zhuyi*, *'dzam gling ring lugs*)[44].

rigs brgyud, rigs rgyud

C'est la notion de nation fondée sur la race (民族 *minzu*) qui se retrouve dans la traduction tibétaine *rigs brgyud* ou *rigs rgyud* pour les traductions du premier principe « 民族主義 nationalisme », établies durant la période de la Chine républicaine alors que, pour désigner l'État-nation, le terme *rgyal khab* est utilisé. Sun Yat-sen avait, en fait, opéré une distinction entre la nation et l'État. La nation, selon lui, naît des forces naturelles, de l'évolution historique et est fondée sur la race *(minzu)* tandis que l'État (國家 *guojia*) se forme après une intervention militaire. D'après S. C. Das, *rigs brgyud* (synonyme de *rgyud*) signifie « race, lineage, extraction, family »[45]. dGe bshes Chos kyi grags pa désigne *rigs rgyud* comme synonyme de *gdung rgyud*, eux-mêmes synonymes du chinois 種姓 *zhong xing*, 族姓 *zu xing*[46]. Selon M. C.

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[41] *gZa' 'khor re'i Bod Sog gsar gnas*, juin 1930, 37, p. 6.

[42] D'après F. Robin, le fait d'écrire *kru'u yi'i* pourrait signifier que le traducteur était originaire de l'A mdo.

[43] *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 1).

[44] *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 11). *Ring lugs* servira à traduire tous les termes en *-isme* en Chine communiste sans que l'on sache si cet usage fut emprunté aux traductions des « Trois principes du peuple ». *Ring* signifie « long » tandis que *lugs* désigne la « tradition ». De la sorte, le concept occidental « -isme » est rendu par « longue tradition » c'est-à-dire « tradition établie ». Par exemple, « socialisme » est traduit par *spyi tshogs ring lugs*. Cf. Shakya (1994 : 162).

[45] Das (1992 : 1180).

[46] dGe bshes chos kyi grags pa (1995 : 831).

Goldstein, *rigs rgyud* signifie « lineage, race, species »[47] et *rigs* « race, ethnic group, nationality, lineage »[48]. Les auteurs sont donc unanimes pour accorder à *rigs brgyud* les sens de « lignée » dans le sens d'une filiation par le sang et de « race » dans le sens d'une appartenance à un même groupe ethnique. On rejoint alors l'idée de nation fondée sur la race chère à Sun Yat-sen.

mi ser

La transcription du titre chinois 國民黨主義 *Guomin dang zhuyi* est phonologique et on ne sait s'il s'agit d'un choix politique délibéré ou indépendant de la volonté des traducteurs. Le résultat en tibétain est *kwa ming tang gi kru yi* (en français : *Les principes du Parti nationaliste*). De même, *San min zhuyi* devient *San ming kru'i* ou *kru yi* ou *San ming kru'u yi'i* (en français : *Les Trois principes du peuple*)[49].

Toutefois, une première tentative de traduction, qui devait sembler plus appropriée au traducteur pour son lectorat tibétain, avait été précisée dans la préface de l'ouvrage *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* publié en 1943 dont Shes rab rgya mtsho était l'éditeur. Il avait alors indiqué que le titre de l'ouvrage était en réalité une expression chinoise qu'il fallait comprendre en tibétain comme *mi ser don gsum ring lugs kyi bsdus don*[50] (en français : *Abrégé des « Trois principes du peuple »*). Le terme le plus intéressant ici est celui de *mi ser*.

Il est principalement utilisé pendant la période de la Chine républicaine pour traduire « peuple » (民*min*). On trouve quelques rares occurrences dans le texte manuscrit *Mi mang gi sgrig lam gsum* où le terme apparaît concurremment avec celui de *mi mang*[51].

Par exemple, dans les termes « nationalisme (民族 *minzu*) » et « démocratie (民權 *minquan*) » *min* qui signifie *peuple* est rendu par *mi ser* tandis que *zu*, la nationalité, est traduit *rigs rgyud* et *quan*, le pouvoir, est traduit par son équivalent tibétain *dbang*. Les traductions complètes de ces deux expressions sont donc respectivement : *mi ser rigs*[52] ou *mi ser gyi rigs rgyud* et

[47] Goldstein (2001 : 1038).

[48] Goldstein (2001 : 1037).

[49] On remarquera également que le « Parti du Guomindang » ou le « parti nationaliste » est traduit phonétiquement, sans qu'aucune tentative de traduction explicite des termes « guo » (« pays, nation ») et « min » (« le peuple ») ne soit donnée. Quant au mot « parti » (« dang »), il est également traduit phonétiquement. Sous la Chine communiste, ce dernier restera également phonétique, cf. Shakya (1994 : 163).

[50] p. 1.

[51] pp. 13, 50 pour *mi ser* ; pp. 48, 55 pour *mi mang*.

[52] *gZa' 'khor re'i Bod Sog gsar gnas*, décembre 1929, 5, p. 1.

mi ser gyi dbang.[53] Ici, il est fait usage du vocabulaire tibétain existant et de traductions littérales qui rendent chacune le sens d'un caractère chinois[54].

Quelques discordances sont toutefois à noter quand il s'agit de désigner l'ensemble de la population et le recours à une transcription phonologique est alors de rigueur. Ainsi, si le « 共有 *gong you* » (« posséder en commun ») chinois est traduit par « *mi ser mthun mong la yod pa* » en tibétain (« posséder collectivement ») et « 全民 *quanmin* » (« l'ensemble du peuple ») en « *mi ser yongs* » (« l'ensemble du peuple »), « 共產 *gong chan* » (« production collective ») est toutefois rendu par « *gung khran* »[55]. Une seule fois *mi mang* est utilisé comme synonyme de *mi ser*, dont l'usage sera abandonné après cette traduction au profit de ceux de *mi mang* et *dmangs*[56]. Durant la seconde période (à partir de 1949), le vocabulaire devient plus élaboré et emprunte au vocabulaire tibétain plutôt qu'à la transcription phonologique :

- *Mi mang gi sgrig lam gsum ;*
- *dMangs gsum ring lugs [ni krung go'i gzi 'od dang ldan pa'i lam chen yin] ;*
- *dMangs gsum ring lugs.*

mi mang, dmangs

Mi ser fut donc remplacé par *mi mang* ou par *dmangs*. *Mi ser* fut vraisemblablement considéré comme restrictif puisqu'il ne comprenait que la classe des tenanciers de terre. Les premiers traducteurs considéraient-ils alors que les « Trois principes du peuple de Sun Yat-sen » ne s'appliquaient qu'au peuple, à l'exclusion des aristocrates et fonctionnaires tibétains ? Les deux usages exceptionnels de *dpon rigs* semblent aller dans ce sens, comme si seule la classe des fonctionnaires pouvait assurer le censorat *(dpon rigs la lta rtog gi dbang)* et voter *(dpon rigs lde 'grugs kyi dbang)*[57]. *Mi mang* ou *dmangs*, en revanche, englobaient l'ensemble de la population tibétaine : les tenanciers, les roturiers, les aristocrates et les moines.

Mi mang (selon les dictionnaires, *mang* est un synonyme de *dmangs*) signifie « le peuple ». On trouve ces variantes « *mang* » et « *dmangs* » dans *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan* de M. C. Goldstein,

[53] *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 2).

[54] Cela est conforme aux méthodes de traduction tibétaines attestées dès les VIII^e^ et IX^e^ s. où, pour rendre les termes bouddhiques à partir du sanskrit, les traducteurs se sont évertués à utiliser les lexèmes déjà attestés en tibétain pour former des néologismes et ne se sont pas contentés de simples calques phonologiques. Je remercie F. Robin pour cette précision.

[55] *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 2, 71, 79).

[56] *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 39).

[57] *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 8).

mais seule la variante « *dmangs* » est citée dans Das et dGe bshes Chos kyi grags pa[58].

Après 1949, dans deux de nos textes publiés, c'est le terme *dmangs rigs* qui est utilisé pour traduire *minzu*, « nationalisme ». *Minzu* n'acquiert le sens d'« ethnie » qu'après 1949. D'après M. C. Goldstein, ce disyllabe signifie « the people »[59] et dGe bshes Chos kyi grags pa donne comme synonyme « 'bangs rigs mi ser lta bu » (en chinois : 人民 *renmin*, 百姓 *baixing*)[60]. Toujours selon dGe bshes Chos kyi grags pas, *'bangs* est équivalent de « mnga' og mi ser » « les petites gens » (peut-être le sous-prolétariat pour les communistes), dont l'équivalent en chinois est 屬下 *shu xia* ou *renmin*[61]. Pour S. C. Das, *dmangs rigs* désigne « the lowest caste or caste in India, people of degraded rank in Tibet »[62]. Dans le dernier texte de cette période qui, je le rappelle, est un manuscrit dépourvu de nom d'auteur et de date, on trouve pour « nationalisme » *mi rigs rang skyong*. *Mi* ici fait référence au genre humain en général et ne peut être associé à aucune strate sociale ou raciale, mais *rigs* indique ce dernier sens ou bien ceux de « catégorie », « genre », « type ». Mais, le plus surprenant demeure l'emploi de *rang skyong*, qui d'après M. C. Goldstein, signifie « autonomy, self-government, self-rule »[63] et qui est d'ailleurs utilisé aujourd'hui pour désigner l'adjectif « autonome » dans « Région autonome du Tibet *Bod rang skyong ljongs* ». L'auteur traduit ici le terme en fonction du sens que Sun Yat-sen entendait lui donner et qui prévoyait une réelle autonomie pour le Tibet et la Mongolie.

Puis, on observe le même glissement, de *mi ser* à *dmangs*. La seule exception est celle de la traduction de « démocratie » par *dmangs gtso* dans le texte *Mi mang gi sgrig lam gsum*. Dans ce cas précis, on observe également le glissement entre *dmangs* qui est utilisé pour traduire « pouvoir du peuple », par extension « démocratie » et *mang* qui traduit « le peuple ».

Malheureusement, on ne sait rien des débats, s'il y en a eu, qui ont entouré ces choix. On en sait plus, en revanche, sur les discussions tenues au sein de la communauté tibétaine en exil avant la promulgation de la charte du gouvernement tibétain en exil grâce à Ann Frechette, qui nous éclaire sur la différence de sens entre « dmangs » et « mang », que les dictionnaires désignent comme étant synonymes[64]. Selon elle, *dmangs gtso* et *mang gtso* :

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[58] Goldstein (2001 : 798–799) ; Das (1992 : 981) ; dGe bshes chos kyi grags pa (1995 : 655).

[59] Goldstein (2001 : 830).

[60] dGe bshes chos kyi grags pa (1995 : 655).

[61] dGe bshes chos kyi grags pa (1995 : 599).

[62] Das (1992 : 981).

[63] Goldstein (2001 : 1020).

[64] Goldstein (2001 : 798).

"Both mean 'rule by the people', yet their spellings, derivations, and extended meanings differ, particularly with regard to idea of 'the people', the first syllable of the word. The first term is spelled *dmangs gtso* [...]). The second is spelled *mang gtso* [...]). In the first draft of the charter, the first term was used, but when the charter was published, the second term was used, with no official explanation as to why the change had occurred […].

Over the course of the debate, the extended meanings of the terms were discussed. The first term, *dmangs*, it was argued, means 'the people' in the sense of 'the masses'—vulgar, common, and downtrodden. Within Tibetan Buddhist texts, it is used refer to the lowest caste in the Indian caste system (Das 1902, 981). The use of this term to translate the idea of democracy means, in effect, that the lowest caste—the common people—should rule. The second term, *mang*, means 'a great quantity', 'many' or 'most', so that in the context of democracy, it means that the majority should rule (Das 1902, 952).

The first term, it was argued, derives from Tibetan Buddhist texts, and furthermore, it is the term used by 'six million Tibetans' in Tibet itself, so it should be used…

This debate reveals the many influences on the Tibetan exiles as they come to terms with democracy. They are concerned, on one level, with ensuring that their conceptualization has some basis in Tibet's own intellectual tradition—specifically, the Kanjur (the teachings of the Buddha) and the Tanjur (the 225 books of commentary on the Buddha's teachings). Advocates for both terms cited usage in these texts as precedent for their interpretations. The Tibetan exiles are also concerned with distinguishing their political system from the system established by the Chinese government in Tibet. Finally, the Tibetan exiles draw explicitly on Western models of democracy as the basis for their system. Only Gandhi, through Samdhong rinpoche's writings, enters the debate from Asian democratic heritage.[65]"

[65] Frechette (2007 : 115–116). Elle ajoute : "Opponents argued that if the Chinese Communist government used that term to mean democracy, it had a connotation that Tibetan exiles should not adopt – 'the people' as 'the proletariat', and 'democracy' as in 'democratic dictatorship' [These arguments also appeared in a Mangtso editorial by Pema Bum titled, 'mang las-mched-pa'i dmangs', 31 October 1995]. Representative Sonam Topgyal, for example, argued, 'The policies of the Chinese Communists are not a matter to be studied in the Tibetan Assembly… Our policy is that it is necessary to study Western countries and the system of government based on our own intellectual tradition –the Kanjur and the Tanjur'. In the end, the assembly decided to leave the charter as it was, using the second term *(mang)* as the standard."

ring lugs, sgrig lam

Ring lugs remplace *sgrig lam*. Il fait référence à une doctrine ou à un principe. *Ring lugs* est attesté dans les manuscrits tibétains de Dunhuang dès les VIII^e–X^e s. Il correspond alors au chinois 令錄 *linglu* qui indique un « ensemble de règles, de lois ». En revanche, *sgrig lam* a le sens d'ordre et de régulation avec une notion de discipline. Il se peut également que *ring lugs* serve à rendre le « -isme » de « dém-isme » car la première traduction en langue occidentale de l'expression « San min zhuyi » fut « Triple démisme », avant de se figer en « Trois principes du peuple ». *gSum ring lugs* rend alors l'idée de « Triple démisme » ou « Three demism » des premières traductions du titre chinois en langue occidentale. Dans la traduction de 1943, on retrouve, par exemple, l'équivalence du -isme et de *ring lugs* dans la traduction tibétaine du terme « cosmopolitisme » : *'dzam gling ring lugs*[66] ou dans celui de « socialisme » : *spyi tshogs ring lugs*[67].

'tsho thabs

Les traducteurs furent unanimes à choisir *'tsho thabs* pour désigner le « bien-être [du peuple] » (民生 *minsheng*). Ce terme tibétain indique un traitement médical, l'ordonnance d'un médecin ou les moyens de subsistance[68].

Conclusion

La liste de ces différentes versions établies en Chine et à Taïwan (puisqu'il ne semble pas qu'une traduction ait été entreprise au Tibet central) est certainement loin d'être exhaustive. Elles témoignent de la difficulté pour la Chine à faire passer un message politique auprès des Tibétains. Ces différentes traductions sont d'ailleurs révélatrices de la décision que les traducteurs doivent prendre : rendre le discours intelligible à un public tibétain en choisissant du vocabulaire religieux ou utiliser la rhétorique politique propre au Guomindang afin de rester à un niveau purement doctrinal. Par exemple, l'idée de sauver la nation peut s'exprimer des façons suivantes : « 'di go bde bo'i thog nas mi rigs kyi thar pa yin »[69] ou « rgyal skyob ring lugs »[70] en fonction des manuscrits. La première formule signifie littéralement « à l'aide d'une [formule] compréhensible, la libération des humains » où « libération » est un terme bouddhique qui fait référence à la sortie du saṃsāra, tan-

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[66] *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 11).

[67] *San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don* (1943 : 78).

[68] Das (1992 : 1044), Goldstein (2001 : 900).

[69] *Mi mang gi sgrig lam gsum* (n.d. : 9).

[70] *dMangs gsum ring lugs* (1985 : 1).

dis que la seconde désigne le « protectionnisme [sic] du pays » ou le « principe de protection du pays ». Le principe du nationalisme est parfois présenté comme un moyen qui aidera les peuples de Chine à se libérer du karma de la douleur : « dmangs rigs ring lugs kyi dgos pa ni, Krung go'i dmangs rigs rang nas rang nyid sdug bsngal las grol thabs 'tshol zhing »[71] signifie « la nécessité du nationalisme est que le peuple de la Chine cherche lui-même à se libérer de la douleur ».

Les traductions officielles sont tardives et les nuances lexicales laissent entrevoir les problèmes liés à la traduction de discours qui, s'ils furent rédigés tels qu'ils ont été prononcés (donc dans une langue parlée), révèlent également le flou de la pensée de Sun Yat-sen et la difficulté pour les Tibétains à la traduire.

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[71] *dMangs gsum ring lugs ni krung go'i gzi ' od dang ldan pa'i lam chen yin* (n.d. : 6).

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San ming kru'u yi'i bsdus don zhes bya ba bzhugs so. dPal dkyil mi ser rgyal khab srid lo 32 tshes la, Krung go go min tang krung yang rtsa 'dzugs las khungs kyi mtha' mtshams skad yig rtsom sgyur lhan khang nas bsgyur cing dpar du bskrun pa'o.

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ABSTRACT

The Tibetan Translations of Sun Yat-sen's Chinese Discourses on the "Three Principles of the People" as an Example of a Modern Translation of a Political Text

The "Three Principles of the People" of Sun Yat-sen, published in 1924, was the major political and philosophical text of the Nationalist government in mainland China from 1927 to 1949 and became one of the core documents of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in 1949. This founding text bases the policy of the Republic of China on three values: democracy, nationalism and the well-being of the people. However, its Tibetan translations were comparatively late and were not published in Tibet proper. The Tibet question had been somewhat neglected during the difficult years of the Peking government, but it was reconsidered when the government settled in Nanking, in 1928, with Chiang Kai-shek at its head. Three missions were then sent to Tibet, in spite of the fact that the 13[th] Dalai Lama had declared his country independent. Liu Manqing and dKon mchog 'byung gnas reached Lhasa in 1929–1930, and in 1934, Huang Musong attended the Dalai Lama's funeral. But no document was issued then in Tibet concerning the "Three Principles of the People". The first tentative translation (1929) was published in the *Meng Zang zhoubao*, one of the newspapers issued by the Meng Zang weiyuan hui (Commission for the Mongol and Tibetan Affairs). But the first official translation was not published as a separate volume until 1943, and yet it was only an abridged bilingual version. After 1949, three Tibetan translations were undertaken in Taiwan. Two of them were neither dated nor signed, the third one was published in 1974, together with a translation of the Chiang Kai-shek's speeches, and reprinted in 1985.

One of the main interests of these translations is to allow a philological analysis of a number of Tibetan terms chosen to express Chinese concepts and renderings including "nation", "democracy" or "socialism", and their evolution. Up until 1949, a phonological transcription was generally preferred to a meaning-based translation. After 1949, the translators used the existing Tibetan vocabulary (often religious) or created new words. For example, Krung sgo (later spelled Krung go), based on the Chinese *zhong guo*, was preferred to rGya nag and *kru yi* stood phonetically for the Chinese *zhuyi*. The term *rgyal khab* was used to convey the meaning of state or political nation, the term *rigs rgyud* or *rigs brgyud* expressing the idea of nation based on the race or ethnic group. The expression "Three Principles of the People" were rendered phonetically in Tibetan by *San ming kru'i*. The Tibetan term *mi ser* was used during the Republican period to translate the Chinese *min* "people", and after 1949 was replaced by *mi mang* then *mi dmangs* (probably less religiously connoted). After 1949, *dmangs rigs* was used to translate *minzu* (nationalism). But all the translators chose the Tibetan term '*tsho thabs* (often used in a medical context) to express the Chinese *minsheng* (well-being of the people), and they had often to rely on Tibetan religious vocabulary to make some political concepts intelligible to the Tibetan people.

བོད་ཡིག་བསྒྱུར་བཅོས་སྐོར་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་པར་འགྲེལ།

ལྗེ་ནག་ཚང་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཚེ་རིང་ནས་བྲིས།

དུས་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་པའི་ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་མགོ་བར་དུ། ད་ལྟའི་ཀྲུང་གོའམ་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ཁོང་དུ་ཡོད་པའི་བོད་ཡུལ་ལ་མིང་དོན་གཉིས་མཚུངས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཡིག་ཚགས་པར་རམ་དུས་དེབ་ཅིག་བྱུང་མྱོང་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་བདག་གིས་ད་བར་དུ་མཐོང་མ་མྱོང་། དེ་བས་ད་ལྟའི་<མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར>ཟེར་པ་འདི་ནི་ཆེས་སྔ་ཤོས་ལ་བརྩི་དགོས་མེད་དམ་སྙམ། དུས་རབས་སྔོན་མའི་ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཟེར་པ་དེས་བོད་ལ་དོན་སྙིང་ག་རེ་མཚོན་གྱིན་ཡོད་པ་ལྟན་རྒྱུས་ནས་མཁྱེན་གསལ་རེད།

ཚགས་པར་དེ་དང་དེ་རིགས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་ཆབ་སྲིད་དྲིལ་བསྒྲག་ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། དྲིལ་བསྒྲག་གི་ཞོར་ལ་བོད་ཡིག་ཁྱབ་གདལ་བྱེད་པ་དང་། གློག་མཁན་དག་ལ་ཤེས་བྱ་ཐན་ཐུན་མཁོ་འདོན་བྱེད་པ། མིང་ཚིག་གསར་པ་མང་པོ་བོད་ལ་ཁྱེར་ཡོང་པ་སོགས་དྲང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ནུས་པ་ཐོན་ཡོད་འདུག དེའི་མཚུངས་སུ་ཚགས་པར་བཟོ་མཁན་ཚོས་བོད་ཡིག་བེད་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དབང་ཆ་སྐྱེར་སྤེམ་བྱེད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་གནས་སྟངས་འོག་དམིགས་ཡུལ་འདྲ་མིན་བཅངས་ཤིང་། མ་ལག་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་པ་ཞིག"གསར་གཏོད"བྱེད་པའི་ཚོད་ལྟ་སྣ་ཚོགས་བྱས་མྱོང་ཡོད་དེ། བོད་ཡིག་གསར་པ་ཞིག་བཟོ་བའི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་གཅིག་པུའི་ངོས་ནས་བཤད་ན། ཨུ་ཚུགས་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཚོད་ལྟ་དེ་དག་གི་མཇུག་འབྲས་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཕམ་ཁ་ཡ་ང་བ་ཞིག་མྱུངས་པའི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་འགྲོ་བ་ལས་འོས་མེད་པ་ཆགས་ཚར་པ་ད་ལྟ་མིག་གིས་མངོན་སུམ་མཐོང་གིན་པ་འདི་རེད།

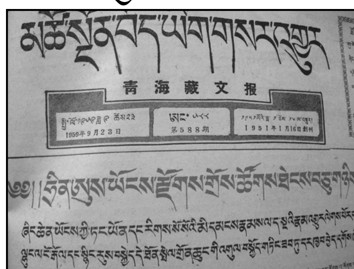
ཁ་བྱང་ལ་བྲིས་ཡོད་པ་ཇི་བཞིན་དེ་རིང་གི་བཤད་པ་འདི་ནི་འདྲ་པར་ཁ་ཤས་ལ་འགྲེལ་བཤད་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་ཙམ་ཡིན་ཏེ། གཏན་ཚིགས་བཙན་པོས་བརྟག་བཟོད་མེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་གོར་མ་ཆག དེ་བས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་མཁས་དབང་ཚོས་ང་ཡི་ཧོལ་རྒྱུག་ལ་གུ་ཡངས་དང་ང་ཡི་ནོར་འཁྲུལ་ལ་ཡོ་བསྲང་གནང་རོགས་གནང་ཟེར་ནས་ཞུ་གི་ཡིན།

པར་དང་པོ། <མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར>ཟེར་པ་དེ་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ༡༩༥༡ལོའི་སྤྱི་ཟླ་དང་པོའི་ཚེས་བཅུ་དྲུག་ནས་འདོན་འགོ་བཙུགས་འདུག དེ་རིང་གི་དཔེར་བརྗོད་མང་ཆེ་བ་ཚགས་པར་འདི་ལ་བརྟེན་ཡོད་དེ། པར་འདི་ནི་འདོན་ཐེངས་ཨང་༥༩༡པ་སྟེ། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༩ལོའི་ཟླ་བཅུ་པའི་ཚེས་གསུམ་ཉིན་ཐོན་པའི་ཚགས་པར་གྱི་པར་ངོས་དང་པོ་ཡིན།


中国共产党万岁
毛主席万岁
1949
1959
མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར
1959·10·3· 青海藏文报 ·591·

(པར་དང་པོ།)

པར་གཉིས་པ་ནས་ལྟ་བ། པར་འདི་ནི་ཚགས་པར་དེ་འདོན་ཐེངས་༥༨༨པ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ༡༩༥༩ལོའི་ཟླ༩པའི་ཚེས༢༣ཉིན་ཐོན་པའི་ཚགས་པར་གྱི་པར་ངོས་དང་པོ་རེད། པར་ངོས་འདི་ལ་བལྟས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས། "ཧྲིན་ཧྭ"དང་"ཏང་ཡོན"དང་"ཧྲུའུ་ཅི"དང་"ཀྲིག་ཞན"ལྟ་བུའི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་སྒྲ་སོར་བཞག་གི་ཐ་སྙད་ཁ་ཤས་ལས་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་བོད་ཡིག་བརྡ་སྤྲོད་རྣལ་མ་རེད་


མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར
青海藏文报
1959年9月23日
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(པར་གཉིས་པ།)

བསམ་བསམ་ཞིག་བྲིས་འདུག་ལ། ཐ་ན་ཙུང་ཟེད་བག་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ངང་ནས་ཧྲིན་ཧྭ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཐ་སྙད་ཀྱི་མདུན་རྒྱབ་ལ་ཡང་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དབུ་ཕྲུད་དང་ཤད་སོགས་བཞག་འདུག

ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། པར་གསུམ་པའི་གཡས་ངོས་ཀྱི་རི་མོའི་འོག་གི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་དེ་ཞིབ་ཏུ་བཀླགས་ཚེ། སྔར་བོད་ཡིག་ནང་ལ་བྱུང་སྲོལ་མེད་པའི་རྟགས“,”དང“。”དང“;”སོགས་གྲགས་མེད་འགྱུལ་མེད་དང་གསང་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་འཛུལ་ཡོང་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་ལྟད་མོ་ཞིག་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ལ། གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་རང་འཇགས་སུ་གནས་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ནི་བོད་སྲོལ་གྱི་ཨང་གི་དག་རེད།

གཡས་ལྷུང་ལ་རྡོ་གྲིམ་དང, སྙིང་ཏུས་གང་ཡོད་བསྐྱེད་པ, ཐོན་ཐྲེལ་གྲོན་ཆུང་གི་འགྲུལ་བསྐྱོད་ཀྱི་མཐོ་རླབས་གསར་བ་ཞིག, རང་ཞིང་གི་ཞིང་སྐྱུར་ལས་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་འཕེལ་ཚོགས་སུ་རྒྱུར་མོའི་སྟོབས་དར་ཁྱབ་ཏུས་ཏེ, གྲོང་རྩེ་དང་འབྲོག་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་དང་བྱ་བ་རྣ" ཚོགས་ལ་ཚོགས་ཀུན་ཏུ་མཆོང་སྐྱོད་བྱེད་པའི་སྣང་ཚུལ་ཏུ་གྱུར。 ཞིང་ཆེན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་འབྲུ་གཡིས་སྐྱེས་དངོས་ད་སྔ་སྤྱིའུ ༡༤༧༡༡༠༠ ལྷག" གྲིགས་ཚར, དེས་འབྲུ་གཡིས་བཏབ་པའི་ས་དོས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་ཆ་ ༤༠ དང་ཆ་ཤས་ ༡ ཟིན་འདུག, དེར་མ་ཟད་ས་དོས་ཆེན་པོའི་ལོ་ལེགས་ས"" ཞིང་མང་པོ་བྱུང; སྔོན་ཐོག་བསྡུ་བ་དང་ཟུང་འབྲེལ་བྱས་ནས, སྔོན་

(པར་གསུམ་པ།)

པར་འདི་ལ་གཟིགས་དང་འདྲེན་རྟགས་ཟེར་པའི་རྟགས་འདི་“ ”པར་གཉིས་པ་དང་གསུམ་པའི་སྔོན་ལ་སླེབས་འདུག་སྟེ། འདི་ནི་པར་དེ་གཉིས་ལས་ཉི་མ་བཞི་ཡིས་སྔ་བ་སྟེ

སྤྱིའུ་ལེན་གྱི་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ཡོན་ཅི་ནུས་པས་དར་གསལ་གྱི་གཟིངས་ཨང་དང་པོ་“ལེ་ཉིན་རྟགས་ཅན” བཟོས་ནས་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲུབ་སྟེ། ཟླ་༩ཚེས་༡༥ ཉིན་རྒྱ་མཚོར་ཐེངས་དང་པོར་དངོས་སུ་གཏོང་བའི་མགོ་བརྩམས།
“ལེ་ཉིན་རྟགས་ཅན”གྱི་དར་གསལ་གྱི་གཟིངས་ནི་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ཆེས་ཆེ་བའི་དར་གསལ་གྱི་གཟིངས་ཡིན། གྲུའི་རིང་ཚད་ན་མིས་ཁྲི་བརྒྱ་དང་སོ་བཞི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཞེང་ཚེ་ཚད་ན་ཀ་ལམ་མིས་ཁྲི་ཉེར" བརྒྱད་ཡོད། དེའི་ནུས་ཚད་ཨ་མེ་རི་ཀའི་ཆེས་གསར་བའི་“དར་རྒྱ་རྟགས་ཅན”གྱི་དར་གསལ་གྲུ"

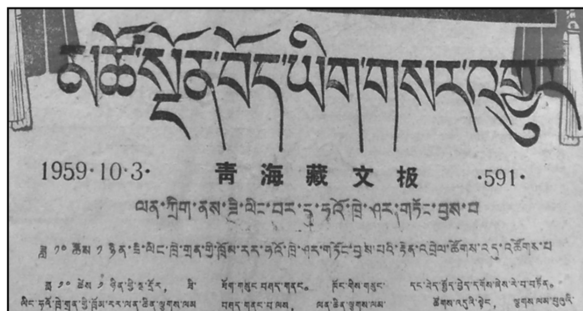
(པར་བཞི་པ།)

སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༩ལོའི་ཟླ་དགུ་པའི་ཚེས་བཅུ་དགུ་ཉིན་ཐོན་པའི་ཚགས་པར་རེད།

དེ་བས་ཡོད་ཚད་གོམ་པ་རིམ་བགྲོད་དང་ནས་འཇེབ་ཀྱིན་འཇེབ་ཀྱིན་ཡོང་བའི་མཚོན་བྱེད་དུ་ཡི་གེའི་འཇེབ་རྒྱལ་འདི་བཞག་ན་དཔེར་བརྗོད་ཡག་ཤོས་རེད་བདག་གིས་སྙམ་བྱུང་།

པར་ལྔ་པ་འདི་ནི་ད་ཅིའི་པར་དང་པོ་དེའི་ངོས་ཁ་ཚང་ཡིན་ལ། ཡང་བསྐྱར་ཆེ་རུ་སྐྱེད་པའི་དགོས་པ་མང་ན་ཡང་། དགོས་པ་གཙོ་བོ་ནི། པར་ངོས་འདི་ལ་གནས་ཚུལ་གལ་ཆེན་

པོ་གཉིས་མངོན་གྱིན་འདུག གཅིག་ནི་ཚགས་པར་སྔོན་མ་དག་ལ་འདོན་གྲངས་ངམ་འདོན་ཐེངས་དང་། བརྗོད་པའི་ཆོས་གྲངས་སོགས་བོད་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཨང་ཀི་ཡང་བྲིས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་



མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར
1959·10·3· 青海藏文报 ·591·

སྟབས་བདེར་བཟོས་ནས་མེད་པ་ཆགས་སོང་། གཉིས་པ་ནི་དེ་ལས་གལ་ཆེ་སྟེ་དབུ་ཕྲུད་དང་ཤད་དེ་ཚོ་ཁྲོན་ནས་མེད་པ་ཆགས་སོང་།

(པར་ལྔ་པ།)

པར་དྲུག་པ་ནས་བརྒྱད་པ་བར་དུ། སྐབས་དེ་དུས་བོད་ཡིག་གི་གནས་སྟངས་ཡང་ཧ་ཅང་ཉག་ཕྲ་བའི་དུས་ལ་ཁེལ་ཡོད་ཙང་། ཚགས་པར་བཟོ་མཁན་དེ་ཚོའི་ངོས་ནས་བཤད་ན། ལོ་ངོ་ཆིག་སྟོང་སུམ་བརྒྱའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བརྒྱུད་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་བོད་ཡིག་འདི་ནི་བོད་ཡིག་ཤེས་ལ་མ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་“བོད་ཡིག་མཁས་པ”དག་གི་རྩེད་ཆས་འདྲ་པོར་ཆགས་ཤིང་། ཁོ་ཚོས་ཚོད་ལྟ་འདྲ་མིན་བྱེད་པའི་གནས་གཞི་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་ནི་ཁྲབ་གདལ་ཚུང་ཟད་ཆེ་བའི་ཚགས་པར་ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཡིན་འདུག་ལ། ཁོ་ཚོའི་ཐབས་ཤེས་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་ནི་རྩོམ་རིག་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སོགས་དང་རྒྱང་ཐག་རིང་པར་བྱས་ཏེ། སྙིར་སྙིམ་ཀྱི་དབང་ཆ་རྒྱབ་ལྗོངས་སུ་བཞག་སྟེ་བོད་སྐད་རྣལ་མར་གཡོལ་ཆོག་ཆོག་ཡིན་པའི་གསར་འགྱུར་ལ་བརྟེན་རྒྱུ་དེ་ཡིན་འདུག

སྤྱིར་ཡིན་ན་བོད་སྐད་འདི་ལ་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཧ་ཅང་མང་བས་རྐྱོག་དྲ་ཚུང་ཟད་ཡོད་མོད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཡི་གེར་ཕབ་ཐུབ་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་རེད། དཔེར་ན་ཨ་མདོའི་ཡུལ་སྐད་ལ་བུ་མོ་ལ“ཞི་མོ”ཟེར་པ་དང་། བསླབས་ལ“བཙབས”ཀྱི་སྒྲ་ཐོན་པ་དང་། སྲ་ལ“ཏྲ”ཡི་སྒྲ་ཐོན་པ། མེ་ལ“སྙེ”ཡི་སྒྲ་ཐོན་གྱིན་ཡོད་རེད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ཡི་གེ་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་མེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ཚང་མས་མཁྱེན་གསལ་རེད།

པར་དྲུག་པ་དང་བདུན་པ་འདི་ལ། ཐོག་མར་བོད་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཨང་གི་འབྲི་སྟངས་གཡུག་སྟེ། "1958ལོར"ལྟ་བུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱུང་ལ། དེ་ནས་ཨ་མདོའི་ཡུལ་ལུང་གཱ་གེ་མོའི་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཤུགས་ཆེན་བེད་སྤྱོད་བཏང་སྟེ་རམིན་ལུགས་མིན་གྱི་རྣམ་པ་ཞིག་བསྟན་འདུག ཕལ་ཆེར་གདུག་རྩུབ་དང་བཙས་པ་ཞིག་རེད་ཅེས་བཤད་འོས་པ་ཞིག་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་སྤྱོད་རིག་པའི་ཁྲད་ཆོས་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་སྟེ"ཐོབ་ཐང"གི་འཇུག་ཚུལ་བསྒྱུར་འདུག་སྟེ། དཔེར་ན། "བོད་ཀྱི་བྲིས་པ"ཞེས་འབྲི་དགོས་སར"བོད་

མཚོང་སྐྱིད་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་ནོ་1958 ལོར,
རིན་མིན་ཀུང་ཧྲེ་དེ་ཤར་མ་ཐག་གི་ཉི་མ་ལྟར་མགོ་
ཐོག་གི་རྒྱ་ཐང་ལ་ཤར。 དར་ཞིགས་ཞན་ཐང་
ཆེན་པོའི་རིན་མིན་ཀུང་ཧྲེ་ཚུགས་རྗེས, ཀུང་
ཧྲེའི་མཁྲན་ལ་མེད་ནོ་བཟང་ཆ་ལ་བརྟེན"""",""""
ནས, ཐོན་སྐྱེད་གོང་འཕེལ་ལ་སོང་ནོ་དང་ས་
ཀོད་མང་པོ་རྔོག་པའི་དགོ་ནོ་ལྟར་ངལ་རྩོལ""""""
འགྲོག་པ་རང་གིས་མགར་རའི་ཚུ་སྐོར་གཅིག""""""
བཙུགས, ཀུང་ཁྲན་ཏང་ཡོན་ནམ་སོད་རིགས"
ན་གཞོན་མོ་པོ་བློ་མཐུན་གིས་ཚུ་ཀྲང་ཁྲུར་ཏེ, ཉིན་
མཚན་མེད་པར་ས་ཀོད་རྔོག་ན་དགོ་ནོ་གཞིར་དང་
ཕྱུགས་ལས་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ཚོགས་ལ་དགོ་ནོ་ནོར་ར""""""
བརྟུངས。

(པར་དྲུག་པ།)

གི་བྲིས་པ"ཞེས་བྲིས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། "མོ་པོ་བློ་མཐུན་གྱིས་ཚུའུ་ཀྲང་ཁྲུར"ཞེས་འབྲི་དགོས་སར"མོ་པོ་བློ་མཐུན་གིས་ཚུ་ཀྲང་ཁྲུར"ཞེས་བྲིས་ཡོད་ལ། འབྲེལ་ཙམ་མིན་པར། "ཞིག"ཅེས་པ"གཟིག"ཏུ་བྲིས་ཡོད་པ་འདི་ནི་བསམ་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ། དཔེར་ན།

འཁྲིག་རྩོར་འཁྲིག་གཟིག་གི་རྩིབ་ནས་རྟ་ཐོག་ནས་
བབས, དེ་ནས་ཁྲིས་དཀར་ཀ་རོ་གཟིག
གི་ནང་ལ་སོང་དུས, ཐུད་མེད་གཟིག་ལ་ཁྲུག་
ཡོང་ནས, ངོ་སེར་ཐག་གིས་ཚོད་ཡོད,

(པར་བདུན་པ།)

"ཕ་གིར་སྟག་ཅིག་འདུག"ཅེས་པ་འདི་ནི"ཕ་གིར་སྟག་གཟིག་འདུག"ཅེས་ནང་དོན་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་འགྱུར་ནས་བོད་ཡིག་གི་རྨང་གཞི་ཞན་པའི་གློག་མཁན་ལ་དཀའ་ལས་ཆེན་པོ་བཟོ་བ་ལས། སྟབས་བདེ་ཞིག་ཁྲོན་ནས་བསྐྲུན་མི་འདུག་སྙམ།

པར་བརྒྱད་པ་ནི་༡༩༦༠ལོའི་ལོ་མཐུག་ལ་ཐོན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ། ལོ་དེའི་ལུགས་ལྡོག་གིས་བསྐྱིས་པའི་ཚགས་པར་ཨང་གཉིས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་དགོས་འདུག དེ་བས་ལོ་མཐུག་གི་སྤྱི་

སྔོམ་ལྷ་བུ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་འོས་སྙམ། དེ་ནི་བོད་ལ་ཁྱོན་ཡོངས་ནས་རྟུང་རྗེག་དང་བཙོན་འཛུག་ཐེབས་ནས་ལོ་གཅིག་ཏག་ཏག་འཁོར་བའི་ལོ་ལ་ཁེལ་འདུག པར་འདི་ལ་ ,。: ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྟགས་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་དང་རྟགས་ཅི་ཡང་མེད་པ་ཞིག་སྟེ་རིགས་གཉིས་ལས། ཤད་དང་དབུ་ཁྱུད་ནི་ནམ་མཁའི་མེ་ཏོག་གི་ཟླ་རུ་གྱུར་ཚར་འདུག ནང་དོན་ནི་བསམ་བློའི་

མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར

青 海 藏 文 报

སྤྱི་ལོ ༡༩༦༠ ཟླ ༡༢ ཚེས ༢༧

一九六零年十二月二十七日

ཀུང་ཁྲན་ཏང་ལ་གླུ་ལེན་པ

སྤྲེ་ཐང་ནས་ཏང་ལ་བསྟོད་གླུ་ལེན,
སྤྲེ་ཐང་དུ་གྲོ་ཆླབས་དཀྱང་ལ་འཁྱུས,
ཛ་མཚོ་ནས་ཏང་ལ་བསྟོད་གླུ་ལེན,
ཛ་ཆུ་དེ་རི་ཡི་རྩེ་ལ་བཞུར。
འདམ་ས་ནས་ཏང་ལ་བསྟོད་གླུ་ལེན,
ས་ཉ་ཡིས་ཆུ་བརྒྱལ་པད་མ་གད。
ཆུ་མཐར་ནས་ཏང་ལ་བསྟོད་གླུ་ལེན,
སྨྲ་ཏ་ཡི་སྒྲ་བསྒྲགས་གློག་སྒྲོན་གསལ。

མའོ་ཙེ་ཏུང་ལ་གླུ་ལེན་པ

མའོ་ཙེ་ཏུང
མའོ་ཙེ་ཏུང
ཁྱེད་ནི་དབུར་གྱི་ཆར་པ་དང
བསིལ་ལྡན་གྱི་རླུང
འཇའ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པའི་ཉི་མ་དམར་པོ་དང
ཀླུ་གཟིངས་སྣེང་གི་རླུང་དར་བཅས་དང་མཚུངས
བསྐལ་པའི་བར་དུ་དབུལ་མི་སྲིད
ནམ་ཡང་མའོ་ཙེ་ཏུང་གི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲངས

(པར་བརྒྱད་པ།)

ཐད་ནས་ཀྱུང་ཁྲན་ཏང་དང་མའོ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་གཏོང་པ་དང་། འཚོ་བའི་ཐད་ནས་མི་དམངས་ཀུང་རྟེ་ཡི་འབྲས་བུ་ལ་བསྟོད་ བསྔགས་གཏོང་བ་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་རེད་འདུག དེ་དག་གི་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་སུ་ཡིན་བྲིས་མེད་པ་འདི་རིགས་ལ་ང་རང་གི་ཉམས་མྱོང་གིས་དཔྱད་ན་ནི། རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་པས་བྲིས་པའམ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་བས་བསྒྱུར་པ་ཤ་སྟག་རེད་སྙམ།།

པར་དགུ་པ་དང་བཅུ་པ། པར་འདི་གཉིས་ནི 《མཁས་དབང་དམ་པ་དམུ་དགེ་བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ཕྱོགས་སྒྲིག》 (སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་ནས་དཔར་སྐྲུན་བྱས་པ། པར་ལོ་མི་གསལ།)ཅེས་པ་ལས་ཟུར་དུ་ཕྱུང་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

བོད་ཡིག"གསར་བཟོ"བྱེད་པ་ལ་དཀའ་ལས་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཆོད་ལྷ་འདི་ཙམ་བརྒྱུད་རྗེས། བོད་ཡིག་འདི་ཆོད་ལྷའི་ཁྲོད་ནས་འཚོལ་འགྲོ་བའམ་འཇིག་ཉེན་བྱུང་དུས་ལ་ཁེལ་

ཡོད་ཚོད་ཡིན་ལ། "རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེ་ཆེན་པོ"ཟེར་པ་དེ་ཁྲོན་ཡོངས་ནས་བསླངས་པའི་ལོ་གཉིས་པ་སྟེ། སྤྱི་ལོ༡༩༦༩ལོའི་ཟླ༧པར། པེ་ཅིན་ནས་སྐད་གྲགས་ཆེ་བའི་ཡིག་ཆ《ཟིན་བྲིས་གནད་བསྡུས》ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཐོན་འདུག

1969 ལོའི་ཟླ 7 པར། པེ་ཅིན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་གི་བློ་མཐུན་སྐོར་ཞིག་གིས་བོད་ཡིག་གི་ཚིག་ཕྲད་སླ་བསྡུ་བྱེད་པའི་གྲོས་གཞི་ཞིག་བཏོན་ནས། བོད་ཡིག་གི་ལས་དོན་བྱེད་མཁན་བློ་མཐུན་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཞིག་བསྡུས་པའི་ཐོག་ཏུ《མའོ་ཀྲུའུ་ཞིའི་གསུང་རྩོམ་བོད་ཡིག་པར་སྐྲུན……དང་ཡིག་སྒྱུར་བྱ་བའི་མའོ་ཙེ་ཏུང་དགོངས་པ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་འཛིན་གྲྭའི་གྲོས……བསྡུར་ཟིན་བྲིས་གནད་བསྡུས》ཞེས་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཞིག་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ……(གཤམ་དུ《ཟིན་བྲིས་གནད་བསྡུས》ཞེས་འགོད་རྒྱུ)དང་། སླ་བསྡུ་བྱས་པའི་ཚིག་ཕྲད་ཁག་ཅིག་དེ་འགྲན་པ་ལྟར་པར་དུ་བསྐྲུན་པའི་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ

(པར་དགུ་པ།)

བོད་ཡིག་ནང་ལ་གསར་བརྗེ་ཟེར་པ་འདི་ལ་ད་ལྟའི་གོ་དོན་འདི་ཞུགས་པ་ནི། ཕལ་ཆེར་ཚགས་པར་འདི་ཚོ་དང་དུས་མཉམ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། བོད་སྐད་དང་བོད་ཡིག་རང་ངོས་ནས་གོ་བ་བླངས་ན་དེ་ནི་མི་གཅིག་ཤི་རྗེས་སྐྱེ་བ་གཞན་ཞིག་བླངས་པ་ནང་བཞིན་སྔོན་མ་དག་ཁྲོན་ནས་མེད་པར་ཆགས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཙང་། གསར་གཏོད་པ་དེ་ཚོར་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་པ་གསར་རྒྱུད་ཞིག་བཟོ་བའི་འཛོན་ཐང་གིས་མ་ལྡང་བ་ལྟ་བུར་སྣང་མོད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ཁོ་ཚོས་དབུས་གཙང་ཡུལ་སྐད་རྨང་གཞི་བྱས་ཐོག་བོད་ཡིག་འདི་སླ་བསྡུ་གང་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་ཅིག་བྱས་འདུག སླ་བསྡུ་ཞེས་པ་འདི་ལ་འགྲེལ་བཤད་ཞུས་ན། ལས་སླ་རུ་དང་ཉུང་དུ་བཏང་པ་དེ་ཡིན། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། ཁོ་ཚོས་སླ་བསྡུ་ཟེར་པ་དེའི་བློ་སྐྱེད་འབྱུང་ས་ནི། ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་ལ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་སླ་བསྡུ་བྱས་པའི་（汉字简化）གནས་ཚུལ་དེ་ཡིན་པར་གདོན་མི་ཟ།

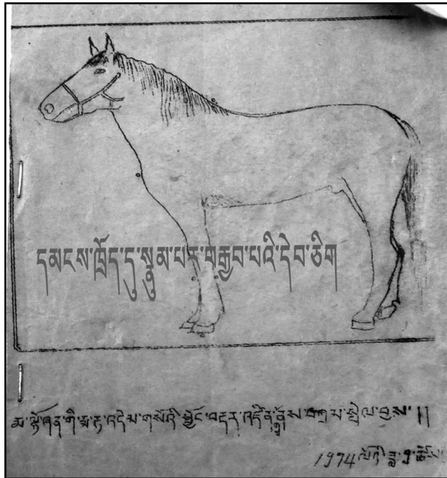
པེ་ཅིན་གྱི་ཚོགས་འདུ་དེའི་《ཟིན་བྲིས་གནད་བསྡུས》ཞེས་པའི་མ་ཡིག་ངོ་མ་དེ་ད་ལྟའི་དུས་ལ་ད་དུང་སྤྱི་གསལ་བྱས་མི་འདུག་པས། རྩོམ་ཡིག་གཞན་པ་དག་ལས་དེའི་སྐོར་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་བཙལ་བ་ལས་ཐབས་ཤེས་གཞན་མ་རྙེད། གང་ལྟར་བོད་ཡིག་རྣལ་མ་དེ"བཟོ་ཞིང་དམག་གི་སྐད་དང་མི་མཐུན་པ"འི་དབང་གིས་ཁོ་ཚོས་བསྒྱུར་བཅོས་ཀྱི་

ལས་ཀ་དེ་བྱེད་དགོས་ཡོད་རྩལ་འགྲེལ་བཤད་བྱས་འདུག་སྟེ། བོད་ཡིག་བསྒྱུར་བཅོས་སམ་སླ་བསྡུ་ཟེར་བ་དེས། སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་བོད་ཡིག་རྣམ་དབྱེ་དང་ལྟོས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཚིག་ཕྲད་༧༨ཡོད་པ་ལས༣༥ཙམ་དོར་ཡོད་ཙ་ན། སྤྱིའི་གྲངས་ཀའི་ཕྱེད་ཀ་ལས་ཀྱང་ཉུང་ཟད་མང་བ་ཙམ་གད་སྙིགས་ལ་གཡུག་པ་ལྟ་བུར་བཟོས་པ་རེད། «ཟིན་བྲིས་གནད་བསྡུས» ཟེར་བ་དེ་སྐབས་དེའི་བོད་ཡིག་བེད་སྤྱོད་གཏོང་སྟངས་སྐོར་གྱི་གཞུང་ཁྲིམས་ནང་བཞིན་ཆགས་ཡོད་ཚོད་རེད།

ཡང་འགའ་ཞིག་གིས་བོད་ཡིག་ལ་འཁྱོག་བཤད་འདི་འདྲ་བྱས་ཏེ། རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེའི་སྔོན་གྱི་ལོ་བཅུ་བདུན་རིང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་གསར་བརྗེའི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་དང་བསྒྱུར་ལུགས་དང་སྐད་ཡིག་སོགས་ནི། སྙིང་ཞེན་བག་འཁྲམ། བཀས་བཀོད་རྒྱུད་འཛིན་གྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཡིན་རྐྱེན་བཟོ་ཞིང་དམག་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐད་དང་མི་མཐུན་པ་རེད། རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ནང་རེ་བདུན་དང་རེ་བརྒྱད་དེ་ལོ་གཉིས་ལྷག་གི་རིང་ལ་བོད་སྐད་ལ་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་། དེའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གྱིས་སྐད་གསར་བཅད་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར། དེ་ནི་དངོས་དོན་འཁྱོག་བཤད་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ལོ་གཉིས་ལྷག་གི་རིང་ལ་བོད་སྐད་ལ་འཕོ་འགྱུར་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་བྱུང་མེད་པ་མངོན་སུམ་གྱིས་གྲུབ་ལ། དུས་ཐུང་དེ་ཙམ་ལ་བློ་བུར་དུ་སྐད་ལ་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་འབྱུང་མི་སྲིད་དོ།།

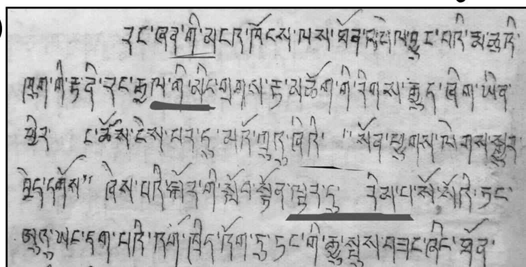
(པར་བཅུ་པ།)

པར་བཅུ་གཅིག་པ་ནས་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་བར་དུ། ༡༩༥༩ལོ་ནས་༡༩༧༩ལོའི་བར་ཧེ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུའི་རིང་ལ། བོད་ཡིག་གསར་བཅོས་བྱས་པ་དེའི་ཤུགས་རྐྱེན་ངན་པ་ནི། ཚགས་པར་ཙམ་མིན་པར་དཔེ་དེབ་པར་སྐྲུན་ཐད་དང་། སློབ་དེབ། དམངས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་སོགས་དེ་དུས་བོད་ཡིག་ནང་ལ་ཡོད་སྲིད་པའི་པར་སྐྲུན་གྱི་ལས་ཚང་མར་སེམ་འཛུལ་བྱས་འདུག་ལ། ཞི་མ་གསོན་གྱི་

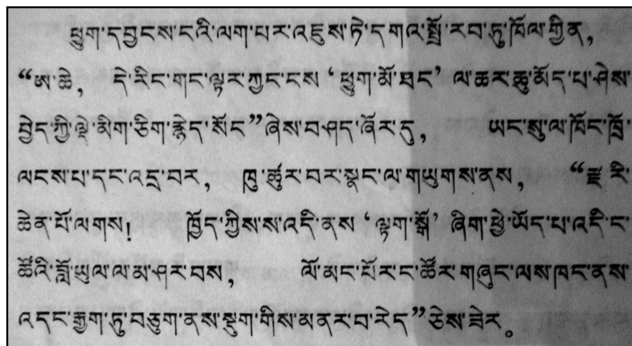


(པར༡༡པ།)

ཚགས་པར་གྱི་བོད་ཡིག་པ་དེ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་མི་ཤེས་པ་དག་གིས་ཧ་གོ་དཀའ་བ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་འདུག་ཅེས་བཤད་ཚོག (པར༡༢པ།)



ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། གནས་ཚུལ་དམིགས་བསལ་གྱི་འོག་ཏུ། བོད་ཡིག་ལ་ཤ་ཞེན་དང་ཤེས་འཛིན་རྒྱུས་མངའ་གཉིས་ལྡན་གྱི་སྐྱེས་བུ་སྐོར་ཞིག་གིས་གོ་སྐབས་སྣ་ཚོགས་བཙལ་ནས་བོད་ཡིག་གི་ངོ་བོ་སྲུང་སྐྱོབ་གང་ཐུབ་གནང་མྱོང་བའི་ཞབས་རྗེས་ཐར་ཐོར་རེ་བཙལ་ཐུབ་པ་དཔེར་ན། པར༡༣པ་ནི། རྩོམ་པ་པོ་སྐད་གྲགས་ཅན་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བསྒྱུར་གནང་ཞིང་། མཚོ་སྔོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་ནས༡༩༧༩ལོར་ཟི་ལིང་དུ་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་རེད། ཧར་གྱིས་བལྟས་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་དེབ་འདི་ཡང་《ཟིན་བྲིས་གནད་བསྡུས》གྱི་ཚད་གཞི་ལྟར་ , ◦ ! ལྟ་བུའི་རྟགས་འདི་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བཟོས་པ་ཤ་སྟག་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའི་བཟོ་ཞིག་འདུག་མོད། གལ་སྲིད་ཞིབ་ཏུ་བསྒྲགས་ན།



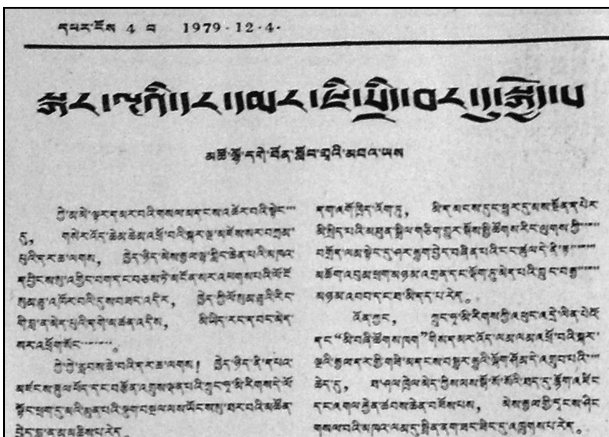
སྨུག་དབྱངས་ངའི་ལག་པར་འཇུས་ཏེ་དགའ་སྤྲོ་རབ་ཏུ་ཁྲོལ་གྱིན,
"ཨ་ཆེ, དེ་རིང་གང་ལྟར་ཀྱང་ངས 'སྨུག་མོ་ཐང' ལ་ཆར་ཆུ་མོད་པ་ཤེས་
བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྡེ་མིག་ཅིག་རྙེད་སོང"ཞེས་བཤད་འོར་ཏུ, ཡང་སྨུ་ལ་ཁོང་ཁྲི་
ལངས་པ་དང་འདྲ་བར, ཁྲུ་ཚུར་བར་སྣང་ལ་གཡུགས་ནས, "ཛ་རི་
ཆེན་པོ་ལགས! ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་སའདི་ནས 'ལྕག་སྒོ' ཞིག་བྱེ་ཡོད་པ་འདི་ང་
ཚོའི་གློ་ཡུལ་ལ་མ་ཤར་བས, ལོ་མང་པོ་རང་ང་ཚོར་གཞུང་ལས་ཁང་ནས
འདང་རྒྱག་ཏུ་བཅུག་ནས་སྟུག་གིས་མནར་བ་རེད"ཅེས་ཟེར。

(པར༡༣པ།)

སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཐོབ་ཐང་འཛུག་སྟངས་དང་ཡི་གེའི་དག་ཆ་སོགས་ཤེ་སོས་བྱུང་དང་འབྱུང་གིན་པའི་ཚོར་བ་དྲག་པོ་མྱོང་ཐུབ།

༡༩༧༨ལོའི་ཟླ༡༢པ་ནས་བཟུང་རྒྱ་ནག་གམ་ཀྲུང་གོའི་སྲིད་ཇུས་ལ་འགྱུར་པ་ཆུང་ཟད་འབྱུང་བའི་སྔ་ལྟས་འདྲ་མིན་བྱུང་པ་དེ་ནི་པར་སྐྲུན་གྱི་ལས་དོན་ལས་ཀྱང་རྟོག་ཙམ་ཚོར་ཐུབ།

སྔ་ལྟས་དེ་དག་འཚོལ་ཆེད་ང་ཚོ་སྔར་ཡང<མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར>ཟེར་པ་དེའི་ཁྲོད་ལ་ལོག་ཡོང་གི་ཡིན། པར༡༤པ་འདི་ནི་༡༩༧༩ལོའི་ཟླ༡༢པའི་ཚེས༤ཉིན་ཀྱི<མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར>ཟེར་པ་དེའི་པར་ངོས་བཞི་པ་ཡིན་ལ། འདི་ལ་ནི་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་གང་ཡང་མི་འདུག

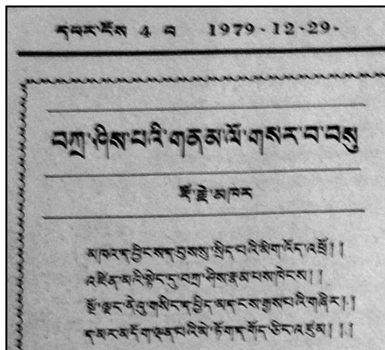

དཔར་ཐེངས 4 བ 1979·12·4·

(པར༡༤པ།)

སྤྱིར་བཏང་པར་ངོས་དང་པོ་ནས་གསུམ་པ་བར་དུ་གསར་འགྱུར་དང་སྲིད་ཇུས་དྲིལ་བསྒྲགས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་ཡིན་པ་དང་། པར་ངོས་བཞི་པ་ནི་པར་ངོས་ཐ་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། སློལ་རྒྱུན་བོད་ཡིག་དེ་སྔར་གསོ་གཏོང་པའི་ཆ་ནས་བལྟས་ན། པར་ངོས་བཞི་པ་དེའི་དོན་སྙིང་ནི་པར་ངོས་གཞན་ལས་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་སྟེ། དེ་ནི་རྩོམ་རིག་དང་རྒྱུན་ཤེས་སོགས་ཀྱི་པར་ངོས་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་རེད། དེ་བས་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་དག་གིས་བྲིས་པ་ཇི་མ་ཇི་བཞིན་འགོད་ཐུབ་པའི་ཐལ་ཆེར་རང་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་རེད། ངས་བཤད་འདོད་པ་ནི་འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ། དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་སོགས་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་སྙོར་ཞིག་གིས་རང་རྟོགས་ངང་སློལ་རྒྱུན་བོད་ ཡིག་སྔར་གསོའི་འདུན་པ་བཅངས་ཏེ། རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་ཁང་དག་ལ་བོད་ཡིག་རྣལ་མས་བྲིས་པའི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་བཏང་སྟེ་གནོན་ཤུགས་སྤྲད་རྐྱེན། རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་པ་ཚོས་གཞན་དབང་གི་ངང་ནས་ག་ལེ་ག་ལེར་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་ཚོའི་འདོད་བློ་དེ་དང་ལེན་མ་བྱས་རང་བྱུས་ཆགས་པ་ཞིག་རེད་སྙམ།

ངས་དེ་ལྟར་སྙམ་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ནི། དཔེར་ན། འདི་ནི༡༩༧༩ལོའི་ཟླ༡༢པའི་ཚེས༢༩

ཉིན་ཐོན་པའི་<མཚོ་སྔོན་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་འགྱུར>ཟེར་བ་དེའི་པར་ངོས་གསུམ་པ་རེད། འདི་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་གང་ཡང་མི་འདུག རྒྱ་མཚན་ནི་པར་ངོས་དང་པོ་ནས་གསུམ་པ་བར་བེད་སྤྱོད་གཏོང་བའི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་ཚང་མ་ཚགས་པར་ལས་ཁུངས་རང་གི་གསར་འགོད་པ་དང་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་པས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་ཁ་གཏུག་བསྒྱུར་པ་རྐྱང་རྐྱང་དང་ཡང་ན་གཞུང་གི་ཡིག་ཆ་སོགས་ཡིན་པས་སོ། པར་ངོས་བཞི་པར་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་འདུག

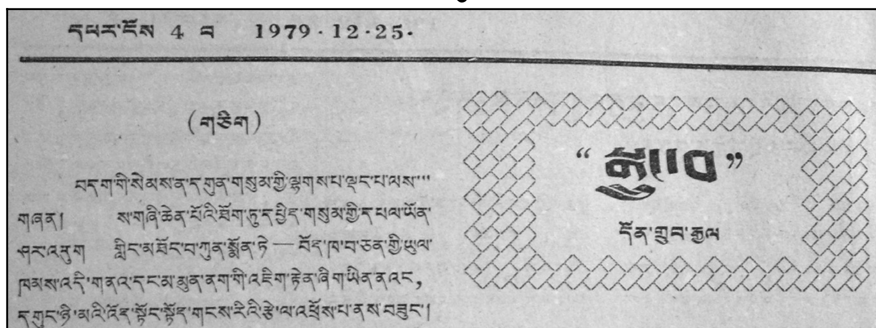

དཔར་ངོས 4 པ 1979·12·29·

བཀྲ་ཤིས་པའི་གནམ་ལོ་གསར་པ་བསུ

སོ་རྗེ་མཁར

(པར༡༥པ།)

མ་ཟད། གོང་གི་ཚགས་པར་འདི་ལས་ཉིན་བཞི་སྔ་བའི་༡༩༧༩ལོའི་ཟླ་༡༢པའི་ཚེས་༢༥ཉིན་ཐོན་པའི་པར་ངོས་བཞི་པ་འདི་ལ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྩོམ་བརྟན་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་ལ།


དཔར་ངོས 4 པ 1979·12·25·

(གཅིག)

"ཀླུ་འབུམ"

དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ

(པར༡༦པ།)

ཤད་དང་ཐོབ་ཐང་། དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་འགྱུར་བར་དག་ཆ་ལྡན་པ་སོགས་ཁྱད་ཆོས་མང་པོས་བརྒྱན་ནས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། བོད་ཡིག་རྣལ་མ་འདི་འདྲས་ཀློག་པ་པོ་ལ་ཧ་ཅང་སྙིང་ཉེ་བའི་ཚོར་བ་སྟེར་ཐུབ་ཀྱིན་མི་འདུག་གམ།།

ཉམ་ཉེས་གོད་ཆག་དུ་མ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་རྗེས་ལ། བོད་ཡིག་འདི་འཆི་བདག་གི་ཁ་ནས་ཐར་ཙམ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་ནི་དགའ་འོས་པ་ཞིག་ཅི་ནས་ཀྱང་ཡིན་ལ། དེང་སང་ཀ་ཧོ་ཡིག་ངོ་

ཙམ་ཆོད་པ་འགའ་རེས་ཡང་བསྐྱར་བོད་ཡིག་གསར་པ་ཞིག་བཟོ་ཡི་ཡིན་མདོག་མདོག་བྱེད་པ་དེ་དག་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལས་སྐྱེས་པའི་མཉམ་སྦྱོང་གི་ལག་སྐྱེས་འདི་ནི་ཏ་ཙང་གིས་མཛེས་སོ་སླམ་འདྲ་ཡང་བྱུང་ཞུའོ།།

ABSTRACT

Reforms in the Tibetan Script

Most examples used in this article are taken from the newspaper *mTsho sngon bod yig gsar 'gyur* ("News in Tibetan from Qinghai"), spanning over a 20-year period from 1959 to 1979. Although such newspapers have mainly a political goal, we can glimpse beyond propaganda at some choices made in Tibetan society and their consequences. What can be concluded is that the contributors to these newspapers shared the same political view and abused their monopoly of their use of the Tibetan script, launching diverse experiments regarding the "invention" of the new written Tibetan. As a result, such forceful attempts brought troubles to the printing activities and to the purity of the Tibetan language. For instance, the contributors forced Chinese language and Tibetan dialects into Tibetan, perverting traditional grammar. Moreover, as neither the Chinese nor the dialectal Tibetan they used were correct, they rendered these newspapers incomprehensible.

Still, a great number of Tibetan professionals in different fields pressurised publishing houses again and again through their actual practice, and the Chinese policies evolved slightly. As a consequence, since 1979, the sunshine of the Tibetan script has been given the chance to emit again a little radiance between the clouds.

The Book-Moving Incident of 1209

DAN MARTIN
(Jerusalem)

The object of this essay might seem to be simple and straightforward enough, focused as it is on a single historical event. Still, scattered sources must be brought together, so it does involve some research. The searching itself is not always easy. Indeed, I cannot hope to have located all of the more pertinent passages in the vast and, since four decades ago, burgeoning body of available Tibetan-language writings. Some undoubtedly relevant source-works lie outside our reach,[1] at least for now. So for these and other reasons, the research might never be completed. Historians are the hunters and gatherers among the scientists, if they are scientists at all. They spend so much time lost in and enthralled by the forests of knowables that only the unwelcome intrusion of some external necessity can force them to 'bring home' their quarry, trying to make sense of what they have found.

Although limited to one event, problems of context and background threaten to overwhelm us, in part because we think the single event relatively trivial in comparison to the larger picture, forgetting that larger pictures, or what we often call the 'sweep' of history, depend on numerous chains of individual events in the way that geometrical lines are made of an infinite number of points, or so it would seem. Although this may be my own conceit, I think that foregrounding the singular episode of the book-moving incident helps us to see at least part of its background and surroundings, and perhaps even its potential trajectories, in a clearer focus. Even further, I think the foreground/background distinction is an unnecessary one for historians. It is only a tactic, a tactic for promoting communication (a heuristic tool), at times, or for concealing subjective 'theory' or other assumptions under the cover of supposed objectivities.

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[1] This essay is dedicated to Michael Lee Walter of Bloomington, Indiana, and Lumbini, Nepal. Besides being an old and true friend, he is responsible for giving me my only job that ever permitted me to pretend to be a librarian. While the work did not outlast the summer of 1983, the experience did impress on me the importance of locating books, an appreciation for the significance of 'location' in both library science and, I would add with benefit of hindsight, other areas of life as well. For a list of Tibetan books kept in various libraries in Drepung Monastery done by a group called *Dpal-brtsegs Bod-yig Dpe-rnying Zhib-'jug-khang*, see Bstan-'dzin-phun-tshogs (2004). Some of these works have in fact been reprinted very recently, but very few relative to the enormous number listed in the 2,483 pages of this two-volume set.

I have long kept an interest in the problem of sectarian differentiation in Tibetan Buddhist history. I am not sure if larger order generalizations are even possible in this area. Certainly they are difficult and problematic. So for present purposes we will soon, without too much consideration of the broader arenas, narrow in on the formation of Kagyü sub-sects, and even more narrowly, the split between the Drigung and Taglung.[2]

I would suggest that splits within a religion probably take place for much the same reasons they take place in other human groups, as for example in a university's departmental faculty. Among the reasons, we might mention these: 1. there may be differences in aims; 2. differences in ideas (theories, doctrines, definitions etc.); 3. different ways of understanding history; 4. differences in recommended practices (cult, ritual, methodologies etc.); 5. property disputes; 6. personal differences, particularly between two leaders. I think that one frequent generalization people make is that differences in ideas, arguments about doctrinal matters, are—or ought to be—the main causes of religious sectarian differentiation. At least this would be the expected answer to the question of why there are different sects. I will not deny or even attempt to argue against this idea, but only suggest that the set of contrasting doctrines we see before our eyes today may well have developed after the sectarian split took place for reasons that had little or nothing to do with doctrine.

As usual in historical investigations, we have to try our best to avoid and resist projecting later historical assumptions and 'givens,' themselves created during the course of history, back onto historical origins. That means, for one thing, that we have to stop thinking of most of the reputed founders of Tibetan sects as people who deliberately set about founding them. I think we have to go even further and doubt, rather than assume, the very concept of foundership.[3] It generally takes some time for sectarian identities to become recognized in the culture at large as being meaningful or useful categories. And sometimes it is difficult to zero in on a particular time in history and identify it as the point at which a sect emerged into general consciousness.

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[2] Kagyü = Bka'-brgyud. Taglung = Stag-lung. Drigung = 'Bri-gung, or, 'Bri-khung. In the body of this paper I make use of a phonetic system for representing proper names, while in footnotes I make use of Wylie transliteration (initial letter capitalizations used for proper names, employing dashes except in book titles, but using ordinary Wylie with neither dashes nor capitalized letters for extended textual citations). Approximate English renderings of book titles have been inserted in the bibliography for the benefit of non-specialists, since I believe it is important that they have an idea about the content of the Tibetan-language works listed there.

[3] Of course, we must in any case keep in mind and respect the importance the idea of foundership may well hold for the sectarian entity concerned.

Anyway, this 'emergence'[4] is a process that may work its way in fits and starts rather than in those smooth or incremental chains of causations that we usually understand by 'development.' And I think we have to avoid working from the assumption that the 'emergence' process would take place uniformly everywhere within the bounds of Tibet or the Tibetan plateau/Tibetan culture area. But to add to the potential for perplexity, I want to *include* those reputed 'founding moments' as part of what I call 'emergence.' I must add that the founding of a monastery, by itself, in no way necessarily implicates the founding of a sect, although the idea that it does might subsequently prove important for promoting and preserving sectarian identity, just as it very surely does (over-)simplify the teaching of history classes.

I am continually surprised to see how even experienced historians, in hearing the name of a sect, like the Kadam sect, are likely to have as their first questions "Who founded it?" and "When was it founded?" when I think the more important matter is, "When and why did people in the larger society first become aware that there was such a thing as the Kadam?" Of course, there is also the 'inevitability assumption.' Equipped with this assumption we have our strange belief that a given cultural institution, such as a sect, would inevitably continue on in the past just because we know it *did* continue down to our day. It is a strange assumption, the more one thinks about it, that success should be considered inevitable, but only for the successful! It is perhaps for this very reason that I once spent much effort trying to uncover the meager sources for pre-Mongol Tibetan movements such as those of Sanggyé Kargyal and the Four Children of Pehar, Buddhist movements that largely failed.[5]

It is not my aim to delve deeply into the historical emergence of the Kadam sect, but will touch on the problem here briefly, just as an example. The *Blue Annals* tells us that it was during the time of Potowa that the Kadam became famous, that its virtuous conduct and its being spread widely were due to him.[6] Since we know that Potowa only started his preaching activities when he was 51 years old, and therefore in approximately 1080 CE, this would place the emergence of the Kadam as a well-known sect in the following years. And indeed we find confirmation that this emergence had already

[4] I used the same term, with identical meaning, in the title of my 1991 doctoral dissertation.

[5] On these religious movements, see Martin (1996a and 1996b). In transliteration, their names are Sangs-rgyas Skar-rgyal and Pe-har Bu Bzhi.

[6] According to *Blue Annals*, p. 269, the high-sounding name of Bka'-gdams became famous during the time of Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal. A similar statement is found in Dza-ya (1981: II 568.2), a work composed in 1702 CE. For more on Po-to-ba, see Davidson (2004: 250–255, 279).

taken place in words of Padampa Sanggyé[7] that must have been spoken in about 1100 CE (assuming, as I am, that the widely accepted 1117 date for his death needs to be moved back to 1105). Yes, of course, a lot more needs to be taken into account, but I think we can basically and tentatively conclude that the emergence of the Kadam sect took place in around the last decade of the eleventh century. It did not coincide with the founding by Dromtön of the Reting Monastery in 1056 or 1057 CE.[8]

We have a similar situation with Zhijé and Chö (Gcod), two sects that Padampa Sanggyé supposedly had something to do with founding. I once wrote a paper on this subject, concluding that assessing founder-hood is not something historians should be engaged in doing, as much as it might be demanded of them.[9] For present purposes I would like to point out that the followers of Zhijé all the way up to the beginning of the thirteenth century remained unaware of the existence of anything apart from themselves called the Kagyü. Just like early Kadam sources, they occasionally used the word Kagyü for their own tradition.[10] This introduces an interesting complication in trying to locate the historical emergence of a Kagyü school. When we see the word we cannot immediately assume it is referring to the sect known to us by that name.

Anyway, I believe this Kagyü emergence had already taken place by the beginning of the thirteenth century. We find at the same time, but only in initial budding stages, the emerging Kagyü subsects. In an appendix devoted to the 'accomplishment transmissions' *(sgrub-brgyud)* of the Later Spread at the end of Nyangral's history, which ought to date to the decades surrounding 1200, we do find the expression Dagpo Kagyü. However, within this entity what we see is a collection of individuals from Milarepa lineages, with no subsects specified apart from a Tshal Circle and a Tshur Circle.[11]

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[7] For an example of Padampa's rather negative evaluations of the Bka'-gdams school, which he mainly associates with Central Tibet, see *Zhijé Collection* (1979: II 184).

[8] On 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i-'byung-gnas (1005–1064 CE) and his founding of Rwa-sgreng Monastery, see most recently Roesler 2007 and Sørensen 2008.

[9] This never-published paper was first delivered to the Humanities Seminar of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1996. A more developed version was given at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in 2001 under the new title "Founding Figures: How Did Padampa and Machig Figure in the Founding of the Peacemaking and Cutting Traditions of Tibetan Buddhism?"

[10] For example, in *Zhijé Collection* (1979: I 123). Some early Bka'-gdams sources make use of the expression "Jo-bo Rje'i Bka'-brgyud," in which Jo-bo Rje refers to Atiśa.

[11] Nyang-ral 1988: 492–4. To read between the lines, Nyang-ral was aware of one group associated with a disciple of Sgam-po-pa and another group associated with a disciple of Sgam-po-pa's nephew, but unaware of any groupings associated with Phag-mo-gru-pa or his disciples.

While it is not the aim of this essay to look at the general early Kagyü attitudes toward books and book learning, I think a few words on these matters could serve as background. I suppose most people are likely to think first of Milarepa's dismissal of "black ink on white paper" in favor of meditative experience and realization. Most of these early teachers did value scriptures, of course, as well as texts recording the personal advice of their teachers. In short, reports on early Kagyü contempt for the written word have been greatly exaggerated.

In one of the miracle stories told about Lingrepa[12] we hear how he was being slandered by inhabitants of a particular valley for daring to write commentaries of his own. He went there, put a board on his back, another on his front side, tied it all together with book binding straps, and levitated in front of their eyes, asking them, "Am I not a volume of the Holy Dharma?"[13]

The following verse of praise is from a letter by Jigtengönpo:

> "You are the same as this *Hundred Thousand* in gold.
> On the azurite paper of your faultless *gotra*
> the refined gold of the lama's instruction
> is mind-inscribed through the power of veneration."[14]

We could also bring forward examples of negative words about books and literary pursuits. For example,

> "Books written in black ink are all misleading;
> I only meditate on the Pith-Instructions of the Whispered Lineage."[15]

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[12] Gling-ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje (1128–1188 CE). For a recent article offering an explanation why he was not usually recognized as the founder of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud, see Miller 2005.

[13] Martin 1979: 60.

[14] 'Jig-rten-mgon-po 2001: IV 192–4. *Hundred Thousand* here of course means the largest version of the Prajñāpāramitā (Conze 1975). Azurite paper *(mthing-shog)* means paper sized with azurite, although in recent times cheaper substitutes have been used for that increasingly expensive mineral. In these earlier times, at least, books made with azurite paper were much more highly valued than others. One obvious reason for its popularity, it makes writings in gold and silver inks stand out so much better, and more splendidly, than they do on light-colored paper. *Gotra* means different classes of potential students. On *gotra*, see the recent paper by Korobov (2005), and of course the earlier literature cited there, particularly the well-known works by David Seyfort Ruegg.

[15] From the collection of songs of Milarepa; Gtsang-smyon 1962: I 227. A similar type of statement by Phag-mo-gru-pa may be seen in the words "The learned scholars cut away the veils of words with words and establish the objects of knowing... Make forests into pens, oceans into ink, land into paper, and still there would be no end to their writing." See Martin 2001: 175. On the life and songs of Milarepa by Gtsang-smyon He-ruka, see the latest work by Larsson (2009: 207–217).

At the same time we do find nice examples such as those I have just given, of persons or their bodies being identified with scriptural volumes in a thoroughly positive or even exalting manner.

Early Kagyü book culture seems far more developed than the book culture of England during those times. Toward the end of the sixteenth century John Dee had the largest in all of England, at his family estate at Mortlake, and he only had 4,000 books. No public library existed, and in those days the Cambridge University library contained only 451 volumes. We might keep those numbers in mind as we see, in the following, just how large Kagyü book collections could be already in around 1200 CE.[16] Based on this data alone, we should not pretend to come to exact conclusions about Tibet's quantitative ranking in universal book history. After all, the ancient library in Alexandria is said to have had over 400,000 scrolls before its burning in 48 BCE.[17] Part of the problem with comparison is just that the concept 'book' is itself practically unusable as a cross-cultural concept.

I would say that from the early- or mid-twelfth century until the Mongol advent, when the sets of collected words called *Kambum (Bka'-'bum)* had their great period of development,[18] there was a cult of the book with special Kagyü characteristics. What I mean by this is that it is precisely because of the value placed on the transmission of the spoken words *(bka')* of the teacher that it became important to record those words in written form. The *Kambum*s of that time are largely made up of what I would call "orally determined"[19] literature. The later-on typical genres we are used to seeing in the *Collected Works* known as *Sungbum (Gsung-'bum)* are either missing in them or in incipient forms. Some of what I would call "orally determined genres" flourished during that time, but later faded from view. As examples I

[16] Although the sources elude me at the moment, I recall that Sa-skya Paṇḍi-ta had quite a large family library at his disposal with as many as 3,000 books in the early thirteenth century. On John Dee's (1527–1609 CE) famous library, see Roberts & Watson (1990).

[17] MacLeod 2002: 7.

[18] Alongside similar developments of the *Sa-skya Bka'-'bum*, we might add.

[19] I prefer this to the term "residual orality" often used by followers of Walter Ong. My problems are less with the idea than the term itself, which appears to make orality into a kind of evolutionary survival. This I believe is neither appropriate nor apt for the oral-textual interrelationships holding in Tibetan traditions in general (in Buddhist transmissions orality is essential to the religio-spiritual continuity, not something that is slowly disappearing from the written record). It also seems to imply that written communication is a more advanced form—almost as if it were analogous to a more advanced machine in technological history—that therefore ought to take the place of the spoken word. Where the spoken word too obviously continues for it to be ignored, it is discounted (by learned academics who derive an odd enjoyment from reading their formally written papers out loud to each other) as 'residual.'

would point to the 'sayings' or *sungdrö (gsung-sgros)* and the 'assembly teachings' or *tsogchö (tshogs-chos)*. Other such genres—some of them with clear Indian background, I must add—would in fact continue to flourish and become fairly universal in Tibetan Buddhism, like the 'songs of realization'[20] and the 'responsa' texts *(zhus-lan)*. I leave it to others to come to profoundly intellectual conclusions about the oppositional or interactive relations between orality and textuality.

We will start with the first of several stories. They are mostly embedded in a historical text written (but in large part compiled) long after the time in question, the *Blue Annals*, although we do have some more primary materials. The stories I will tell largely revolve around two persons, Taglungtangpa and Jigtengönpo, and around three monastic sites: Dagla Gampo, Densatil, and Drigung.[21] For the last two we have problems saying simply when and by whom they were founded, particularly since these sites were already inhabited at the time of their supposed founding. And these were not really monasteries before and even for some time after their foundings. They were retreat places, with people living in caves and temporary huts made of grass and tree branches.[22] Teaching assemblies took place out in the open. We have to cast off the presumed image of founding as something that necessarily involved new and permanent structures. In early Densatil there were no buildings, only willow huts that could be put up in a day.[23] It is usual to say that Dagla Gampo was founded by Gampopa[24] in 1121, Densatil by Pagmodrupa[25] in 1158, and Drigung by Jigtengönpo in 1179, with Taglung founded a year or two later by Taglungtangpa. There is one troubling source of confusion: the term *Densa (Gdan-sa)*, which I would like to translate as "the Headquarters," appears in early Kagyü works in varying contexts, sometimes used to mean Dagla Gampo, and sometimes Densatil.[26] I believe the

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[20] This means *Mgur* or *Gsung-mgur*, and the collections of the same known as *Mgur-'bum*, the same as what Jackson (1996: 377) calls *nyams-mgur*, 'songs of experience,' although I find that in these earlier times they are not called so, and in fact are generally associated with 'realization' *(rtogs-pa)* rather than 'experience' *(nyams)*.

[21] To give the Wylie for these names: Stag-lung-thang-pa (1142–1210 CE), 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143–1217 CE), Dwags-la Sgam-po, Gdan-sa-mthil, and 'Bri-gung.

[22] Martin 1979: 63. These huts are called *spyil-bu*, or *spyil-pu*, generally corresponding to Sanskrit *kuṭī* or *kuṭikā*.

[23] *Blue Annals*, p. 561. I believe *glang-ma* is the usual spelling for the type of 'alpine willow' then in use for hut making. It is usual to identify it with Salix sclerophylla (Arya 1998: 40). The word for the ordinary willow is *lcang-ma*.

[24] Sgam-po-pa Bsod-nams-rin-chen (1079–1153 CE).

[25] Phag-mo-gru-pa Rdo-rje-rgyal-po (1110–1170 CE).

[26] And what is still more troubling, although no fault of the Tibetan historical sources,

circumstances to be described in this essay might help explain why people at various times were unsure (or differed about) which of the two places ought to carry the title.

Our key incident took place in 1209.[27] So let us go directly there first of all, then look at events preceding it, and only then at events coming after. A passage in the *Blue Annals*, confirmed in other sources, tells us,

> "The Master Drigungpa[28] brought the books *(chos-rnams)* that had belonged to Pagmodru, and one side [of the temple at Dagla Gampo] was filled by them."[29]

Let us back up and summarize the longer passage leading up to the one just quoted. The abbot of Dagla Gampo at the time was Dagpo Düldzin.[30] He started as abbot there in around 1171 CE, but he was not very successful, not at first, since the monks wandered off to other places. He spent eight years in solitary meditation when the monks started gathering around him once more, but then someone tried to poison him.[31] He went to the sparsely populated Northern Plains (Byang-thang), and later while he was staying at a place called Dröl ('Grol), Jigtengönpo arrived and made large offerings to him, saying, "The Headquarters won't successfully continue without you. I beg you, by all means, take it under your care." So he returned to Dagla Gampo and guided his disciples, teaching them Vinaya in particular. The elders met together and decided to build a temple with sixteen pillars, but the abbot made foundations for one with 40 pillars, which was completed in three years. Jigtengönpo offered much of what was necessary for building it, as well as a stallion named Red Bird Wind Lasso.[32] He had a dream that told

'Bri-gung and Gdan-sa-mthil have been treated as if they were different names for the same monastery. I think this note must have been made by Roerich, since Dge-'dun-chos-'phel would have known better, but see for example *Blue Annals*, p. 570.

[27] The material that exists in English language is largely limited to the translation of the *Blue Annals*, although Singer (1994: 122) covered the subject in a few sentences, and Sobisch (2002: 333, and note 692), does make a brief mention of it, supplying two references, one to the *Blue Annals*, the other to the *Scholars' Feast*.

[28] 'Bri-khung-pa. This means 'Jig-rten-mgon-po. He would have been known by this name only after his founding of 'Bri-gung Monastery.

[29] *Blue Annals*, p. 468. The text ('Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1971: 407) reads: *rje 'bri khung bas phag mo gru'i chos rnams spyan drangs byung bas logs cig khengs*.

[30] Dwags-po 'Dul-'dzin. His dates have been given as 1134 to 1218 CE, in what may be the most convenient biographical sketch, in Ko-zhul (1992: 842–3). For a relatively detailed classical source, see the passage in a history completed in 1662 CE that is reproduced in Sørensen & Dolma (2007: 205–7).

[31] *Blue Annals*, p. 467, names the poisoner as Gnyal-pa Byang-chub-'bum. I could locate no further information on this person.

[32] *Rta pho bya dmar rlung zhags*. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po was not the only patron. See Sørensen

him it was the right thing to do, so he moved the sacred icons from the old temple and placed them in the new one. Now comes the statement that Jigtengönpo brought the books that had belonged to Pagmodru, and one side of the temple was filled by them.

So what about Pagmodru (Phag-mo-gru), which we will call Densatil?[33] It was for twelve years the teaching center for Pagmodrupa. When Pagmodrupa died in 1170, nobody served as abbot for a period of six years, even though Lama Zhang pronounced a blessing at the head of the assembly, which seems to indicate that he was being considered for the position but then turned it down.[34] There might be grounds to speculate why an outsider to the community was called in as a potential candidate. For around three full years, from 1177–1179, Jigtengönpo served as abbot. During those years, it says, "the resources were few,"[35] so the monks and even the ordinators had "small faith and great hopes." Jigtengönpo had a dream in which Pagmodrupa told him he had to leave, so he escaped with a small party totaling five persons in the middle of the night, and ended up at Drigung in 1179, 'founding' it. From the end of 1179 through 1207, there was once again no abbot at Densatil.

Now in 1198, Jigtengönpo and Taglungtangpa worked together to build the Great Temple at Densatil. Actually, Jigtengönpo had the idea to build in another place, but Taglungtangpa said, "I'm not going to leave the image of my lama naked!"[36] And anyway, it turned out to be necessary to make a

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& Dolma (2007: 206): *'ba' sngo tshang bar mtshe ma rgun grong ba / dgyer skya grong ba sogs sbyin bdag so so'i che 'gran gyis shing stobs che bar 'dus*. At least two other patrons are named here, although I have not yet been able to identify them in any other source.

[33] I believe 'Sow Ford,' or Phag-mo-gru was the original name of the place before and after the monastery of Gdan-sa-mthil developed there.

[34] One might wonder how many books had been accumulated in early times at Zhang's monasteries, in particular Tshal Gung-thang, which he founded in 1187 CE. A passage in the monastery guidebook by 'Jog-ri, dated 1782 CE, says that it held (during the time of writing evidently) 23,500 volumes of manuscripts on light paper, and 3,020 volumes in gold ink. The total number of volumes, it says, was nearly 40,000 (see folio 44 of the original xylograph or the transliterated Tibetan text in Everding 2000: 150, or the English translation in Sørensen & Hazod 2007: 225). This is all the more remarkable when we find that hardly any books are visible to the modern visitor (all the original images were destroyed, even if some fragments from the original central Buddha image are incorporated in the new one). For a German translation of most of this passage, see Wangden (2006: 57), but the dating of the founding of Tshal Gung-thang to the thirteenth century is a careless mistake.

[35] The text reads: *longs spyod kyang chung zhing*. *Blue Annals*, p. 570, says the monks "had little trust in him and showed great greed."

[36] 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba (1971: 496): *stag lung bas nga'i bla ma'i sku rjen par 'jog pa mi 'ong gsung nas*. 'Jig-rten-mgon-po had suggested to Stag-lung-thang-pa that they ought to build the

temple within which the willow hut dwelling of Pagmodrupa could be preserved (as it would be preserved until the twentieth century[37]). As part of the building effort, the two of them together headed a huge stone quarrying project.[38] The temple was completed and soon had a large collection of icons, including scriptures *(gsung-rab)*.

Jigtengönpo took away quite a bit of the wealth (evidently the capital used for the building of the temple, although this is not stated directly) and used some for the restoration of Bsam-yas, giving some to two feuding local rulers in an attempt to make them reconcile their differences. Although negotiations failed to solve their dispute, they were at the same time successful since there were no disturbances for the next 18 years (and it also is not exactly said, but rather implied, that those disturbances had somehow endangered the temple; some later Drigung histories make this more explicit).

Later on, continues the *Blue Annals*, Jigtengönpo took away many *Saṅgha* members to be his attendants, and then he invited to [Dagla] Gampo the scriptures *(gsung-rab)* of the Headquarters. This did not at all find agreement with the thoughts of the worldly. The Yogin of Drosa named Jangsang[39] slandered him by saying, "You destroyed the Lama's Headquarters!" Taglungtangpa said, "The Dharma books are not allowed to stay at the Headquarters of my Lama?" and displayed a great deal of grief (depression). It has even been said that Taglungtangpa's troubled heart was a contributing cause of his death. Nevertheless it is stated [with authority] that Jigtengönpo understood the deep interdependent connections, and so you have these amazing deeds that do not conform with those of [mere] worldlings. Generally, during those intervening years, Jigtengönpo and Taglungtangpa both took upon themselves great responsibility for the Headquarters, yet were unable to reverse its decline.

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temple at Mang-'gar-sgang instead (*Blue Annals*, p. 570). This place was one where Phag-mo-gru-pa had at least stayed for a short time (*Blue Annals*, p. 560).

[37] *Blue Annals*, p. 561, in a footnote added by the modern translators. Tucci (1956: 128): "The guide then led us into a hut inside the temple, where Drongon Pagmotru (*aGro mgon p'ag mo gru*) spent some time in meditation. The whole huge temple developed later on around that lonely hut. An incarnate was now sitting motionlessly and meditating in it..."

[38] Besides being told in *Blue Annals*, p. 570, this story is found in *South Gorge Dharma History*, p. 469.

[39] Byang-sang (i.e., Byang-seng), a yogi from Gro-sa. This is certainly the same as the one who ordained Zhig-po 'Dul-'dzin Grwa-ba Rin-chen-'byung-gnas (1187–1254) in his 22nd year. This ordinator is named Rnal-'byor Byang-seng and located at Gro-sa in the biographical sketch contained in Ko-zhul (1992: 1477). More information on him, as a teacher of Vinaya, may be found in *Blue Annals*, p. 79. This says he founded the monastery of Gro-sa in 'Phan-yul.

In 1208, Jigtengönpo sent his own personal attendant Chennga Dragpa Jungné[40] to be the abbot of Densatil. In his life as told in the *Blue Annals*, it says,

> "When Jigtengönpo invited the Dharmas [the books] from Densatil to [Dagla] Gampo, Taglungtangpa and the Ngamshöpa were roaring[41] and saying 'How could you do this to the Headquarters?' Jigtengönpo replied, 'We will make the Headquarters a hundred times, a thousand times, better!' and sent Chennga there."[42]

I am interpreting Ngamshöpa[43] here just to mean the inhabitants of Ngamshö, the region within which Densatil was located, and not a particular person from that region (as the Roerich translation would have it), although that would a possible reading. Whatever the case, the question here is not why the local people were upset that their objects of worship were taken quite some distance away,—the answer seems obvious—but why did Taglungtangpa, who over three decades had built up his own quite successful monastery, take such an interest in the book moving? The *Blue Annals* records that during his years at Taglung Monastery he paid three visits to Densatil. On his third visit, he made quite generous and costly offerings, which are listed. For us it is most interesting to see that he offered 550 books on azurite and ordinary paper. Before he died in 1210 he willed 700 books on azurite, and innumerable books on ordinary light-colored paper to Densatil.[44]

There is a still deeper background. During the six years that Taglungtangpa was studying with Pagmodrupa at Densatil, he often served as the teacher's scribe, and was constantly taking notes, although they say he had no need to do so, since the words of his teacher were as clear in his mind as *mantra*s carved on a rock. Indeed you do find Taglungtangpa's name in colophons to a number of Pagmodrupa's works as the transcriber.[45] So I

[40] Spyan-snga Grags-pa-'byung-gnas (1175–1255/56 CE)

[41] The translator of the *Blue Annals* translates this as 'grumbling,' but I follow the Btsan-lha dictionary (1997: 216), which says that *nyer-ba* is an outdated term for the sounds made by carnivores such as tigers.

[42] Compare the translation in *Blue Annals*, p. 574. The Tibetan text ('Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1971: 499): *phag mo gru nas chos rjes sgam por chos spyan drangs pa la stag lung pa dang ngams sho du pa rnams gdan sa la 'di 'dra ba mdzad zer nas nyer ba la / chos rje'i zhal nas / ngas gdan sa brgya 'gyur stong 'gyur du bzang du btang cig gsung nas rje spyan snga btang*.

[43] In agreement with the Roerich translation, I correct the Ngam-sho-du-pa of the text (see the previous note) to Ngam-shod-pa.

[44] *Blue Annals*, p. 620. For the Tibetan text, see 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1971: 540.

[45] Of course, in these colophons his name appears as *nye-gnas* ('disciple') Bkra-shis-dpal. He would not be known as Stag-lung-thang-pa until he founded Stag-lung Monastery.

think it would be fair to conclude that some of the books kept at Densatil had been personally inscribed by Taglungtangpa. Pagmodrupa, already as a young man, is known to have had scribal skills of his own. And of course we do know that other books had been donated by other disciples. In particular Lingrepa had all the books that were donated to him sent to Densatil. We can only imagine which or how many of the books would have belonged to Pagmodrupa himself. These would most certainly have been regarded as 'relics of the garb,' or what we might call 'contact relics.'[46] As far as the 'cult of the book' in those times is concerned, we may at least know with certainty, by looking at Pagmodrupa's own consecration ritual texts, that the three-fold set of receptacles of body, speech and mind of the Buddha, with books being the primary receptacles of Buddha speech, was well known in those times. No temple could be complete without all three types of receptacles, so in a certain sense, a temple cannot be a temple if there are no sacred volumes inside it. What I wish to say is just that Jigtengönpo's action was quite a serious matter. From some perspective it might even be regarded as a desecration. And Taglungtangpa might well consider it within his rights to have a say in the disposition of the books he personally made and donated with every expectation that they would remain.

As every book owner knows, shelving is a problem, you want your books to be in a safe place, and you have to be very careful about loaning your books to other people. Evidently there were plenty of books at Taglung, since Taglungtangpa handed on the abbacy to his disciple Kuyalwa (Sku-yal-ba) in the form of a key to the library.[47] The message in this is that for Taglungtangpa at least, custodianship of books was a great responsibility. It also tells us that libraries probably needed to be locked up. When the funeral was over the abbot of Dagla Gampo—the same one we mentioned before—suggested to Kuyalwa that they ought to have a look at the books *(dpe-cha)*. Kuyalwa replied, "In our lineage, unless you know to teach the *dharma*s that you have learned in a way that suits the potentials of the students that appear before you, then what good at all is a Geshé who has looked at and pondered on books?" True to these words, Kuyalwa seems to have invested much more in images than in books, but at some point he called together the elders of the monastery and said, "The icons and scriptures *(gsung-rab-rnams)* have become too many and there is not enough room for them. You should discuss building a twin chapel and let me know your decision." Khu said, "Any old chapel will do. I think we should be keeping the instructions for guidance in meditation. Better one great meditator than a hundred

[46] On this and other relic categories, see Bentor 1994.

[47] *Blue Annals*, pp. 620–21; Stag-lung 1992: 228.

golden volumes." The others said, "We should build the chapel. But we should also keep the meditation instructions." The 'chapel' they built doubled the size of the one already built there by Jigtengönpo, adding up to 80 pillars instead of 40. It was finished in 1228, after four years of work.[48]

I would not want to end this story leaving the impression that Jigtengönpo was necessarily the villain of the story. There were circumstances that could justify the book moving, and indeed the *Blue Annals* already supplied some of the evidence. What seems clear is that there was social instability in Ngamshö, in the area surrounding the monastery. There was also a problem in keeping monks there. The reasons for this would seem to be several, but certainly the rise of the Taglung and Drigung monasteries was one factor, since some of the monks would have moved to the newer monasteries rather than staying at the Headquarters. Another problem is famine. Some monasteries, including Reting in 1082, and Gyal Lhakhang (Rgyal Lhakhang) for three different periods in the twelfth century, suffered from something called a Dharma Famine.[49] This meant there was no abbot, but it may have also meant that there were no teachings for the monk assembly, which could already be sufficient reason for some monks to move on to greener pastures. But I believe it was also the case that Dharma Famines were generally accompanied by ordinary food famines. When supplies are not locally available, one of the main ways of dealing with the situation was to migrate to a place where food could be found. An abbot unable to keep the monks in his monastery becomes irrelevant and most likely resigns, perhaps doing as Jigtengönpo did, escaping in secret under cover of night.

When Jigtengönpo was a young teenager, his father was forced to pawn his holy Bhairava books in order to feed his family. Later on, during his teaching career, Jigtengönpo would say about this incident, "Don't ever get married! If you get married you get children. If you can't feed them, you'll sell all your 'refuges,' as my father did, because eating is a necessity." In fact both of Jigtengönpo's parents died deaths that were apparently famine-related. Because of a famine in his home region, he had to migrate south where he could get food in exchange for reading sacred books.[50] In this case, books very literally saved his life. The results of the economic arguments between bread and books have not come in yet, although in 2008 CE it

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[48] Compare *Blue Annals*, p. 624. The direct translations here are based on the text in 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba 1971: 544.

[49] *Chos-kyi mu-ge*. For example, see *Blue Annals*, pp. 266, although the translation 'religious hunger' is not very exact. *Mu-ge* is the usual word for the famines that are a normal result of agricultural droughts called *than-pa*. It is not a word for simple ordinary 'hunger.'

[50] For this account, and references to the literature, see Martin 2001: 177–8.

seemed to be tipping in favor of bread. Without any possibility of doubt, in times of extreme hardship, bread is far more important.

Leonard van der Kuijp, in his article on Śākyaśrībhadra, translates a bit from the main early biography of Jigtengönpo where this appalling famine story is told for a year in the vicinity of 1200:

> "Then, when he arrived in Dwags-po a great famine took place, and a *zho* of gold would not fetch even seven measures *(bre)* of barley. There were many who, having killed a person, were even eating human flesh."[51]

There is a short and interesting, but almost equally depressing text in the *Collected Works* of Jigtengönpo. I will attempt to translate just the opening part:

> "There is no Headquarters. Taglungtangpa died. Things did not happen for the students as they had hoped, so their learning came to a stop. Nobody had the idea to govern the assembly. Because of my advanced age my ability is used up. Now I am thinking to go to another place or to stay here keeping a very strict retreat. You people say, "Distribute the provisions! Distribute the provisions!" But I also have hardly any provisions to distribute. I conceal nothing. There have been famines last year and the year before. Now scarcely anything remains in the wake of these famines. I ate good food. The underlings for the most part lived on wild potherb soup. We scrimped to death, economized with hardship, and at least there were no corpses."[52]

This could have been written no earlier than 1210, yet I believe it may refer directly to the circumstances under which the books were moved to Dagla Gampo. I am unable to conclude with great confidence, but going by what I think I know at the moment, I believe that Jigtengönpo felt that, given the difficult (perhaps even dire) circumstances at Densatil, the books would be safer at Dagla Gampo. I would also like to say that I am completely sure in saying that the misunderstandings that came out of the book-moving incident of 1209 were responsible for the Taglung and Drigung sects going their

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[51] Van der Kuijp 1994: 611.

[52] 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (2001: IV 126): *gdan sa nyams dmas su gyur skabs mdzad pa'i bca' yig.* gdan sa med pa dang / stag lung thang pa grongs pa dang / slob ma la re ba ltar ma byung bas shes pa'i ltag chag / tshogs skyong ba'i bsam pa ma byung / na so rgas pas nus pa yang zad / da ni phan tshun gcig tu 'gro ba'am / mtshams dam pa [127] zhig byas la bsdad snyam pa yin / de la khyed rnams kyis rgyags khye rgyags khye gsungs pa la / rgyags la 'gyed rgyu / nged yang dkon pas bskungs pa med / na ning gzhe ning gnyis su mu ge byung / ngo cig mug shul du thal / ngas za rgyu bzang po zos / 'og ma rnams kyis phal cher sngo'i tsha ba la brten / shi bsris sdug bsris byas pas ro ma byung tsam lags* ... *A descriptive title added by the modern editors.

separate ways. The doubts tugging away in the back of my mind have to do with the authority of the sources I have found and used. These sources are basically of two kinds, those oriented toward the Karma Kagyü, and those found in biographical and historical writings by Taglung Kagyüpas. About all of these Taglung sources date 200 or more years after the events they describe. There *were* three quite early biographies of Taglungtangpa, but to the best of my knowledge they have yet to surface. By contrast, there is hardly any mention of the book-moving incident in works of Drigung Kagyüpas, sources that are much closer in time to the event, and generally quite rich in details. Just to give an example of an early Drigung source, in the *Golden Rosary of Kagyü Lives (Bka' brgyud Gser phreng)* compiled by Dorjé Dzeo, in the biography of Jigtengönpo by Dönmoripa (b. 1203), is a very brief but significant statement:

> "Then, when [Jigtengönpo] reached sixty years of age,[53] he invited the Dharma [texts] from Pagmodru [from Densatil] and, [in accordance with] the intentions of Pagmodrupa, offered them to glorious Dagla Gampo, where they remained."[54]

This passage, in saying that Jigtengönpo was only doing what his teacher wanted to be done, certainly would tend to (and was of course probably intended to) sway our thoughts in favor of Jigtengönpo's righteousness.

One of the most interesting sources is saved for last, since it would seem to represent the traditional views held in Dagla Gampo. This abbatial history, only recently made available in published form, was written by a brother of the 21st abbot of Gampo in 1640, but with additions made in 1662 CE.[55] It speaks about the offerings made both before and after the completion of the 40-pillared temple. It tells that the First Karmapa Düsumkhyenpa[56] offered, together with decorative cloth hangings etc., over an hundred volumes in gold and silver ink that he had made with a view to

[53] This I take to be an approximate rather than an exact way of dating the incident.

[54] Rdo-rje-mdzes-'od (1985: 422): *de nas rgung lo drug cu rtsa drug bzhes pa'i dus su phag mo gru nas chos gdan drangs nas / dpal phag mo gru pa'i thugs dgongs dpal dwags la sgam po phul nas bzhugs so*. This passage is translated slightly differently in Könchog Gyaltsen (1990: 252). There is a very valuable discussion of this work and its dating in Roberts 2007: 9–11. Roberts gives Don-mo-ri-pa's birth date as 1203 and argues that he must have written all of his biographical works by the year 1245.

[55] Spyan-snga Mi-pham-bsod-nams-rin-chen-rdo-rje, *Gangs can 'dir ston pa'i rgyal tshab dpal sgam po pa'i khri gdung 'dzin pa'i dam pa rnams kyi gtam bai ḍūrya'i phreng ba*. This history of Dwags-lha Sgam-po abbots has now been published for the first time as "Text F" in Sørensen & Dolma (2007: 191–247, with information on authorship on p. 45).

[56] Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (1110–1193). For more on his donations of books and other items, see *Blue Annals*, p. 478.

serving the Headquarters *(Gdan-sa)*. Babrompa Darmawangchug[57] brought many scriptures, and the Great Siddha Nyagré Sewo[58] brought countless scriptures... It mentions the making of some protector statues, and then continues on the subject of books:

> "The Precious Protector [i.e. Jigtengönpo] came bringing with him to this [place] all the scriptures of Densatil, including the personal books of Pagmodrupa, the tantra collection, and so on."[59]

One thing we may learn from the list of names here associated with supporting the 80-pillar temple, among them only Jigtengönpo (and the obscure Nyagré Sewo) was a disciple of Pagmodrupa. All the others were direct disciples of Gampopa.

No doubt, more sources will emerge, including the works and early biographies of Taglungtangpa which do exist even if not published, some guidebooks to Densatil and Dagla Gampo and so on. It seems possible to me we may find that, even while based in fact, the story about the book-moving incident may have transformed during its historical transmission. It could be a very simple cause of a sectarian split that developed, over time, into elaborated rationales for the continuing distinctness of the two sects. I am not so sure. I think we need to check more sources and think at greater length about the issues provoked by them, meanwhile not assuming that self-serving and partisan polemical motives equally govern all historical reporting ('narrative'), as some modern followers of Hayden White are prone to do.[60] For present, I venture to raise the question and defer the answer.

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[57] 'Bab-rom-pa Dar-ma-dbang-phyug (1127–1199).

[58] Nyag-re Se-bo. Apart from being listed among Phag-mo-gru-pa's disciples little appears to be known about this figure. He founded a monastery called Gles in Khams (*Blue Annals*, p. 565).

[59] Sørensen & Dolma (2007: 206): *skyob pa rin po ches / dpal phag mo gru pa'i phyag dpe gsang sngags rgyud 'bum sogs gdan sa thel gyi gsung rab thams cad 'dir drangs te phebs*. Of course *phyag-dpe* might be understood as a respectful version of *dpe-cha* and mean simply 'book,' but preceded by the genitive, as it is here, it certainly implies ownership by a respected person, hence my translation 'personal books.'

[60] For arguments along similar lines, with much of which I tend to agree, see Marwick 1995, written by Arthur Marwick (1936–2006 CE), a Scottish specialist in twentieth-century British and North American history. Then see the quite defensive, perhaps even self-serving response by Hayden White (1995). Ankersmit (1998: 185), who finds Marwick's criticism "a perfectly inane and silly tirade" while White responded "in a worthy and dignified manner," was at least right to jump to White's defense in emphasizing the need for professional historians to heed the voices that criticize their modes of access to historical knowables. There is a danger on one side that historical investigation might be abandoned in favor of literary criticism (farewell to any knowable historical events), and on the other side that we might be unjustly satisfied with naive ideas about the ways

But even if we were to take the book-moving incident as 'primary cause,' at some point we would have to admit that it has a background of its own in which we might locate the causes underlying this cause, thereby forcing us to admit that it is not so primary after all. Like founding moments, primary causes may not prove capable of sustaining all the weight we would place on them. Perhaps the book-moving incident was just one among several that assured the continuity of the Taglung/Drigung division. Among those incidents we would have to include the usual explanation offered by our all-too-common wisdom, which is that late in the twelfth century two different monasteries were founded by two different disciples of Pagmodrupa. This, too, holds some, even if only some, explanatory power.

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RÉSUMÉ

L'incident du transfert de livres de 1209

Un incident d'apparence anecdotique peut être un moyen d'investigation pour l'étude des écoles Kagyü du bouddhisme tibétain, dans la mesure où il permet une exploration factuelle du contexte historique, en toute indépendance des synthèses et jugements postérieurs. Il s'agit de l'incident du transfert de livres fait en 1209 du monastère de Dansatil à celui de Dagla gampo, qui permet de reconsidérer les notions de fondation et de différenciation des écoles Kagyü, et de les confronter à celle d'émergence, plus propre à rendre compte de l'incertitude relative où l'on est quant à la forme d'action définie comme fondation, ou quant à l'état réel des monastères réputés fondés.

Le début du XIIe siècle, jusqu'à l'entrée en scène des Mongols, fut une période de grand développement des Kambum, dont l'importance tenait dans le fait que les paroles *(bka')* prononcées par les Maîtres, de valeur essentielle, y étaient conservées sous forme écrite. L'incident du transfert des livres impliqua principalement deux maîtres, Jigtengönpo et Taglungtangpa, et plusieurs sites monastiques (car il n'est pas aisé de distinguer à cette époque les établissements qui avaient déjà tous les caractères d'un monastère de ceux qui étaient de simples lieux de méditation), en particulier Dagla gampo et Dansatil, le terme de *dansa* / *gdan sa* (siège) étant appliqué, selon les circonstances, à l'un ou à l'autre, mais aussi, de façon moins directe, Drigung et Taglung. Les *Annales Bleues*, écrites longtemps après les faits, mais s'appuyant sur des sources antérieures, rapportent qu'en 1209, "le maître Drigungpa emporta les livres qui avaient appartenu à Pagmogru et qu'un côté (du temple de Dagla Gampo) en fut empli"….. Dagla Gampo, après une période difficile, venait de connaître un regain d'activité et un nouveau temple y avait été construit, avec l'aide généreuse de Jigtengönpo.

Jigtengönpo avait été brièvement abbé de Dansatil (1177–1179), mais s'en était enfui et était allé à Drigung. Cependant, avec Taglungtangpa, il construisit un temple à Dansatil, pour abriter la hutte de Pagmogru, sans réussir cependant à arrêter le déclin de l'établissement. Lorsqu'il emporta les livres de Dansatil dans le temple nouvellement construit de Dagla Gampo, il y eut de nombreuses protestations. Il envoya alors l'un de ses disciples à Dansatil qui retrouva de ce fait un abbé qui lui faisait défaut depuis long-

temps. Mais Taglungtangpa fut très frappé par ce transfert, même si cela n'a jamais été mis en relation avec sa mort (1210).Quand il résidait dans son propre monastère de Taglung, il avait en effet donné à Dansatil une grande quantité de volumes précieux. Pendant qu'il étudiait avec Pagmogrupa à Dansatil, il lui avait souvent servi de scribe et son nom figure dans nombre de colophons des ouvrages de ce dernier. Pagmogrupa était réputé dans sa jeunesse pour ses talents de calligraphe, et on peut penser que ses livres étaient considérés comme des reliques. Des disciples avaient également donné des livres, en particulier Lingrepa, qui envoya à Dansatil tous les ouvrages qu'il avait reçus. L'acte de Jigtengönpo était donc lourd de conséquences et l'on pourrait même le considérer comme une désacralisation. L'importance que Taglungtangpa attachait aux livres est illustrée par le fait qu'il transmit sa succession à son disciple Kuyalwa en lui remettant la clé de sa bibliothèque.

Même si le transfert des livres à Dagla Gampo a pu être une mesure de sécurité (les famines récurrentes à cette époque furent particulièrement néfastes), le fait joua certainement un rôle dans la séparation des écoles de Taglung et Drigung, plus tard expliquée par des arguments doctrinaux, mais ce fait avait lui-même des antécédents, qui montrent combien il est difficile dans l'état actuel des connaissances d'assigner des dates et des circonstances précises à la constitution des écoles Kagyü.

བོད་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་བྱུང་རིམ་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱར་ཞིབ།

པད་མ་འབུམ།

ཀ དུས་དེབ་ཅེས་པའི་མིང་འདིའི་བྱུང་རིམ།

བོད་ལ་དུས་དེབ་ཅེས་པའི་ཐ་སྙད་འདི་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་ཙམ་ལས་སོང་མེད། དེ་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་དོ་སྣང་བྱུང་ཞིང་བོད་ལ་ཡང་འདི་འདྲ་ཞིག་དགོས་པར་འདོད་མཁན་དང་པོ་ནི་དགེ་འདུན་ཆོས་འཕེལ་ (1903–1952) རེད། ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་སྐབས་ (1934–1946) ཁོང་གིས་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་སོ་སོའི་གསར་འགྱུར་མེ་ལོང་པར་སྐྲུན་དང་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་བྱེད་པོ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་མཆོག་ལ་ཡི་གེ་ཞིག་བཏང་བའི་ནང་དུ་དུས་དེབ་གླེང་སློང་བྱས་ཡོད། ཡི་གེ་དེའི་ཚིག་དོན་འདི་ལྟར།

མཁྱེན་ཡངས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པའི་དྲུང་དུ།

ཞུ་སྙིང་། ཉེ་ཆར་སྐུ་འཚོ་དགེ་བའི་མྱུར་ཕྱག་བྲིས་གསར་ཤོག་བཅས་གནང་བ་འབྱོར་བས་སྤྲོ། ཀུན་གཟིགས་༧པཎ་ཆེན་མཆོག་ནས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་གསར་འགྱུར་ལ་དགྱེས་ཚོར་མཛད་པ་དེ་ཤིན་ཏུ་གཏམ་སྙན་ཏེ། མི་རིང་བར་རང་རེའི་བོད་དུའང་། ཉིན་ལྟར་གྱི་གསར་འགྱུར་ཟླ་རེའི་མེ་གླ་ཟིན་སོགས་རང་སྐད་དུ་བསྒྲོག་ཅིང་། གསེར་གྱི་རི་བདུན་དང་རོལ་བའི་མཚོ་བདུན་སོགས་ན་གང་བྱེད་སྐྱིན་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་མ་གོ་ཡང་། ངེད་སང་གི་འཛིག་རྟེན་རིལ་རིལ་འདིའི་སྟེང་གི་སྐད་ཆ་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐུན་མོངས་སུ་གོ་ཐུབ་པ་ཞིག་འོངས་པར་སྨོན།

ཞེས་ཆོས་འཕེལ་བས་ཕུལ།

དཔེ་དེབ་འདིའི་ནང་དུ་ཡི་གེ་འདི་སྐྱུར་འགྱུར་གྱི་དུས་ཚེས་བཀོད་མེད། དགེ་ཆོས་ནས་ཡི་གེ་འདིའི་ནང་དུ་ཀུན་གཟིགས་པཎ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ནས་ཚགས་པར་འདི་ལ་དགྱེས་ཚོར་གནང་གཏམ་ཞིག་ཐོས་རྩལ་གླེང་འདུག པཎ་ཆེན་འདི་ནི་པཎ་ཆེན་སྐུ་ཕྲེང་དགུ་པ་དེ་ཡིན་འོས་ཆེ། ཁོང་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༢༣_༡༩༣༧ ལོའི་བར་རྒྱ་ནག་ན་བཞུགས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ༡༩༣༧ ལོར་བོད་ལ་ལོག་པའི་ལམ་དུ་སྐྱེས་དགུ་མདོ་ལ་སྐུ་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པ་རེད། ཡི་གེ་འདིའི་ཚིག་རིས་ལ་བལྟས་ན་དགེ་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་སྨྲ་སྦྱ་ལ་ཡི་གེ་འདི་སྐྱུར་དུས་༧པཎ་ཆེན་སྐུ་ཕྲེང་འདི་འཚོ་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ཡིན་སྙམ་སྙེར། དེས་ན་ཡིག་འབྲེལ་བྱུང་དུས་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༣༧ནམ་དེའི་སྔོན་གྱི་ལོ་རེ་ཟུང་ཡིན་དགོས་པ་འདྲ། ༡༩༣༧ལོ་རང་ལ་བྲིས་པར་ཆ་བཞག་ན། དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་སྐད་དོད་འདི་བོད་སྐད་དུ་སླེབས་ནས་ལོ་གྲངས་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་ཐམ་པ་སོང་ཡོད། ཡི་གེ་འདི་ལས་ང་ཚོས་མཐོང་བ་ནི་དགེ་འདུན་ཆོས་འཕེལ་གྱིས་དབྱིན་སྐད་ཀྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་སྐད་དོད་མེ་གྷ་ཟིན་ཟེར་བ་འདི་སྒྲ་བསྒྱུར་གནང་ཡོད་པ་མ་གཏོགས་དོན་སྒྱུར་བྱས་མེད།

དེ་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙམ་སོང་བའི་༡༩༥༧ལོར། པེ་ཅིན་ན་ཡོད་པའི་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་གིས་རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚིག་མཛོད་ཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་ཐ་སྙད་གསར་བསྒྲིགས་ཟེར་བའི་དེབ་གསུམ་པ་དེ་ཐོན་ཡོད། དེའི་ནང་དུ་(p.112)རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་བརྡ་དོད་杂志ཟེར་བ་ལ་“སྣེ་འཛོམས་ཚགས་པར་”ཞེས་པ་འདི་བྱུང་ཡོད། ཚིག་མཛོད་འདི་ལ་པོད་བཞི་ཡོད་ཅིང་༡༩༥༤ལོར་པོད་དང་པོ་དང་། ༡༩༥༥ལོར་པོད་གཉིས་པ། ༡༩༥༧ལོར་པོད་གསུམ་པ་དང་བཞི་པ་གཉིས་ཐོན་ཡོད། ཚིག་མཛོད་པོད་བཞི་པོ་འདི་ནི་དམར་པོའི་ལྟ་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྙད་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་གི་ཐ་སྙད། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་དུ་མེད་པའི་རྒྱུན་མཁོའི་ཐ་སྙད་སྐོར་ཞིག་བོད་སྐད་དུ་ཐོག་མར་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱེད་ས་ཡིན། (འདིའི་གནས་རྩལ་ཞིབ་ཕྲ་༢༠༠༥ལོའི་ལ་རྟེའི་གསར་འགྱུར་དུ་བཀོད་ཡོད།)

རྒྱ་ཡིག་ལ་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་སྐད་དོད་ལ་ད་དུང་期刊ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད། དེང་སང་杂志དང་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དོན་གཅིག་མ་གཏོགས་མི་སྟོན། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་ལ་གོ་དོན་ཐ་དད་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཡང་ན་སྐབས་དེའི་ལོ་ཙྪ་བས་ཐུགས་སྣང་མ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཅི། ཐ་སྙད་གསར་བསྒྲིགས་པོད་བཞི་པའི་ནང་དུ་期刊བྱུང་བ་འདི་ལ་ "དུས་དེབ། དུས་བསྟུན་དཔེ་དེབ།" ཞེས་བྱུང་ཡོད། འདི་ནི་ཐེངས་དང་པོར་དུས་དེབ་ཅེས་པའི་ཐ་སྙད་འདི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་གི་ནང་དུ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་དང་གདམ་ངའི་ཚུལ་དུ་བྱུང་།

གོང་གི་རྒྱ་བོད་ཚིག་མཛོད་དེབ་བཞི་པོ་དེ་ལའཕྲི་སྟོན་བཅོས་གསུམ་བྱས་ནས་༡༩༨༥ ལོར་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་ནས "རྒྱ་བོད་ཤན་སྦྱར་གྱི་ཚིག་མཛོད།" ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ཐོན། ཚིག་མཛོད་འདི་ནི་ཧ་ཅང་ཁྱབ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བས་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་གསར་བཏོའི་ཐ་སྙད་སྤྱིལ་བ་ལ་ནུས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོན་པའི་ཚིག་མཛོད་ཅིག་ཡིན། དེའི་ནང་དུ་期刊ཟེར་བ་འདི་ལ་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱིས་འཁྱུས་པ་(p.342)དེར་ཚིག་མཛོད་མཁན་པོས་ཐུགས་ཐག་ཆོད་འདུག 杂志ཡི་གོ་དོན་ལ་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་གོ་དོན་གྱི་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཡང་ཚོར་འདུག ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ད་དུང་དེ་གཉིས་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་ཕྲན་བུ་རེ་ཡོད་སྙམ་གྱིས་志ལ་སྣ་འཛོམས་དུས་དེབ་ཅེས་བཀོད་འདུག (p.566)

དེ་ནས་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སོང་བ་དང་། རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེ་མཇུག་བསྒྲིལ་བའི་༡༩༧༨ལོར་ལྷབ་གསུམ་གྱིས་རྒྱ་སྐྱིད་བྱས་པའི "རྒྱ་བོད་ཤན་སྦྱར་གྱི་ཚིག་མཛོད།" པར་གཞི་གསར་མའི་ནང་ལ་ད་གཟོད་期刊 (p.707) དང་杂志 (p.1244) གཉིས་ཀའི་གོ་དོན "དུས་དེབ" ཀྱི་ཐོག་ལ་གཅིག་གྱུར་བྱུང་།

དུས་དེབ་ཅེས་པའི་མིང་འདི་ངག་ཐོག་དང་ཡིག་ཐོག་ལ་ཁྱབ་བརྡལ་འགྲོ་བར་དར་དམར་ཞེས་པའི་དུས་དེབ་འདིས་ནུས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོན་ཡོད། སྐབས་དེའི་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གི

ལས་བྱེད་ཅིག་ཡིན་ན་"ཚགས་པར་གཉིས་དང་དུས་དེབ་གཅིག"ཅེས་པ་འདི་མི་ཤེས་མཁན་ཞིག་ཏ་ཅང་དཀོན་པོ་ཡིན། ཚགས་པར་གཉིས་ནི་"མི་དམངས་ཉིན་རེའི་ཚགས་པར་"དང་"བཅིངས་འགྲོལ་དམག་གི་ཚགས་པར་" ཟེར་བ་དེ་གཉིས་དང་། དུས་དེབ་གཅིག་ཟེར་བ་ནི་"དར་མར་དུས་དེབ་" ཟེར་བ་དེ་ཡིན། འདི་གསུམ་ནི་དེ་དུས་རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་ངག་ཚབ་ཏུ་གྱུར་བའི་རྒྱུད་ལམ་གཙོ་བོ་གསུམ་ཡིན། སྐབས་དེར་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དོན་ཆེན་རེ་བྱུང་དུས་འདི་གསུམ་གྱིས་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་གྱིས་ཆེད་རྩོད་དམ་དེང་སང་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་པའི་གཏམ་ཟེར་བ་དེ་སྤེལ་བར་བྱེད་ཅིང་། དེ་ལ་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་ལས་བྱེད་རྣམས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཚོགས་ནས་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དང་གླེང་མོལ་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་ཡིན། ཚོགས་འདུའི་གླེང་མོལ་དང་སྤྱིར་བཏང་གི་གླེང་མོལ་སྐབས་སུ་དེ་རེ་རེ་བྱས་ནས་མིང་མི་འདོན་པར། ཚགས་པར་གཉིས་དང་དུས་དེབ་གཅིག་ཅེས་ཟེར་ཞིང་། ཚང་མས་ཚགས་པར་དེ་གཉིས་དང་དུས་དེབ་དེ་གང་ཡིན་པ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་དབྱིན་མིང་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་ལྷག་དང་། དུས་དེབ་ངོ་མ་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་དྲུག་ཅུ་ཙམ། "དུས་དེབ"ཅེས་པའི་བོད་མིང་འདི་ཚིག་མཛོད་ལ་གཏན་འཁེལ་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་སུམ་ཅུ་ལྷག་སོང་སྟེ། ད་ལྟ་ཐ་སྙད་འདི་ཡིག་ཐོག་དང་ངག་ཐོག་གཉིས་ཀར་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཡིན་པའི་སྐབས་འདི་ལ་ཡང་མིང་འདི་རྒྱ་བོད་མིང་མཛོད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་མ་གཏོགས། བོད་ཡིག་གི་ཚིག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ་གང་ཞིག་གི་ནང་དུ་ད་དུང་ཡང་བཀོད་མེད། དུས་དེབ་མེད་པའི་སྐབས་ཏེ་༡༩༥༩ལོར་ཤིང་པར་དུ་དགེ་བཤེས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པའི་བརྡ་དག་མིང་ཚིག་གསལ་བའི་ནང་དུ་མེད་པ་ནི་ཅི་ཁག དུས་དེབ་ཡོད་སྐབས་བསྒྲིགས་པའི་ཚིག་མཛོད་"དག་ཡིག་གསར་བསྒྲིགས།"དང་"བོད་རྒྱ་ཚིག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ"གཉིས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ཡང་བཀོད་མེད། "དག་ཡིག་གསར་བསྒྲིགས་"ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་མ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་

རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཞིག་བརྗོད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ཁུལ་བྱས། དེ་ནི་དེའི་ནང་ལ་བོད་རང་གི་མིང་བརྡ་རྣལ་མ་གཏོགས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་འགྱུར་བའི་མིང་བརྡ་བརྩུག་པ་ཧ་ཅང་ཉུང་བ་དེ་ཡིན། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་༡༩༨༥ ལོར་བསྒྲིགས་གྲུབ་ནས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་བྱས་པའི་ "བོད་རྒྱ་ཚིག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ" ལ་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་མིང་མ་ཐོན་པ་ལ་ཁ་གཡོར་ས་གཞན་པ་ཞིག་མ་བཅལ་ན་མ་གཏོགས་བོད་ཀྱི་མིང་བརྡ་རྣལ་མ་མིན་པ་དེ་ཁ་གཡོར་ས་མི་ཉན། ཚིག་མཛོད་དེའི་ནང་ན་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ལས་བསྒྱུར་བའི་དམར་པོའི་ལྷ་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྙད་གང་མང་ཞིག་ཡོད།

ཁ། དུས་རབས་གོང་མའི་ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ།

༡༩༥༡ལོ་སྟེ། དགེ་འདུན་ཆོས་འཕེལ་ནས་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་མེ་ལྷ་ཟེན་ཡོང་བའི་སྔོན་ལམ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལྷག་ཕྱིན་རྗེས "མི་དམངས་བརྙན་དཔར།"ཞེས་པའི་འདྲ་པར་དང་ཡི་གེ་སྦྲགས་མའི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་ཐོན་པ་འདི་ནི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་དང་པོ་ཡིན། རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེའི་སྐབས་ལ་འདི་འདོན་མཚམས་ཆད་ཅིང་རིག་གསར་བརྗེའི་རྗེས་སུ་འདོན་རྒྱུན་སྐྱར་མཐུད་བྱས། འདི་ཟླ་རེ་ལ་དེབ་རེ་ཐོན་ཡོད་ལ་༢000ལོ་ནས་འདོན་མཚམས་ཆད།

༡༩༥༥ལོར་ཡང་མི་དམངས་བརྙན་པར་དང་ཧ་ཅང་འདྲ་བའི་འདྲ་དཔར་དང་ཡི་གེ་སྦྲགས་མའི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ "མི་རིགས་བརྙན་དཔར།"ཞེས་པ་དེ་ཐོན། འདི་ཡང་ཟླ་རེར་འདོན་ཐེངས་རེ་ཡིན། རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེའི་སྐབས་ལ་འདི་འདོན་མཚམས་ཆད་ཅིང་རིག་གསར་རྗེས་སུ་འདོན་རྒྱུན་སྐྱར་མཐུད་བྱས།

དུས་དེབ་འདི་གཉིས་ཀ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་སྒྱུར་བ་མ་གཏོགས་བོད་ཡིག་གི་མ་རྩོམ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད། གཉིས་ཀའི་ནང་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་གུང་ཁྲན་ཏང་གི་སྲིད་གཞུང་འོག་ཏུ་མི་དམངས་

ཀྱི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ཡར་རྒྱས།   མི་རིགས་ཁག་གི་བར་ལ་མཐུན་སྒྲིལ་དམ་ཚུལ་བཅས་དྲིལ་བསྒྲགས་བྱེད་པ་དེ་ཡིན།   དུས་དེབ་འདི་གཉིས་ཀ་དང་ལྷག་པར་དུ་མི་རིགས་བརྙན་པར་གྱི་འདོན་ཐེངས་རེ་རེའི་ནང་དུ་བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རེ་མ་འཁོད་པ་ནི་ཡོད་མི་སྲིད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན།   གཅིག་དགུ་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་ལ་ལྷ་ས་ལ་གཞུང་ལམ་བརྐོལ་བ་དང་། ༧རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་པེ་ཅིན་ལ་ཆིབས་སྒྱུར་གནང་བ་སོགས་འདྲ་དཔར་དུ་ཕབ་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཐོན་ས་དང་པོ་ཡང་འདི་གཉིས་ཡིན།

༡༩༥༧ལོར་མཚོ་སྔོན་སློབ་གསོ་ཐེར་བའི་དུས་དེབ་ཅིག་ཐོན།   དེ་ཡང་རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེ་སྐབས་ལ་འདོན་མཚམས་ཆད་ཅིང་༡༩༧༩ལོར་འདོན་རྒྱུན་སྐྱར་མཐུད་བྱས། དེང་སང་དེ་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གསོ་ཐེར་ཞིང་ཟླ་གཉིས་རེར་འདོན་ཐེངས་རེ་འདོན་གྱི་ཡོད། རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེའི་སྔོན་ལ་དེའི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་རྣམས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ལས་བསྒྱུར་བའམ་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བྲིས་པ་དང་།   འདོན་ཐེངས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་སོགས་འདྲི་རྩད་བྱེད་ས་མ་རྙེད།   ན་ནིང་(༢༠༠༧)ང་དུས་དེབ་དེའི་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་ཁང་ལ་འགྲོ་ཞོར་ཞིག་ཏུ་ལས་ཐོགས་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་པ་ཞིག་དང་མཉམ་དུ་འཕྲོས་མོལ་སྣ་ཚོགས་བྱེད་ཞོར་དུ་རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེ་སྔོན་གྱི་མཚོ་སྔོན་སློབ་གསོའི་འདོན་ཐེངས་རེ་སྔོན་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་མེད་དྲིས་པར། རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་པ་དེས་ཀྱང་རིག་གསར་སྔོན་གྱི་འདོན་ཐེངས་རྙིང་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མཐོང་མ་མྱོང་ཐེར།

༡༩༥༨ལོར་དར་ཆ་དམར་པོ་ཐེར་བའི་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གནས་འགྱུར་བའི་དུས་དེབ་ཅིག་ཐོན། འདི་ནི་ཟླ་རེར་འདོན་ཐེངས་གཉིས་རེ་ཐོན་ཡོད།   ཕྱིས་སུ་འདིའི་མིང་དར་དམར་དུ་བསྒྱུར། གཞི་རིམ་ལ་རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་ལྟ་གྲུབ་དང་།   གཞུང་གི་སྲིད་ཇུས།   དྲིལ་བསྒྲགས་བྱེད་སྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཉག་གཅིག་ཡིན། འདི་ཡང་ཚང་མ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་བསྒྱུར་བ་མ་གཏོགས་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་ཐོག་མར་བྲིས་པའི་རྩོམ་ཞིག་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་མེད། སྐབས་འགར་དམར་གཞུང་ཆབ་

སྲིད་ཀྱི་རིགས་འདེགས་སུ་འགྱུར་བའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་རྩོམ་དང་རྩོམ་རིག་སྒྱུ་རྩལ་གྱི་བརྩམས་ཆོས་འགའ་རེ་ཡང་ཐོན་ཡོད། དཔེར་ན། རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེའི་སྐབས་སུ་གསར་བརྗེའི་དཔེ་མཚོན་བློས་གར་བརྒྱད་ཟེར་བའི་འཁྲབ་གཞུང་ཚང་མ་དུས་དེབ་འདིའི་ཐོག་ལ་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བསྒྱུར་ནས་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

ཡང་ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་ལ་འགྲོག་པའི་འཚོ་བ་ཟེར་བའི་དུས་དེབ་ཅིག་ཐོན་འདུག དེ་ལ་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་སྐྱོང་མཁན་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ང་ལ་ཐུག མི་དེས་དྲན་པ་ལྟར་ན། དུས་དེབ་འདིའི་ནང་ལ་སྐབས་དེའི་བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་ཁུལ་གྱི་འཚོ་བའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གང་འཚམས་ཤིག་ཐོན་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ། དེ་ཡང་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་ཡིག་སྒྱུར་བྱས་པ་མ་གཏོགས་ཐད་ཀར་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་འབྲི་སྦྱོལ་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་མིན་པ་འདྲ།

གོང་འཁོད་ནི་དུས་རབས་གོང་མའི་ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུ་བའི་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན། ཚང་མས་མཐོང་གསལ་ལྟར་སྐབས་དེར་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་མི་འདྲ་བ་ལྔ་ཡོད་པ་ལས། མི་དམངས་བརྙན་པར་དང་། མི་རིགས་བརྙན་པར། དར་དམར་དུས་དེབ་གསུམ་ནི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་རིམ་པའི་ཡིན་པ་དང་མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་བསྒྱུར་བ་དང་། ནང་དོན་མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཡིན། འགྲོག་པའི་འཚོ་བ་དང་མཚོ་སྔོན་སློབ་གསོ་གཉིས་ཞིང་ཆེན་རིམ་པའི་ཡིན་ལ་ནང་དོན་ཡང་ཆབ་སྲིད་མིན།

འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་གྱི་ཐད་ལ། མཚོ་སྔོན་སློབ་གསོ་དང་འགྲོག་པའི་འཚོ་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་འདི་རྩད་ཆོད་ས་མ་རྙེད། གཞན་པ་གསུམ་པོ་ནི་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་དང་། འགྲེམས་སྤེལ། མངགས་ཉོ་བྱེད་མཁན་ཚང་མ་རྒྱ་དམར་སྲིད་གཞུང་རང་གི་རིམ་པ་ཁག་གི་ལས་ཁུངས་ཡིན། ངས་དྲན་གསལ་ལྟར་ན། ཨ་མདོའི་ས་ཆ་ལ་དེ་གསུམ་མི་དམངས་ཀྱང་ཉེ་ཟེར་བ་དེས་མངགས་ཉོ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཐོན་སྐྱིད་རུ་ཁག་ཟེར་བའི་བར་དུ་ཚར་གཅིག་རེ་རེན་མེད

ཀྱིས་འགྲིམས་སྤྱིལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་འདུག མི་སྣེར་པ་ཞིག་གིས་མངགས་ནོ་བྱས་པ་ནི་གོ་ཐོས་ཙམ་ཡང་མ་བྱུང་། སྐབས་འགར་ཞུན་ཧྭ་དཔེ་འཚོང་ཁང་ན་ནོ་མཁན་འགའ་རེ་ནི་ཡོད་སྲིད་པ་རེད།

༡༩༥༨ ལོར་དར་དམར་དུས་དེབ་ཐོན་ནས་༡༩༧༩ ལོར་མཚོ་སྔོན་སློབ་གསོ་སྐྲུན་འདོན་མ་བྱས་པའི་བར་གྱི་ལོ་ངོ་ཉི་ཤུའི་རིང་ལ་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་སྣ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་བྱུང་མེད། རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེའི་སྐབས་སུ་མི་རིགས་བརྙན་པར་དང་མི་དམངས་བརྙན་པར། མཚོ་སྔོན་སློབ་གསོ་བཅས་འདོན་མཚམས་ཆད་དེ། བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་"དར་དམར་དུས་དེབ་" གཅིག་པོ་མ་གཏོགས་མེད་པར་གྱུར།

ག དུས་རབས་གོང་མའི་ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ།

རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེ་མཇུག་བསྒྲིལ་ནས་ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་རྗེས་༡༩༧༩ལོར་མཚོ་སྔོན་སློབ་གསོ་སྐྲུན་འདོན་བྱས། དེ་ནས་ལོ་གཅིག་གི་རྗེས་སུ་ལྷ་སར་བོད་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་རིག་སྒྲུ་རྩལ་ཞེས་པ་སྟེ། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་རྩོམ་རིག་དུས་དེབ་དང་པོ་དེ་གསར་འདོན་བྱས། དེང་སང་བོད་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་རིག་སྨྲ་བ་མང་པོས་བོད་ཀྱི་དེང་རབས་རྩོམ་རིག་གམ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་རིག་གསར་པ་ཞེས་པ་དེ་དུས་དེབ་འདི་ནས་འགོ་འཛུགས་ས་ཡང་འདི་ལ་ངོས་འཛིན་གནང་བཞིན་ཡོད། ལོ་དེ་རང་ལ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་དཀར་མཛེས་སུ"གངས་དཀར་རི་བོ"ཞེས་པ་དང་། ལོ་དེའི་རྗེས་མ་སྟེ་༡༩༨༡ ཨ་མདོ་ཟི་ལིང་དུ་"སྦྲང་ཆར་"ཟེར་བ། ༡༩༨༢ ལོར་ཀན་ལྷོ་བོད་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ཀྲིག་གི་གཙོས་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་དུ་"ཟླ་ཟེར་"བ་བཅས་ལོ་བཞི་ཡི་ནང་ལ་རྩོམ་རིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་བཞི་ཐོན་ཏེ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་འདི་ལ་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ན་དབང་ཐང་མེད་ན་ཡང་རྩོམ་རིག་གི་ཐོག་ནས་ཁོ་ལག་རྒྱུས་ས་ཞིག་བསྐྲུན།

རྩོམ་པ་པོའི་རྩོམ་རིག་གཙོ་བོར་བྱུར་བའི་གོང་གསལ་གྱི་དུས་རིམ་བཞི་པོ་འདོན་པའི་དུས་མཚུངས་སུ་བོད་ཀྱི་ངག་རྒྱུན་རྩོམ་རིག་དང་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་གྱི་དུས་རིམ་ཀྱང་གསུམ་བྱུང་ཡོད། ༡༩༨༡ལོར་ཨ་མདོ་ཟླ་ཡིང་དུ"མཚོ་སྔོན་མང་ཚོགས་སྒྲུ་རྩལ"ཞེས་པ་དང་། ༡༩༨༣ལོར་བོད་ལྗོངས་ལྷ་སར"སྤྱང་རྒྱན་མི་ཏོག"ཅེས་པ། ཡང་༡༩༨༣ལོར་ལྷ་སར"གངས་ལྗོངས་རིག་གནས"ཟེར་བ་བཅས་དུས་དེབ་འདི་གསུམ་ཐོན་ཡོད། དུས་དེབ་འདི་གསུམ་གྱིས་གཙོ་བོ་ད་ཕན་ཡིག་ཐོག་ལ་བཀོད་མེད་པར་ངག་ཐོག་དང་བློ་ཐོག འཚོ་བའི་ནང་ལ་ལུས་ཡོད་པའི་རྩོམ་རིག་དང་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་གོམས་གཤིས་སོགས་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཀོད་ནས་སྤེལ་རྒྱུ་དེ་ཡིན། ལས་དོན་དེ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ལ་དུས་དེབ་འདི་གསུམ་གྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་གི་མི་རབས་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་གི་རྗེས་ཟིན་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་དབང་ཤུགས་བོད་ལ་མ་སླེབས་པའི་སྔོན་ཏེ། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རིག་གཞུང་ཤུགས་རྐྱེན་འོག་ཏུ་འཚར་ལོངས་མ་བྱུང་བའི་བོད་པ་རྒན་རབས་མཐའ་མ་དེའི་རྗེས་ཟིན་ཏེ། དེ་དག་གི་ངག་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ངག་རྒྱུན་དང་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་གཙང་མ་རྣམས་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཀོད་ནས་སྤེལ་ཐུབ་ཡོད།

ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་སྟོད་ཆར། རྩོམ་པ་པོའི་རྩོམ་རིག་དང་ངག་རྒྱུན་རྩོམ་རིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་བསྡུར་ན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་དུས་དེབ་གཅིག་མ་གཏོགས་བྱུང་མེད། དེ་ནི་༡༩༨༢ལོར་ལྷ་སར་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཅེས་པ་འདི་ཡིན།

གོང་དུ་བགྲང་བའི་དུས་དེབ་བདུན་པོ་དེ་ལས། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་མ་གཏོགས་གཞན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་རང་རང་གི་གཙོ་གནད་རེ་ཡོད་པའི་སྣ་འཛོམས་ཀྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཡིན། དཔེར་ན་སྦྲང་ཆར་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་སྒྲུ་རྩལ་གཉིས་ལ་མཚོན་ན་འདོན་ཐེངས་རེ་རེར་རྩོམ་པ་པོའི་གསར་རྩོམ་གཙོ་གནད་ཡིན་པའི་ཞོར་དུ་ངག་རྒྱུན་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་འགའ་རེ་ཡོད་ལ། མཚོ་སྔོན་མང་སྒྲུ་རྩལ་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་མཚོན་ན་འདོན་ཐེངས་རེ་རེ་ངག་རྒྱུན་གཙོ་

གནད་ཡིན་པའི་ཞོར་དུ་གསར་རྩོམ་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་འགའ་རེ་ཡང་སྤེལ་ཡོད།

གོང་གསལ་གྱིས་དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་མང་ཆེ་བ་དེང་སང་ད་དུང་མུ་མཐུད་ནས་འདོན་སྤུས་ཡིན། དེ་དག་ལས་འདོན་ཐེངས་མང་མཐའ་ལོ་གཅིག་ལ་དྲུག་རེ་དང་ཉུང་མཐའ་བཞི་རེ་ཡིན། བོད་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་རིག་སྒྲུ་རྩལ་ནི་སྤྱིའི་འདོན་གྲངས་བརྒྱ་དངབདུན་བཅུ་ཙམ་ལ་སླེབས་ཡོད། སྦྲང་ཆར་གྱི་གློག་པ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྦྲང་ཆར་གྱི་འདོན་ཐེངས་སྤར་བའི་རེ་བ་བརྗོད་ན་ཡང་། དེའི་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་ཁང་གིས་དེའི་ཤོག་ལྷེ་སྤར་བ་མ་གཏོགས་འདོན་ཐེངས་སྤར་མེད།

ང་། བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་མང་འདོན་གྱི་ལོ་རབས་གཉིས།

གོང་དུ་ང་ཚོས་མཐོང་བ་ནི། དུས་རབས་གོང་མའི་ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུ་དང་ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་གཉིས་ནི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་མང་འདོན་གྱི་ལོ་རབས་གཉིས་ཡིན། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མང་སྣངས་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་ཆེན་པོ་ཁ་ཤས་ཡོད།

ཁྱད་པར་དང་པོ་ནི། ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་གཅིག་མ་གཏོགས་མང་ཆེ་བ་རྒྱ་ནག་དབུས་གཞུང་གི་འདོད་མོས་གཞིར་བཟུང་བྱས་ཤིང་པེ་ཅིན་དུ་བརྗོན་ཡོད། དཔེར་ན་མི་དམངས་བརྙན་པར་བོད་ཡིག་མ་ལྷ་བུ་ལ་མཚོན་ན། སྐབས་དེའི་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་སྲིད་བློན་གྱིས་ཀྲོའུ་ཨེན་ལེ་དངོས་ཀྱི་གུང་ཐང་ཚང་སྐུ་གོང་མ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་དུས་དེབ་བོད་ཡིག་གི་ལས་དོན་སྐྱུབ་མཁན་བཙལ་ཡོད་པར། གུང་ཐང་ཚང་གིས་ཨ་ཁྱུ་དམུ་དགེ་བསམ་གཏན་ཚང་ལས་དོན་དེ་བསྒྲུབ་ཏུ་གཏོང་གནང་མཛད་ཡོད། ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་དུས་དེབ་རྣམས་མང་ཆེ་བ་ཞིང་ཆེན་རིམ་པའི་ལས་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་བོད་པ་ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་གྱི་འདོད་མོས་ལྟར་བརྗོན་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ད་དུང་གངས་དཀར་རི་བོ་དང་ཟླ་ཟེར་ལྟ་བུ་གཉིས་ཁུལ་ཟེར་བའི་རིམ་པ་དེ་ནས་ཐོན་ཡོད།

ཁྱད་པར་གཉིས་པ། ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་ཚང་མ་བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བཏོན་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་། དེ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་གི་ཆེད་དུ་བཏོན་པ་མིན། དེ་གཙོ་བོ་བོད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་རྒྱ་ནག་དབུས་གཞུང་གི་རང་བསྒྲོད་དང་སྲིད་ཇུས་དྲིལ་བསྒྲགས་ཀྱི་ཆེད་དུ་བཏོན་པ་ཡིན། ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་གི་གསོན་གནས་ཀྱི་ཆེད་དུ་བཏོན་པ་ཡིན། དེ་དག་གི་ནང་དུ་ཡང་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་དང་རྒྱ་གཞུང་སྲིད་ཇུསདྲིལ་བསྒྲགས་བྱེད་པ་རེ་འདྲེས་ན་ཡང་། དེ་ནི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་གི་འདོན་ཐབས་དང་གནས་ཐབས་ཡིན་པ་མ་གཏོགས་དེ་དག་གི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་མིན། དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་ལོ་ རྣམ་རིམ་འདས་ཀྱིས་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཤུགས་རྐྱེན་ཇེ་ཆུང་ལ་འགྲོ་བཞིན་ཡོད།

ཁྱད་པར་གསུམ་པ། ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་དེའི་ནང་གི་རྩོམ་རིག་ཚང་མ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་བསྒྱུར་བ་ཡིན། དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་ལས་མི་རིགས་བརྙན་པར་ལྟ་བུ་དེང་སང་འདོན་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་ད་དུང་རྩོམ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་སྒྱུར་བཞིན་ཡོད། ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་ནང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དུས་དེབ་ཚང་མའི་མ་རྩོམ་མང་ཆེ་བ་བོད་ཡིག་རང་དུ་བརྩམས་པ་ཡིན། དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་ལས་ཁ་ཤས་ཐོག་མར་འདོན་སྐབས་བོད་ཡིག་སྒྲུང་རྩོམ་གསར་རྩོམ་བྲིས་པ་ཉུང་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་སྒྲུང་རྩོམ་འགའ་རེབསྒྱུར་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་། རིམ་གྱིས་བོད་ཡིག་གི་སྒྲུང་རྩོམ་མང་འཕེལ་བྱུང་བ་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནས་བསྒྱུར་མི་དགོས་པར་གྱུར་ཡོད།

ཁྱད་པར་བཞི་པ། ལོ་རབས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་ནང་ལ་བཏོན་པའི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་ནི་སྲིད་གཞུང་གི་དྲིལ་བསྒྲགས་ཀྱི་ཁེ་ཕན་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་ནས་འདོན་སྤེལ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་དག་མངགས་ཉོ་བྱེད་མཁན་མང་ཆེ་བ་ས་གནས་སྲིད་གཞུང་ཡིན། ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་དེ་སླར་གསོ་ཡི་ཁེ་ཕན་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་ནས་འདོན་སྤེལ་བྱས་

པ་ཡིན་ལ། མངགས་ཉོ་བྱེད་མཁན་མང་ཆེ་བ་མི་སློར་པ་ཡིན།

ཅ། བོད་ཡིག་གི་སློར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ།

གོང་གི་ལོ་རབས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་རྣམས་ལ་གོང་གསལ་གྱི་ཁྱད་པར་དེ་དག་ཡོད་པ་དང་མཚུངས་སུ་དེ་དག་ལ་ཐུན་མོང་གི་ཁྱད་ཆོས་ཤིག་ཀྱང་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་ཚང་མའི་བདག་པོ་ནི་རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་ཡིན། དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་པ་རྣམས་ནི་རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་གཞུང་ཞབས་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་གི་འགྲོ་སོང་དང་ནང་དོན་བཅས་ཕྱོགས་གང་ཐད་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་སྣང་ས་འཛིན་འོག་ན་ཡོད་པ་སྨོས་མེད་ཡིན།

ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་སྟོད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་རྩོམ་རིག་དུས་དེབ་འདོན་འགོ་བཙུགས་ནས་ཡུན་རིང་མ་སོང་བར་སློར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཁ་ཤས་འདོན་འགོ་བཙུགས་འདུག འདིར་སློར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཟེར་བ་ནི་གོང་གསལ་གྱི་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ལས་ལྡོག་སྟེ། དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་རྒྱ་དམར་གཞུང་མ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་གི་ལས་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་གླ་ཕོགས་མི་འབབ་པ། དེ་དག་གི་འགྲོ་སོང་དང་ནང་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གི་སྣང་ས་འཛིན་མེད་པའི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་རིགས་ལ་གོ

དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སློར་གྱི་བོད་ཡིག་དུས་དེབ་ནི་བོད་ལ་དུས་དེབ་ཟེར་བ་དེ་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་སུམ་ཅུ་ཙམ་གྱི་རིང་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་དབང་འོག་ཏུ་ཐེངས་དང་པོར་བྱུང་བའི་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་གྱི་སྣང་ཚུལ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཐོས་གསལ་ལྟར་ན། དུས་དེབ་དེ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཆེས་ཐོག་མ་ནི་༡༩༨༢ལོ་འབབ་ཀྱང་། དུས་དེབ་ངོ་མ་མཐོང་ཞིང་། དེ་འདོན་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ངོ་

མ་ལ་ཡང་ཐུག་འཕྲད་མ་བྱུང་སྟབས།   གནས་སྐབས་སུ་འདི་ཁུངས་ལྡན་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་གྲུས་སུ་འཇོག་ཐབས་མ་བྱུང་།

༡༩༨༣ལོར་"རི་སྐྱེས་མེ་ཏོག"ཟེར་བའི་སློར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཅིག་ཐོན་འདུག་པ་ནི་སློར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་དང་པོ་ཡིན་ཟེར་དཀའ་ན་ཡང་།   སློར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་སྔ་ཤོས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པ་ནི་ཐེ་ཚོམ་གྱི་གནས་ཅི་ཡང་མེད། དུས་དེབ་འདི་འདོན་མཁན་ནི་ང་རང་གི་གྲོགས་པོ་སྙིང་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། སྟབས་ཡག་པ་ལ་ཁོང་ད་ཐེངས་ང་ཚོའི་མཁས་ཚོགས་འདིའི་ཐོག་ཕེབས་ཡོད་པ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཚེ་རིང་(སྨྱུག་མིང་ལ་ལྷུང་བུ་)ལགས་རེད། དུས་དེབ་འདིའི་སྐོར་ལ་ངས་སྔོན་མ་ནས་ཤེས་རྟོགས་ཅུང་ཙམ་རེ་ཡོད་ལ།   ད་རེས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཚེ་རིང་ལགས་ནས་འདིའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཞིབ་ཕྲ་ང་ལ་གསུངས་པ་འདི་ལྟར།

སྐུ་ཞབས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཚེ་རིང་ལགས་ནས་༡༩༨༣ལོར་སྐུ་ཞབས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལགས་རྨ་ལྷོ་སོག་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་རྫོང་མི་རིགས་སློབ་འབྲིང་གི་རྩེས་འགྱུར་གྱི་དགེ་རྒན་ཞིག་རེད།   ཁོང་གིས་ལོ་གཅིག་ཙམ་གྱི་སྔོན་ལ་"ཆག་སྒོ"ཞེས་པའི་སྒྲུང་རྩོམ་ཞིག་བྲིས་ཏེ་སྦྲང་ཆར་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་ཁང་ལ་བསྐུར་བ་ལོ་གཅིག་གི་རྗེས་སུ་འདོན་སྤེལ་བྱུང་།

སྐུ་ཞབས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལགས་ནས་རྩོམ་ཡིག་ཅིག་སྤེལ་བ་ལ་ལོ་གཅིག་སྒུག་དགོས་པ་ནི་དུས་ཚོད་རིང་པོ་ཡིན་པར་སྙམ། ཁོང་གིས་གྲོགས་པོ་གཞན་པ་གཉིས་མཉམ་དུ་གཞན་ལ་སྒུག་མི་དགོས་པའི་རང་གི་དུས་དེབ་འདོན་འགོ་བཙུགས། དུས་དེབ་དེ་ནི་བོད་རྒྱ་ཡིག་སྤེལ་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་"རི་སྐྱེས་མེ་ཏོག"དང་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་野花ཟེར།

སྐུ་ཞབས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལགས་ནས་གསུང་གསལ་ལ།   རྒྱ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ 野花ཟེར་བ་འདི་ལ་རྒོད་བག་དང་སྤྲིག་འཇོག་ཏུ་མི་གནས་པའི་གོ་དོན་ཞིག་ཡོད་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་མིང་འདི་ས་གནས་དེའི་འགོ་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་བློ་ལ་མ་བབས་ཏེ་山花ཞེས་པར་བསྒྱུར་དགོས་བྱུང་འདུག   དུས་དེབ་འདི

རིགས་གཞུང་གི་སྣང་ངས་འཛིན་གྱི་འོག་ན་མེད་ན་ཡང་། གཞུང་གིས་དེ་ཡི་འདོན་སྤེལ་བཀག་འགོག་དང་བར་ཆད་བྱེད་པ་ནི་ཁག་པོ་མིན། རི་སྐྱེས་མི་ཏོག་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་ཚོགས་ཆུང་གིས་དུས་དེབ་དེའི་སློབ་སྟོན་པའི་གྲས་སུ་རྫོང་དེའི་འགོ་ཁྲིད་རེ་ཟུང་གི་མིང་བཀོད་ནས་བར་ཆད་སྔོན་འགོག་ཀྱང་བྱས་ཡོད།

སྐུ་ཞབས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ལགས་ནས་དྲན་གསལ་ལ། ཁོང་ཚོས་རི་སྐྱེས་མི་ཏོག་གསར་འདོན་བྱེད་སྐབས། མཚོ་སྔོན་མི་དམངས་ཀུན་ཁྱབ་རླུང་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཁུངས་དང་མཚོ་སྔོན་མི་རིགས་སློབ་གླིང་བཅས་ནས་ཀྱང་"རྒྱ་ཐིགས"དང་"གངས་སྐྱེས་ཕུག་རོན"ཟེར་བ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྙིར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་རེ་ཟུང་ཐོན་འདུག ཡང་ངས་ཐོས་གསལ་ལ། ༡༩༨༦གམ་༡༩༨༧ཙམ་ལ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་ལ་རྗེས་དྲན་གྱི་ཆེད་དུ་ཁོང་གི་སྙན་རྩོམ་"ལང་ཚོའི་རྦབ་རྒྱ"ཟེར་བའི་མིང་ལས་དྲས་ཏེ་ཟི་ལིང་ན་ཡོད་པའི་མཚོ་སྔོན་མི་རིགས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཆེན་མོའི་བོད་ཡིག་སྡེ་ཚན་གྱི་སློབ་མ་སྐོར་ཞིག་ནས་"ལང་ཚོ"ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་དང་། ཆབ་ཆ་ན་ཡོད་པའི་མཚོ་སྔོན་མི་རིགས་དགེ་ཐོན་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཟེར་བའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་དེའི་སློབ་མ་ཁག་ཅིག་གིས་"རྦབ་རྒྱ"ཟེར་བའི་དུས་དེབ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་བཏོན་ཡོད་སྐད།

ལ་རྩེ་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གི་དུས་དེབ་འདི་འདྲའི་གྲས་སུ་བསང་རྒྱ་རྫོང་སློབ་འབྲིང་གིས་༡༩༨༧ལོར་བཏོན་པའི་"སྨྱུག་གསར"ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེའི་བཏོན་ལོའི་འོག་ན་ཨང་གྲངས་ ༡༩ ཙིག་བྲིས་འདུག ཨང་གྲངས་དེ་ཕལ་ཆེར་དུས་དེབ་དེ་འདི་ལོ་བར་དུ་བཏོན་པའི་སྤྱི་གྲངས་ཡིན་ལས་ཆེ། གལ་སྲིད་དེ་ལྟར་ཡིན་ན་ལོ་རེ་ལ་འདོན་ཐེངས་བཞི་རེ་བཏོན་པར་ཆ་འཇོག་བྱས་ན་ཡང་དེའི་བཏོན་ལོ་༡༩༨༢ ལོ་ཡིན་དགོས་ཤིང་། དེས་ན་དུས་དེབ་འདི་བོད་ཡིག་གི་སྙིར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་ཆེས་ཐོག་མར་གྱུར་ཡོད།

ལ་རྩེ་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་སྔ་ཤོས་ནི་༡༩༨༥ལོའི་ཡིན། ལ་རྩེ་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་ནས་འདི་འདྲའི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་རིགས་ཤིག་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་རྟོགས་བྱུང་ནས་སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༠༠ལོ་ཙམ་ནས་འཚོལ་སྒྲུབ་བྱས་ན་ཡང་། ༡༩༨༢ལོ་ནས་༡༩༨༥ལོའི་བར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་འདི་འདྲའི་རིགས་དེབ་གྲངས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ལག་སོན་མ་བྱུང་། སྐྱིད་སོན་དཀའ་བ་ལ་རྒྱུ་མཚན་འགའ་རེ་ཡོད་དེ། རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེ་དག་ནི་སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་གི་པར་སྐྲུན་དང་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་སྟངས་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད།

སྐྱིད་སོན་དཀའ་བའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གཅིག་ནི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་རིགས་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཚུང་བ་དེ་རེད། དུས་དེབ་འདི་རིགས་དང་པོ་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཐོག་ལ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་འགྲེམས་ས་སྤེལ་བྱེད་རྒྱུའི་འཆར་གཞི་མིན་པར། ཕ་ཡུལ་གཅིག་གི་སློབ་མ་དང་། ཡང་ན་འཛིན་གྲྭ་གཅིག་གི་སློབ་མ་ནང་ཁྲུལ་ལ་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་དང་། དུས་དེབ་འདི་འདྲ་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་བྱེད་མཁན་གཞན་པ་དང་བརྗེ་རེས་ཙམ་བྱེད་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་རེད། ༡༩༩༣ལོའི་མཚོ་སྔོན་པོའི་ཟླ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་འདོན་ཐེངས་ལྔ་བུར་མཚོན་ན་དེབ་གྲངས་ལྔ་བཅུ་ང་ལྔ་ལས་པར་བརྒྱབ་མེད།

སྐྱིད་སོན་དཀའ་བའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གཞན་པ་ཞིག་ནི་དུས་དེབ་པར་སྐྲུན་གྱི་སྒྱུས་ཀ་ཕ་ཙང་ཞན་པ་དེ་རེད། གློག་ཀླད་ཀྱི་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་མ་ཁྱབ་སྔོན་ལ་སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་པར་སྐྲུན་གྱི་རིགས་གསུམ་ཡོད་དེ། སྣུམ་པར་(mimeograph)དང་། ལྕགས་འབྲུའི་པར་དང་། འདྲ་བཤུས་ཀྱི་པར་(photocopy)བཅས་གསུམ་ཡིན། ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་སྟོད་ལ་སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་རྣམས་པར་སྐྲུན་བྱེད་ཆས་ལ་སྣུམ་པར་མ་གཏོགས་དར་ཁྱབ་བྱུང་མེད། ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུའི་མཇུག་དང་ལོ་རབས་དགུ་བཅུའི་ནང་ལ་ལྕགས་འབྲུའི་པར་དང་འདྲ་བཤུས་ཀྱི་པར་གྱི་སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་དར་ཁྱབ་བྱུང་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་། སྣུམ་པར་མ་ཡང་སྨུ་མཐུད་ནས་གནས་ཡོད།

སྨུམ་པར་མ་ནི་གོང་གསལ་གྱི་པར་མ་རིགས་དེ་གསུམ་ལས་འགྲོ་གྲོན་ཆུང་ཤོས་དང་རྒྱུ་སྤྱུས་ཞན་ཤོས་ཡིན།

ལ་རྩེ་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་ལ་སྔར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་པར་མ་རིགས་དེ་གསུམ་པོ་ཉར་ཚགས་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་ལས། སྨུམ་པར་མ་རྣམས་སྣག་ལམ་འདལ་བ་དང་། མི་སློམས་པ། འདག་པ་བཅས་ཀྱིས་པར་ངོས་ཆེས་མི་གསལ་པའི་པར་མ་དེ་རེད། དེའི་ཐོག་ལ་པར་གཞི་ཤོག་གུའི་རྒྱུ་སྤྱུས་ཀྱང་ཧ་ཅང་ཞན་པ་དང་། འཚེམ་སྒྲིལ་བྱེད་ཆས་ཀྱང་ལག་པས་བཙེམས་པ་དང་། ལྕུགས་འཛེར་གྱིས་འཛེར་བ་བཅས་བྱས་ཡོད།

སྔར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་པར་གྲངས་ཉུང་བ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྤྱུས་ཞན་པའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ནི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་མེད་པ་དེ་ཡིན། སྐབས་དེར་རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་འོག་ཏུ་སྔར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ནི་ཡོད་མི་ཆོག་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་སྟབས་སྔར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ལ་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་རོགས་རམ་ཐོབ་ཐབས་མེད་པ་ནི་སྨོས་མི་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ངོས་ནས་ཀྱང་ཆོས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ལས་འགུལ་ལ་“དཀར་ཐིགས”སྤྱད་སྲོལ་སྤྱར་ནས་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་། མི་སྐྲ་ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ལས་འགུལ་ལ་ཞལ་འདེབས་བསྡུ་འབུལ་བྱེད་སྲོལ་དེ་བྱུང་སྲོང་མེད། ལྷག་པར་དུ་སྐབས་དེར་བོད་ཁམས་ཀུན་ཏུ་རིག་གནས་གསར་བརྗེའི་ནང་ལ་གཏོར་བཅོམ་བྱས་པའི་དགོན་སྡེ་རྣམས་སླར་གསོ་བྱེད་བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས་ཡིན་པས། བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆོས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་“དཀར་ཐིགས”ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་འབུལ་དགོས་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཤིག་ཡིན་སྟབས། སྔར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་འདོན་མཁན་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་པ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ནས་ཞལ་འདེབས་སློང་བ་ནི་ཁོང་ཚོས་རྨི་ལམ་ལ་ཡང་ཤར་ཐུབ་མེད། རྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་དང་བོད་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གཉིས་ཀ་ནས་སྔར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་འགྲོ་སོང་ལ་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་གྱི་རེ་བ་རྒྱག་ས་མེད་དུས་དུས་དེབ་འདོན་མཁན་གྱི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལག་དངུལ་ནི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་རྒྱབ

རྩ་ཉག་གཅིག་ཡིན། སློབ་མ་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ལག་དངུལ་གྱིས་བཏོན་པའི་དུས་དེབ་ནི་འགྲེམས་གྲངས་ཆེ་མི་ཐུབ་པ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྒྱུས་བཟང་མི་ཐུབ་པ་ནི་ཆེས་རང་བཞིན་ཅན་ཞིག་ཡིན།

སྔར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་འདི་དག་ལ་ཐོག་མའི་དུས་སུ་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཆེས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་བྱེད་པ་ནང་བཞིན་བྱས་མེད་ལ་བྱེད་ཀྱང་མི་སྲིད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ན་ཡང་། རིམ་བཞིན་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཙུང་ཙམ་ཇེ་ཆེར་སོང་བ་དེ་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཐོག་ལ་ཆེས་དང་མ་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ལས་དོན་ལ་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་བཙལ་བ་དང་ཐོབ་པ་ཐེངས་དང་པོ་ཡིན། སྔར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་ཤས་ལས་མ་སོང་བར། དུས་དེབ་འདོན་མཁན་གྱི་སློབ་མའི་ལག་དངུལ་ཁོ་ན་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་གནས་སྟངས་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་སོང་ཡོད། དེ་ཡང་དང་པོ་དུས་དེབ་གང་ཞིག་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་བྱེ་བྲག་པ་ཞིག་གི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཏོན་ཡོད་ན་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་དེའི་སློབ་མ་མང་ཆེ་བའམ་ཡོངས་ནས་ཞལ་འདེབས་བསྡུས་ཡོད་ལ། དུས་དེབ་གང་ཞིག་གི་འཛིན་གྲྭ་བྱེ་བྲག་པ་ཞིག་གི་སློབ་མ་འགའ་རེས་བཏོན་ཡོད་ན་འཛིན་གྲྭ་དེའི་སློབ་མ་མང་ཆེ་བའམ་ཡོངས་ཞལ་འདེབས་སྡུད་ཐབས་བྱས་ཡོད། དེ་ནས་འཛིན་གྲྭ་གཞན་པ་དང་། སློབ་གྲྭའི་དགེ་རྒན་དང་། སློབ་གྲྭའི་ལས་ཁུངས་ལས་བསྡུ་བའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་འགྱུར་ཡོད།

དུས་དེབ་འདོན་སའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་རང་ལ་ཞལ་འདེབས་བསྡུས་ནས་ལོ་རེ་ཟུང་གི་རྗེས་སུ་ཞལ་འདེབས་བསྡུ་བ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་རྒྱ་སྐྱེད་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་པའི་བླ་མ་དང་དགོན་པ། ཚོང་པ་སོགས་ནས་ཞལ་འདེབས་བསྡུས་ཡོད། དུས་དེབ་འདིའི་རིགས་དང་པོ་གང་དུ་བྱུང་ཡང་རུང་། བར་དུ་མང་འཕེལ་བྱུང་ས་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་ནི་ལན་གྲོའུ་ན་ཡོད་པའི་ནུབ་བྱང་མི་རིགས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཆེན་མོ་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་སློབ་གྲྭ་དེའི་བོད་ཡིག་སྡེ་ཚན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་མཚུངས་ཀྱི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཏོན་ཡོད། དཔེར་ན་༡༩༨༧ལོར་སློབ་གྲྭ་དེའི་ནང་ལ་རྨ་ལྷོ་སོག་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་རྫོང་ཟེར་བ་ནས་ཡོང་བའི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆབ་བྲག་

ཟ་ལུང་ (Salon, 沙龙)ཟེར་བའི་མིང་ཐོག་ནས་“མཐིང་ཟླ”ཟེར་བའི་དུས་དེབ་ཅིག་བཏོན་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་སློབ་གྲྭ་དེའི་རིམ་གོང་གི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་“དགུ་རྒྱུའི་ཟེགས་མ”ཟེར་བ་དང་། ཆབ་ཆའི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་“མཚོ་སྔོན་པོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས་”ཟེར་བའི་དུས་དེབ་ཅིག་བཏོན་ཡོད། དེ་བཞིན་“ཤར་དུང་རི་”ཟེར་བའི་དུས་དེབ་ལྔ་བུ་ནི་ཐོག་མར་འདོན་མཁན་ནི་ཊ་བའི་ཁུལ་གྱི་སློབ་མ་འགའ་རེ་ཡིན་ལས་ཆེ་ན་ཡང་། དེང་སང་ལུང་ཚན་མི་མཐུན་ཡང་ལྔ་བ་མཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སློབ་མ་སྐོར་ཞིག་གཙོ་བོ་བྱས་ནས་འདོན་གྱིན་ཡོད།

ལོ་རབས་དགུ་བཅུའི་ནང་ནས་བཟུང་། སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་འདི་རིགས་ཀྱི་འདོན་རྒྱུན་དེ་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ཆེན་པོ་དག་ན་ཡོད་པའི་མི་རིགས་སློབ་གྲྭ་དག་ནས་བོད་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྫོང་དང་ཁུལ་རིམ་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་འབྲིང་དག་ལ་ཁྱབ་བརྡལ་བྱུང་། མཐའ་ན་གྲོང་སྡེ་རིམ་པ་ལ་དར་ཁྱབ་བྱུང་ཡོད། དཔེར་ན། ༡༩༩༨ལོར་མཚོ་ལྷོའི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་བན་ཤུལ་ཟེར་བའི་སྡེ་བ་ཞིག་ནས་“ཨ་མྱེས་གླང་ཆེན་”ཟེར་བའི་སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཅིག་བཏོན་ཡོད།

དེང་སང་ལ་རྩེ་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་ན་སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་སྣ་ཁ་བརྒྱ་ལ་ཉེ་བ་ཡོད། དེ་དག་ལས་མང་ཆེ་བ་ནི་ཉིས་སྟོང་ཚུན་དུ་བཏོན་པ་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ཡང་གློག་ཀླད་ཁྱབ་བརྡལ་བྱུང་བ་དེས་དུས་དེབ་འདི་རིགས་གྲངས་འབོར་མང་འཕེལ་དང་མགྱོགས་འཕེལ་བྱུང་ཡོད། ཐོག་མར་དུས་དེབ་འདི་རིགས་གཙོ་བོ་ཨ་མདོའི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་མི་སྐྱ་བོའི་སློབ་གྲྭ་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་ཁྱབ་བརྡལ་བྱུང་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་། གློག་ཀླད་དར་ཁྱབ་བྱུང་ནས་བཟུང་སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་འདོན་རྒྱུན་སློབ་གྲྭ་ནས་དགོན་སྡེ་དང་། ཨ་མདོ་ནས་ཁམས་ཕྱོགས་དང་དབུས་གཙང་ཕྱོགས་ལ་མཆེད་བཞིན་ཡོད།

སྒེར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་སྣ་གྲངས་མང་བའི་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་འདོན་གྲངས་མང་རྒྱུ་མེད། འདོན་གྲངས་ཆེས་མང་བའི་དུས་དེབ་ཤར་དུང་རི་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ཡིན་ལ། དེའི་འདོན་ཐེངས་མཐའ་མ་ནི་

འདོན་གྲངས་ཉི་ཤུ་ཡིན། ལ་རྩེ་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་སློར་གྱི་དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་ལས་འདོན་ཐེངས་བཅུ་གྲངས་ལ་སླེབས་པའི་དུས་དེབ་དྲུག་མ་གཏོགས་མེད། དུས་དེབ་གང་མང་ཞིག་འདོན་ཐེངས་ཅིག་རེ་མ་གཏོགས་བཏོན་མེད། དེ་ལྟར་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱི་སྙ་གྲངས་མང་ཡང་འདོན་ཐེངས་ཉུང་བའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་ནི། དུས་དེབ་དེ་དག་འདོན་མཁན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཁོང་ཚོ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཞིག་གམ་ཡང་ན་འཛིན་གྲྭ་ཞིག་ལ་ལོ་གཉིས་གསུམ་ཙམ་གྱི་རིང་ལ་མཉམ་སྡོད་བྱེད་དགོས་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་དེ་བེད་སྤྱོད་བྱས་ནས་འདོན་སྤེལ་བྱས་ཡོད་ཅིང་། སློབ་གྲྭ་དེ་འཛིན་དེ་ནས་ཁོང་ཚོ་ཁ་འཐོར་དུ་གྱུར་རྗེས་དུས་དེབ་ཀྱང་བཏོན་མེད། དུས་དེབ་སློར་ཞིག་ལ་དུས་དེབ་ཅེས་པའི་མིང་འདི་འབབ་མིན་ཡང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་གྱི་གནས་ཏེ། འཛིན་གྲྭ་ཞིག་གི་སློབ་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཐོན་སྐབས་འདོན་ཐེངས་དེ་གཅིག་པོ་རྗེས་དྲན་གྱི་རྟེལ་དུ་བཏོན་པ་ཙམ་ཡིན། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་དེང་སང་དགོན་སྡེ་ན་འདོན་གྲངས་ཇེ་མང་དུ་འགྲོ་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དག་སློབ་གྲྭ་དང་མི་འདྲ་བར་འདོན་རྒྱུ་ཚུང་ཙམ་བརྟན་པོ་ཡོང་བའི་རེ་བ་ཙམ་བྱས་ཆོག

ལོ་རབས་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་དང་དགུ་བཅུའི་ནང་ལ་དུས་དེབ་འདི་རིགས་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་བྱེད་སྟངས་ལ་ལག་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འགྲེམས་ལམ་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན། དེང་སང་ཝེ་ལིང་དང་རེབ་གོང་སོགས་ཀྱི་སློར་གྱི་དཔེ་དེབ་ཚོང་ཁང་དུ་ཚོང་འགྲེམས་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད། ཡིན་ན་ཡང་དུས་དེབ་འདི་རིགས་སྣྲག་ལམ་ནས་མངགས་ཉོ་དང་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་དེབ་ཁང་དག་ནས་ད་དུང་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་གཏན་ནས་མེད།

དུས་དེབ་འདི་རིགས་ལ་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་འགྲེམས་ལམ་མེད་ན་ཡང་། གཞུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་པར་སྐྲུན་བྱེད་ལམ་ཙམ་ཕྱེ་ཡོད། ལོ་རབས་དགུ་བཅུ་སླེབས་པ་ན་དུས་དེབ་འདི་རིགས་ཐོན་གྲངས་མང་འཕེལ་བྱུང་སྟབས། རྒྱ་གཞུང་གིས་མ་མཐོང་ཁྲུལ་བྱས་ནས་སྡོད་ཐབས་མེད་ལ། གློག་ཀླད་དང་སློར་གྱི་པར་ཁང་མང་འཕེལ་བྱུང་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་དུས་དེབ་འདི་

རིགས་ཐོན་པ་གཏན་འགོག་ཀྱང་བྱེད་ཐབས་མེད་པའི་གནས་སུ་གྱུར་ཡོད། ད་ལྟ་དུས་དེབ་འདི་དག་ལས་ཁག་ཅིག་གི་ཐོག་ནས་གཞུང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་འགོད་ཨང་གྲངས་རེ་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནི་གཞུང་ཕྱོགས་ནས་དུས་དེབ་དེ་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་རྟོགས་ཡོད་རྟགས་དང་དུས་དེབ་དེ་པར་བརྒྱབཆོག་པའི་ཆོག་མཆན་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

ABSTRACT

The Development of Privately Published Tibetan-Language Journals in Tibet

In the fifty-seven years that have passed since the founding of the first Tibetan-language magazine, we can identify three types of Tibetan journals. The first type appeared in the 1950s, at the start of the aforementioned period. There have been four such magazines, starting with the *Nationalities Pictorial* in 1951. The goal for founding these magazines was to promote Chinese Communist thought and its administrative system in Tibetan areas, and for propaganda purposes. Three of the four magazines are organs of the Chinese Central Government, and all of the contents, whether political or literary pieces, are translated from Chinese.

The second type appeared in the 1980s. These are also official magazines, but not organs of the Central Government—rather, they are owned by local government offices in their respective regions. Permission by the local government is needed for publication, but the main persons managing each magazine are Tibetans intellectuals. These magazines were initiated in order to revive the state of Tibetan language after its weakening during the Cultural Revolution, and to lend new strength to the language. In 1979, the journal *Qinghai Education* was revived and in 1980 *Tibetan Arts and Literature* was founded; these were soon followed by the founding of more than ten other such journals. The phenomenon was seen across the three traditional Tibetan regions *(chol kha gsum)*. In addition, it was the first time that traditional and contemporary Tibetan literature, folk and authored literature, writings by Tibetans and writings by other nationalities, were published and could be read in a single venue.

The third type is made of private magazines. The earliest privately published magazine held by the Trace Foundation's Latse Library is from 1984, and since then about one hundred different titles have appeared. These magazines are not under the auspices of a government body. Eventually, the number increased, and government permission is now required for publication. With the founding of these magazines, the main distinguishing characteristic is that they in no way praise the Chinese Communist government nor its policy. Also, they are less steady in terms of the producers and their finances. While the total number of titles is great, these journals are limited in terms of the numbers of issues published and their frequency tends to be irregular; nor are they distributed widely. In the beginning, these magazines were launched by minority college students and in various locales in Amdo. However, with the spread of computers, private magazines are also starting to be produced by monasteries, in Ütsang and Kham.

Étude préliminaire sur la corporation d'aide mutuelle des imprimeurs de Lhasa *(par pa'i skyid sdug)*

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(Paris)

Introduction

Les études tibétaines ont peu abordé jusqu'à présent l'aspect matériel du livre (matériaux, procédés de fabrication, commercialisation), moins encore le sujet des artisans chargés de sa fabrication. Il existait à Lhasa, avant 1959, une structure professionnelle et sociale peu connue, le *par pa'i skyid sdug* (litt. « corporation d'entraide mutuelle des imprimeurs »). Le présent article en est une présentation initiale, préliminaire à une étude ultérieure approfondie, et est, à ce titre, plus descriptif qu'analytique. Les données en ont été recueillies lors de trois missions de terrain, en 2004, 2005 et 2008[1], en particulier auprès de cinq anciens membres de cette corporation : Bkra si (orthographe non confirmée), Dbang 'dus nyi ma (désormais WN), Bde dbang, Dpal 'byor nor bu (désormais PN), et Bkra shis tshe ring. Seuls les deux derniers étaient encore vivants en janvier 2008[2].

Skyid sdug est le fruit de la combinaison des monèmes « skyid », qui signifie « bonheur », « joie » et « sdug », qui signifie « malheur ». Le synthème « joies et peines », « bonheurs et malheurs », est courant en langue tibétaine[3]. Dans le contexte plus particulier de la société urbaine de Lhasa, et ailleurs, avant 1959, il désigne toutefois une « corporation d'entraide mutuelle », c'est-à-dire un groupement dont les membres entretiennent des liens de solidarité dans les bons comme dans les mauvais moments. Aucune traduction pour ce terme dans le contexte professionnel n'a été arrêtée : on pourrait parler d'« association »[4], de « corporation d'entraide », de « mutuelle d'en-

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[1] Avec l'aide de l'INALCO et du CNRS (UMR 8155) pour les missions de 2004 et 2005.

[2] Dpal 'byor nor bu a été arrêté le 30 octobre 2008 à Lhasa, pour des motifs apparemment politiques. Il était alors âgé de 81 ans et, en avril 2009, sa famille était sans nouvelles de lui.

[3] Ce synthème est attesté dans de nombreuses expressions et des proverbes, et il apparaît dans le titre d'un ouvrage de Rdo grub Bstan pa'i nyi ma (1875–1926), *Skyid sdug lam 'khyer* « Instructions sur la voie du bonheur et du malheur ». Trois autres textes d'instruction religieuse de type *skyid sdug lam 'khyer* figurent dans la base de données TBRC (W19193, W26562 et W395).

[4] Traduction proposée par G. Roerich & Phuntsok (1957 : 23).

traide », de « groupement professionnel d'entraide mutuelle » ou de « communauté d'arts et métiers »[5]. Bien qu'il soit tentant de le choisir pour traduire *skyid sdug*, le terme de « guilde » a été écarté car, associé aux groupements de commerçants et d'artisans de l'Europe médiévale, il implique une quête du profit qui est éloignée de la mission des *skyid sdug*.

Nous ignorons l'ancienneté du terme dans cette acception − la plupart des informateurs proposent l'époque du V[e] Dalaï-lama (1617–1682) comme point de départ des *skyid sdug* professionnels, comme nous le verrons plus loin, mais nous ne possédons pas de document l'attestant. Le composé n'apparaît pas dans le dictionnaire terminologique du IX[e] siècle, la *Mahāvyutpatti*, ni dans la base *Old Tibetan Documents Online*.

1. Qu'est-ce qu'un skyid sdug *?*

Les formes de sociabilité laïque dans la culture tibétaine, malgré l'intérêt qu'elles présentent pour notre compréhension globale du fonctionnement du monde tibétain avant 1959, ont été négligées par la recherche. B. Miller (1956) fut la première chercheuse à étudier les groupements professionnels ou amicaux (de type *skyid sdug* et *dga' nye*), suivie par V. Ronge (1978) qui restreignit le sens de *skyid sdug* à un rassemblement amical d'individus, en contraste avec le *bzo khang*, groupement professionnel *stricto sensu*. Cependant, le groupement professionnel d'imprimeurs étudié ici est toujours désigné comme un *skyid sdug*, à l'exclusion de *bzo khang*[6]. La question du *bzo khang* reste donc en suspens. Dans le cadre de la présente étude, nous avons dégagé trois types de *skyid sdug* : le *skyid sdug* en tant que groupement non professionnel, privé, librement formé et composé majoritairement de laïcs ; le *skyid sdug* comme groupement professionnel à appartenance obligatoire, supervisé par l'État tibétain ; le *skyid sdug* comme groupement monastique ou religieux.

a. Les skyid sdug *privés à composante laïque*

De telles corporations répondent à un besoin social dans un cadre socio-politique où l'État ne fournit traditionnellement pas d'aide sociale ou matérielle, une nécessité économique dans un système où les échanges ne sont pas marchands, et où les banques sont inconnues. En effet, dans les *skyid sdug* privés, constitués sur la base du volontariat et hors du cadre éta-

[5] C'est ainsi qu'étaient appelées les premières corporations en Europe, à l'époque médiévale. Cf. Kaplan (2001 : XII).

[6] Dans le cas des tailleurs toutefois, le *bzo khang* désignait l'ensemble des tailleurs de Lhasa (700 personnes), tandis que le *skyid sdug* ne réunissait que les 130 meilleurs tailleurs, tous au service du gouvernement (Namgyal Gyeten 1994).

tique ou gouvernemental, des familles ou des individus s'engagent à mettre en commun des moyens matériaux ou financiers dans les moments difficiles et à se retrouver dans les moments de liesse autour de repas ou lors de célébrations. Outre leur dimension économique, on peut émettre l'hypothèse que ces structures fondées sur l'association librement choisie permettent le déploiement d'une solidarité sélective, se démarquant des alliances imposées par la naissance.

Ainsi, par exemple, les membres du « *Skyid sdug* du dixième jour » *(tshes bcu'i skyid sdug)* finançaient à tour de rôle la fête religieuse consacrée à Padmasambhava, chaque dixième jour du mois tibétain, afin que les mérites soient multipliés par le faste des dons. L'été, un grand pique-nique était également organisé. Ce groupe aurait été fondé sous le règne du VIIe Dalaï-lama Skal bzang rgya mtsho (1708–1755). Par la suite, il inclut un système d'entraide mutuelle pour ses membres[7]. On peut également signaler le célèbre groupe politique « *Skyid sdug* pour la réforme du Tibet occidental » (*Nub bod legs bcos kyi skyid sdug*, traduit souvent par « Parti pour l'amélioration du Tibet »), fondé à Kalimpong (Inde) par des réformistes tibétains en 1939[8]. Sa courte existence ne permet pas de statuer sur son fonctionnement ou ses activités.

Les groupes d'entraide étaient attestés également en milieu rural, sous un nom différent : ainsi, dans la zone pastorale de Nag chu, l'écrivain et ethnographe Bstan pa yar rgyas a signalé l'existence des *thab* (litt. « foyer, four ») dont la mission est semblable à celle des *skyid sdug*[9]. D'autre part, avant 1959, il existait dans la vallée de Snye mo[10] un réseau de groupes d'entraide entre villageois, désignés par le terme de *bkra shis gsol tshang*, que l'on peut traduire par « [groupe des] commensaux de bon augure »[11]. Leur seule vocation était de garantir une aide mutuelle à ses membres en cas de difficulté, et non de festoyer ensemble ou de mettre des moyens en commun pour des fêtes religieuses. Ainsi, dans la vallée de Ri mtsho (Snye mo shang, Snye mo rdzong), on comptait une dizaine de *bkra shis gsol tshang* pour un peu plus

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[7] Ces détails sont fournis par Gsang bdag rdo rje (2004 : 217–218), qui mentionne également un livret intitulé « *Stswal ba'i skyid sdug lag deb* », dont nous ignorons le contenu.

[8] Voir Stoddard (1985) et Goldstein (1991 : 450 *sqq*). Les autres groupes politiques fondés dans les années 1930 et 1940 au Tibet ne portaient toutefois pas l'étiquette *skyid sdug* mais celles de « groupuscule » *(tshogs chung)*, « groupe » *(tshogs pa)*, « alliance » *(mna' mthun)* ou « [groupe de] liaison d'assermentés » *(mna' 'brel)*. Voir à ce sujet Goldstein, Sherap & Siebenschuh (2004 : 33–34, 50, 96, 129–130, 326).

[9] Bstan pa yar rgyas (s.d.).

[10] Située à l'ouest de Lhasa, qui appartient à la municipalité de Lhasa dans le découpage administratif actuel.

[11] Pour des détails, voir Gsang bdag rdo rje (2004 : 218–221).

d'une centaine de foyers au total. Chacun était dirigé par deux chefs (*dbu pa* ou *'go pa*) élus par ses membres et chargés d'organiser la chaîne de solidarité en cas de difficulté pour l'un des membres, catastrophe naturelle ou cérémonie funéraire[12]. L'appartenance à un réseau de *bkra shis gsol tshang* fonctionnait en quelque sorte comme une « assurance » contre la mauvaise réincarnation et les catastrophes naturelles.

Une fois intégré au système politique chinois, le Tibet n'a pu maintenir de tels groupements, l'État n'autorisant pas la libre réunion des citoyens[13]. Toutefois, certains ont été (re)créés en exil[14]. Ils sont souvent désignés génériquement par une reprise phonologique du terme tibétain *skyid sdug*, sous la forme de *kyiduk* ou *kyidug*, une indication de la difficulté à trouver une traduction définitive en anglais. Ainsi sont attestés le « *kyiduk* de Tsari de Suisse » *(Sud si Tsa ri skyid sdug)*[15], le « New York Mustang Kiduk », le « Sherpa Kyidug » (qui possède de nombreuses « filiales » dans divers pays)[16], le « Solukhumbu Sherpa Kyidug », le « Lithang Kyidug », le « Mangyul Kyidong Kyiduk », le « Yolmo Seta Kyiduk Tshokpa », le « Tsurphu Kyiduk », le « Dhomey Kyiduk », le « Hyolmo Ama Yangri Kyidug », le « Göshey Kyidug », le « Nyeshang Khangsar Kyiduk ». Ce sont des lieux de sociabilité où des personnes (ou leurs descendants) originaires d'une même zone du Tibet ou de l'Himalaya organisent des événements collectifs. La solidarité financière face à l'adversité constitue une de leurs missions fondamentales : Sonam Sherpa, membre de l'un d'eux, précise que « 'kyidug' signifie que nous sommes unis dans les bons comme dans les mauvais moments »[17]. Le principe de son *skyid sdug* est de « récolter l'argent [des membres] pour célébrer des fêtes et pour offrir une aide financière aux personnes dans le besoin »[18]. La vitalité des *skyid sdug* en exil ne s'explique pas par la seule dimension matérielle : le *skyid sdug* permet de rappeler, célébrer et consolider une identité fragilisée. Les termes de « confrérie », de « cercle » ou de « groupe d'entraide » peuvent être proposés pour rendre les différentes notions recou-

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[12] Les rituels complexes effectués à l'occasion d'un décès mobilisaient traditionnellement un budget important, pour influencer favorablement la renaissance du défunt en multipliant les offrandes.

[13] Il se peut toutefois que, en zone pastorale, les *thab* aient pu perdurer ou, du moins, se recréer à la faveur de la relative libéralisation enregistrée à partir du début des années 1980.

[14] On trouvera de nombreux exemples dans Miller 1956 en zone sud-himalayenne.

[15] Mentionné dans Huber (1999 : 248, note 49).

[16] Miller (1956 : 162) mentionne déjà l'existence d'un *skyid sdug* sherpa.

[17] « Everest's Conqueror, Remembered for His Heart as Well as His Courage », *New York Times* (21 janvier 2008), http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/21/nyregion/21sherpas.html, consulté le 20 février 2009.

[18] *ibid.*

vertes par ce type de *skyid sdug*. En revanche, le qualificatif « de bienfaisance »[19] qui a été proposé ne semble pas aussi pertinent, à moins de préciser que cette bienfaisance vise les membres du groupe lui-même.

b. Les skyid sdug *professionnels à affiliation obligatoire et liés à l'État*

Le second type de *skyid sdug* désigne le groupement professionnel à appartenance obligatoire, urbain et soumis à l'autorité de l'État tibétain *(Dga' ldan pho brang)*. Il peut être apparenté, sans lui être totalement équivalent, à une corporation ou confrérie professionnelle, une « communauté d'arts et de métiers », et était habituellement constitué d'artisans spécialisés. C'est à cette catégorie qu'on peut rattacher le *par pa'i skyid sdug*. La liste fournie ici de ces *skyid sdug* est forcément sommaire car peu de documents sont disponibles à leur sujet :

- tailleurs *('tshem bu'i skyid sdug)*. Nous possédons à son sujet l'article le plus complet[20]. Il comptait cent trente membres dans les années 1920[21].
- maçons et charpentiers *(rdo shing gi skyid sdug)*, qui comptait plusieurs centaines de membres[22].
- travailleurs sur cuir *(rngo bzo'i skyid sdug)*, une cinquantaine de membres, dont le dirigeant *(che mo ba)* fabriquait les bottes du dalaï-lama. Cette corporation était partagée en deux sous-groupes, celui des cordonniers et celui des fabricants d'accessoires en cuir pour les chevaux[23].
- orfèvres travaillant l'or *(gser bzo'i skyid sdug)*.
- orfèvres travaillant l'argent *(dngul bzo'i skyid sdug)*.
- fabricants d'encens *(spos bzo'i skyid sdug)*.
- peintres religieux *(lha bris skyid sdug)*, qui aurait été la corporation la plus prestigieuse[24].
- secrétaires et scribes *(e pa skyid sdug)* : elle regroupait les scribes chargés d'inscrire un numéro sur chaque billet de banque. Ils travaillaient avec les imprimeurs et étaient renommés pour leur virtuosité calligraphique[25].

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[19] Henrion-Dourcy (2004 : 216).

[20] Namgyal Gyeten (1994).

[21] *ibid.*

[22] Shakya (1999 : 204) en mentionne au moins cinq cents en 1959.

[23] Entretien avec Bsod nams dbang 'dus, Lhasa, janvier 2008.

[24] Namgyal Gyeten (1994).

[25] Schaeffer (2009 : 117) signale que Pho lha nas (1689–1747) « commença par réunir tous ceux des régions de É et de Nyemo qui étaient habiles en peinture pour commencer à illustrer son Kangyur… Il choisit parmi eux ceux qui étaient habiles en calligraphie… » (ma traduction). Le terme « e pa » signifie « ceux de E », une vallée du Lho kha. Selon une histoire transcrite dans *Texts of Tibetan Folktales*, les meilleurs scribes à l'époque de

- graveurs sur bois *(par brko'i skyid sdug)* : elle comptait entre cinquante (PN) et soixante-dix à quatre-vingts membres (WN) tous établis dans la vallée de Snye mo. Quatre d'entre eux détenaient un poste de responsabilité : deux contremaîtres (appelés *che mo ba*) et deux sous-contremaîtres *(dbu chung)*, nommés par le gouvernement tibétain et salariés directement par celui-ci.
- dameurs de sol (*shal bon* – orthographe incertaine – *skyid sdug*) : cette corporation regroupait les dameurs de sol *(ar ga rgyag mkhan)*[26].
- potiers : nous n'avons trouvé que deux mentions de cette corporation et ne pouvons fournir son nom tibétain[27].
- forgerons : comme ci-dessus, cette corporation n'est signalée que par Ma Lihua, qui ajoute que les forgerons et les orfèvres vivaient sur la ruelle de Tepengang, à l'est du Bar skor de Lhasa[28].
- les fabricants de coiffes de mariées[29].

Selon le témoignage que nous possédons au sujet de la corporation des tailleurs, une hiérarchie entre corporations était opérée : le maître-tailleur, appelé *na bza' chen mo*, occupait le plus haut rang. Il réalisait les vêtements du dalaï-lama. Puis venaient « les peintres, les charpentiers, les orfèvres d'or et d'argent, puis les travailleurs du cuivre, puis les forgerons »[30]. Ce type d'information requiert toutefois la prudence, puisque la personne qui le fournit était elle-même issue du rang des tailleurs et avait peut-être intérêt à placer sa confrérie au-dessus des autres. Qui plus est, elle omet un grand nombre de métiers.

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l'empereur Srong btsan sgam po (VIII^{e} s.) venaient de E et ses habitants furent par la suite soumis à un impôt en nature, sous forme de travaux de calligraphie pour le gouvernement tibétain (The Seminar of Tibet 1990).

[26] Information fournie par Sonam Wangdu, Lhasa, janvier 2008.

[27] La première mention est celle de Ciren Yangzong (2000) : « earthenware makers' social status was a bit better than that of blacksmiths and butchers because they were not completely separated from the land. However, earthenware makers were also considered to be a polluted group. People planning to hire an earthenware maker prepared separate utensils and other things for them to use and did not eat or drink together with them." (Ciren Yangzong, 2000, 325–328, cité dans Wang 2009 : 77). La seconde mention provient de Ma (2005) : « The pottery makers' guild was located in Barkor Street, while their workshops were mostly in Maizhokunggar [Mal gro gong/gung dkar – vallée à l'est de Lhasa]. Their wares were produced specially for the government, including the green glazed pottery made specially [sic] for the Daia [sic] Lama ».

[28] *ibid.* Par « Tepengang », Ma Lihua signifie peut-être le lieu désigné sous le nom de « Thepung Gang », sur des cartes de 1959 dessinés par J. Taring, et qui est situé à l'angle du temple Shar Rigs gsum lha khang, non loin de la grande mosquée de Lhasa. Voir Larsen & Sinding-Larsen (2001 : 30–31).

[29] Mentionné dans Miller (1956 : 163), sans plus de renseignement.

[30] Namgyal Gyeten (1994).

Citons également le *skyid sdug* des musiciens *(nang ma'i skyid sdug)*. Bien que professionnel, il n'était pas rattaché à l'État tibétain, ne lui rendait pas de comptes et ne lui devait pas de « corvée ». Il rassemblait simplement des musiciens de Lhasa, que la haute société pouvait inviter à domicile ou lors de pique-nique, et qui par ailleurs se réunissaient pour jouer. I. Henrion-Dourcy suggère de traduire dans ce cas *skyid sdug* par « compagnie » ou « society » en anglais[31]. Ce *skyid sdug* des musiciens aurait été fondé en 1688 par le régent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705)[32]. Cela crée une ambiguïté sur son statut, que nous ne résoudrons pas ici. La troupe d'opéra de Skyor mo lung *(Skyor mo lung lha mo'i tshogs pa)* constituait aussi une compagnie de ce type (Skyor mo lung est un village situé à l'ouest de Lhasa, dans la vallée de Stod lung bde chen). Inspiré peut-être par cette célèbre « compagnie », le chanteur exilé Techung a fondé une société de production musicale, appelée « *Skyid sdug* de la musique du Yar klungs » *(Yar klungs rol cha'i skyid sdug)*.

D'autre part, il existait aussi un groupe socialement défini et constitué, celui des mendiants et ramasseurs de cadavres abandonnés *(rags rgyab pa'i tshogs pa)* qui comptait soixante membres. Il reste à déterminer si ce groupement, fortement lié à un statut social en bas de l'échelle, peut être considéré comme professionnel ou non (il était héréditaire). D'autre part, une étude approfondie devrait permettre de savoir quels liens formels il entretenait avec le gouvernement tibétain ou la municipalité de Lhasa, puisqu'il effectuait un service « public », débarrassant la ville des cadavres abandonnés et les jetant dans la rivière Skyid chu[33]. PN a mentionné l'existence, à Rgyal rtse, d'une association des copistes et calligraphes du *Canon* bouddhique *(Bka' 'gyur drung yig tshogs pa)*. Nous ne possédons pas de renseignement à son sujet.

Les associations professionnelles de type *skyid sdug* de Lhasa disparurent en 1959, quand le dalaï-lama prit la route de l'exil et que le gouvernement tibétain fut dissous. En effet, elles étaient étroitement liées à celui-ci, comme nous allons le voir dans le cas de l'association d'entraide des imprimeurs.

c. Skyid sdug *monastiques*

Le *skyid sdug* monastique le mieux documenté est celui des *ldob ldob*[34]. C'était « une institution acceptée et enregistrée comme telle dans les registres

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[31] Henrion-Dourcy (2004 : 216–217).

[32] Sur ce *skyid sdug*, voir Zhol khang Bsod nams dar rgyas (1993) et Bsod chung (2004).

[33] Deux articles récents peuvent être signalés à leur sujet : Bde skyid sgrol ma (2006) et Rnam rgyal (2006).

[34] Il a été étudié par M. Goldstein (1964) et H. Richardson a recueilli le récit de vie de l'un d'eux (1986).

de leurs [les moines *ldob ldob*] *khamtsen* »[35]. Celui du monastère de Se ra comptait trente-six membres et il en existait également un au monastère de 'Bras spungs. Gsang bdag rdo rje évoque le « *skyid sdug* des commensaux de la conque et de la trompe » *(dung rgya gling gi lto tshang skyid sdug)* qui lui était lié : selon lui, il était constitué d'aspirants au statut de moine *ldob ldob*. Le passage par ce *skyid sdug* intermédiaire durait douze ans, durant lesquels les candidats s'entraînaient au jeu de conque et de trompe ainsi qu'à neuf activités sportives. Ce n'est qu'au bout de cette période qu'ils étaient considérés dignes d'intégrer le rang des redoutés *ldob ldob*[36]. L'autobiographie de l'un d'eux révèle effectivement que la maîtrise du jeu de trompe ainsi que l'entraînement sportif étaient des conditions nécessaires pour intégrer le *skyid sdug*[37].

En outre, le monastère de Se ra comptait quatre « *gling ka skyid sdug* »[38], qui mêlaient moines et laïcs. Les membres de ces « fraternités » se recrutaient en partie chez les *ldob ldob* (voir *supra*) qui participaient aux joutes sportives intra-monastiques *(mchong)*, et d'autre part chez les laïcs, hommes et femmes, qui mettaient à disposition de cette « fraternité » des tentes, du thé, des tapis, lors des compétitions sportives. En échange, les laïcs pouvaient attendre de leurs confrères religieux de *skyid sdug* une protection ou une aide ponctuelle, comme par exemple lors de la construction de maisons[39].

On trouve mention d'un *skyid sdug* monastique dans un court article publié en ligne par M.-S. Boussemart. Elle traduit ce terme par « affiliation » des moines dans leur monastère d'origine[40]. D'après elle, « dans le contexte d'un monastère, sitôt qu'un moine fait partie intégrante de la communauté, on utilise l'expression *skyid sdug bzhag*. [...] Ici, cela signifie juste que ce moine vit désormais en 'communauté de biens' avec les autres moines de ce monastère »[41]. Enfin, la base de données d'archives tibétaines de l'Université de Bonn contient également un document où le terme *skyid sdug* est mentionné : il semble faire référence à la réunion de plusieurs résidences monas-

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[35] Richardson (1986 : 49).

[36] Pour quelques détails sur ce *skyid sdug* en particulier, voir Gsang bdag rdo rje (2004 : 145).

[37] Le but visé n'était pas tant la maîtrise de l'instrument que celle du souffle et le développement de la force physique : en effet, « c'était un travail pénible et qui impliquait beaucoup d'entraînement ». Voir Richardson (1986 : 47–48).

[38] Se ra smad et Se ra byes en comptaient chacun deux, l'un pour les jeunes gens et l'autre pour les moines plus âgés.

[39] Goldstein (1964 : 130).

[40] http://anecdotesbouddhistes.blogspot.com/2007/10/le-collge-tantrique-de-gyudmed.html.

[41] Marie-Stella Boussemart, courriel personnel daté du 25 février 2009.

tiques *(khams tshan)* des trois grands monastères de Lhasa, à l'époque du V[e] Dalaï-lama[42].

Nous ignorons si les *skyid sdug* de moines perdurent au Tibet à l'époque contemporaine. Toutefois, on a trouvé mention en exil du *Dha sa tre hor skyid sdug*, qui regroupe des moines appartenant à la résidence monastique *(khams tshan)* de Tre hor, du monastère de Se ra. Ses membres sont majoritairement originaires de la région du Khams.

2. La mutuelle d'entraide des imprimeurs (par pa'i skyid sdug)

La mutuelle d'entraide des imprimeurs comptait entre soixante et soixante-dix membres. Cela faisait d'elle un *skyid sdug* de taille moyenne. Les femmes en étaient exclues. On ne peut pas en conclure ni affirmer que les femmes étaient systématiquement tenues à l'écart de tous les groupements professionnels : le groupe constitué des mendiants et ramasseurs de cadavres à Lhasa (cf. *supra*) comptait trente hommes et trente femmes. Celles-ci occupaient toutefois une position hiérarchique inférieure par rapport à leurs homologues masculins. Le *gling ka skyid sdug* des *ldob ldob* (cf. *supra*) pouvait accueillir des femmes. De plus, il a peut-être existé des *skyid sdug* de religieuses.

Dans la mutuelle des imprimeurs, selon deux informateurs, les femmes avaient été admises au départ, mais elles en furent exclues par la suite parce que leur poitrine ralentissait leur rythme de travail, donc leur productivité. Selon un autre interlocuteur, les femmes furent exclues de la mutuelle sous le règne du XIII[e] Dalaï-lama (PN 2008). Mais d'autres informateurs se contentèrent d'affirmer simplement qu'une page xylographiée par une femme étant désacralisée, on ne pouvait pas envisager qu'une femme pût exercer le métier d'imprimeur. Toutefois, comme souvent, la mise en application de cette règle connaissait des exceptions : les épouses des imprimeurs étaient autorisées à imprimer des drapeaux de prières (cf. *infra*)[43]. Et, depuis 1980, au moins trois femmes coordonnent l'impression de livres sacrés. Tshe ring bde skyid, fille du célèbre imprimeur Dpal ldan (lui-même fils d'un imprimeur célèbre appelé A zhang Tshe dbang rab brtan) et Skal bzang sgrol ma, fille de Bkra si, sont chacune à la tête d'une petite structure d'imprimerie xylographique artisanale de Lhasa, l'une à Klu phug (quartier du sud-ouest du Barkhor), l'autre à 'Jam dbyangs shar (ensemble de ruelles situées à

[42] http://www.dtab.uni-bonn.de/tibdoc/php/m_show.php?dokid=1637. L'objet du document est ainsi décrit : « *grva-sa gsum gyi rta-'on khams-tshan rnams skyid-sdug gcig-gshis grva-rgyun yong-rigs rnams grva-sa gang du 'gro bar 'then-khyer byed-srol med pa rgyal-dbang lnga-pa'i sku-dus cha-bzhag tham-ka sbyin-pa'i yi-ge* ».

[43] Aziz (1976 : 166) décrit en détail l'impression d'un drapeau à prières par plusieurs nonnes.

l'angle nord-ouest de la place du Jo khang). Une nièce de Dpal 'byor nor bu (PN), surnommée Imi (orthographe inconnue), imprime par xylogravure des mantras sur de fines et étroites bandes de papier destinées à être insérées dans les moulins à prières. Enfin, j'ai vu des religieuses du couvent A ne Mtshams khung (Bar skor sud, Lha sa) imprimer collectivement des pages de livres religieux de format traditionnel en 1997, lors de mon passage.

La plupart des imprimeurs venait de la vallée de Phug gsum (Phu gsum shang), dans la vallée de Snye mo, renommée pour son excellence artisanale et où se recrutaient aussi les membres de la mutuelle des graveurs et des fabricants d'encens. Toutefois, la corporation des imprimeurs, dans les années cinquante, incluait trois imprimeurs originaires de la vallée de Lhasa : Cog Bsod nams dar rgyas, Cog Don grub, et Cog Tshe ring (PN)[44].

Les imprimeurs rencontrés s'accordent à attribuer la fondation de leur *skyid sdug* au V^e^ Dalaï-lama, qui est traditionnellement crédité de nombreuses innovations et réformes, notamment la formation d'autres *skyid sdug*[45]. L'autobiographie du V^e^ Dalaï-lama est toutefois muette à ce sujet[46]. Il est possible que la corporation, fondée à une date qui demeure encore imprécise, ait trouvé ses règles de fonctionnement lors du démarrage de l'impression du *Bka' 'gyur* dans sa version dite « de Zhol », donc en 1926 (cf. *infra*).

3. Recrutement

N'intégrait pas qui le voulait le *skyid sdug* : il était apparemment pourvu d'un *numerus clausus*, et l'appartenance à un tel groupement était recherchée. En effet, outre le prestige qu'il y avait à travailler pour le gouvernement tibétain, la sécurité matérielle que l'appartenance offrait à ses membres les dégageait des aléas d'une vie rurale ou urbaine précaire sans garantie de revenu régulier.

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[44] Le terme d'adresse *Cog* (« grand frère ») précède souvent le nom d'un membre de la mutuelle.

[45] Ainsi, Norbu Wangdan (2000) indique que, à l'époque du V^e^ Dalaï-lama, « five handicraft associations were established in Tibet. They were the associations of mud, wood and stone; the association of metals; the association of shoes; the association of sewing and the association of painting and sculpting. These associations were under Tibetan government management, which appointed the head of each association and regulated all recruitment processes; each association reported all selected recruits to the government for approval. One of the major functions of the associations was to provide labor service to government and monasteries for their various needs, such as the building and maintenance of buildings, and the fabrication of uniforms and regalia for officials, lamas, monks and others » (cité par Wang 2009 : 76–77).

[46] Je remercie Samten Karmay (CNRS) pour cette information.

Les apprentis n'étaient généralement pas recrutés pour leur potentiel ou un talent particulier. En effet, aucune aptitude artistique ou intellectuelle n'était requise. Souvent, un membre de la famille qui appartenait déjà au *skyid sdug*, ou une relation commune, présentait un jeune garçon à un imprimeur avancé. Ainsi, un père pouvait former son fils, un grand frère son cadet, un oncle son neveu. Parmi les anciens que nous avons interviewés, l'un d'eux était un fils de paysans qui avait pu intégrer la corporation en étant formé par son frère aîné (WN), et l'autre était le fils d'un peintre de *thang ka*, également formé par son frère qui était lui-même imprimeur (Bkra si). Bkra shis tshe ring était le fils de Bstan 'dzin dbang rgyal, contremaître dans cette même confrérie des imprimeurs. Nous n'avons pas rencontré ni entendu parler d'imprimeur qui serait entré dans la mutuelle par intérêt pour les livres ou pour la chose écrite. Au contraire, comme c'était le cas pour les graveurs sur bois et les tailleurs, les jeunes garçons recrutés étaient souvent illettrés.

4. Organisation, hiérarchie interne et ascension sociale

Dans les corporations françaises, les novices s'appelaient des « apprentis ». Avec le temps et l'expérience ils devenaient des « compagnons », puis des « maîtres ». Nous proposons de conserver ici cette terminologie.

La corporation des imprimeurs était dirigée par un « maître » *(che mo ba)*, également appelé « chef imprimeur » *(par pa spyi pa)*. En 1959, Tshe don grub (T, WN) occupait cette fonction et vivait dans le quartier de « Shasakhang » (orthographe inconnue, peut-être Sha gsar ?[47]) d'où son surnom de « Père [du quartier] de Shasakhang » *(*Sha gsar khang gi pha lags)*. L'année de la dissolution des *skyid sdug* (1959), il était âgé de plus de soixante-dix ans (PN). Le maître était nommé à vie par les autres imprimeurs. Ses responsabilités étaient multiples :

1. dresser la liste des ouvrages à imprimer,
2. acheter les matériaux d'impression nécessaires,
3. financer les dépenses liées au pique-nique annuel des imprimeurs (voir *infra*),
4. dresser un bilan mensuel individuel des ouvrages imprimés pour verser à chaque imprimeur son salaire,
5. décider des punitions en cas de manquement aux règles de discipline et les faire appliquer.

[47] Une rue du nom de « Shasar Zurlam » (ruelle de Shasar) est attestée dans le quartier du temple de Ra mo che. Elle serait très ancienne et aurait effectué au moins en partie la jonction entre le temple du Jo khang et le Ra mo che – voir Larsen & Sinding-Larsen (2001 : 91).

Comme il fallait tenir les comptes, dresser des bilans, avancer les fonds nécessaires à l'impression, qui n'étaient remboursés que plus tard, ce poste n'était ouvert qu'à des personnes dotées d'un capital d'éducation et d'un capital financier conséquents.

Le maître était assisté par un maître associé ou contremaître (deuxième chef imprimeur : *par pa spyi pa gnyis pa*), qui changeait tous les deux ou trois ans (Bkra si) ou tous les deux ans (WN). Ce maître associé était choisi, comme le maître, par les autres imprimeurs (Bkra shis tshe ring). En 1959, le détenteur de ce titre s'appelait Padma don grub. Dans la mutuelle des tailleurs, et dans d'autres corporations, le poste correspondant s'appelait *dbu chung*.

Ces deux dirigeants étaient en rapport avec trois administrations du gouvernement tibétain : le Bureau des documents religieux *(yig tshang las khungs)*, le Bureau des finances (*rtse phyag las khungs*, également appelé *'phral bde las khungs*) et l'organisme chargé de l'organisation de la fête de la Grande Prière *(bla phyag las khungs)*. L'interlocuteur principal des imprimeurs pour leur principale tâche, l'impression du *Bka' 'gyur* de Zhol (voir *infra*), était un moine du monastère *Rnam rgyal grwa tshang* (monastère au service privé du dalaï-lama), et portait le titre de « Kungo Chosur » (orthographe non établie : Sku ngo mchod zur ?). Il occupait ce poste pendant cinq ans. Nous n'avons pas trouvé trace d'un bureau spécialisé dans la gestion de l'imprimerie à Lhasa. Toutefois, à Gzhis ka rtse, un « chef d'imprimerie » *(par dpon)* supervisait une vingtaine d'ouvriers imprimeurs. Ensemble, ils géraient les planches xylographiques détenues à la grande imprimerie du monastère de *Bkra shis lhun po'i par khang chen mo* et de Snar thang (centre d'imprimerie situé à 15 km à l'ouest de Gzhis ka rtse), ainsi que leur impression. Cette fonction de *par dpon* avait été instituée sous le Ve Panchen-lama Blo bzang ye shes (1663–1737)[48].

La hiérarchie de la corporation plaçait, après les deux principaux dirigeants, un « aîné senior » *(rgan po)*, un « vieil aîné » *(rgan pa)* et un « jeune aîné » *(gzhon pa)*. Ils transmettaient les messages *(lan rgyag mkhan)* entre le gouvernement *(srid gzhung)*, le maître et son associé (T, PN). Ces deux hommes étaient nommés pour un an, à tour de rôle, selon leur ordre d'entrée dans le *skyid sdug* (premier arrivé dans la mutuelle, premier nommé). Ils devaient posséder un minimum d'éducation[49]. Le maître, le contre-

[48] Bod rang skyong ljongs srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha u yon lhan khang (1991 : 125).

[49] Le père de Bsod nams dbang 'dus (cf. *supra*) était devenu secrétaire *(drung yig)* de la corporation des cordonniers parce que, issu d'une famille aisée, il avait été scolarisé dans l'enfance et avait pu exercer comme trésorier *(phyag mdzod)* au monastère de Se ra avant de se défroquer (Lhasa, janvier 2008).

maître, l'aîné « senior » et l'aîné « junior » formaient le « groupe des quatre aînés » *(rgan spyi bzhi)*.

PN a mentionné également l'existence de quatre *gzigs pa'i rgyag mkhan* (orthographe incertaine), mais leur rôle et leur statut ne sont pas clairs. Lui-même avait occupé la fonction de *gzigs pa'i rgyag mkhan* à vingt-huit ans. En 1959, un autre jeune imprimeur *gzigs pa'i rgyag mkhan* était appelé Bkras thob. Tous deux étaient les *gzigs pa'i rgyag mkhan* juniors. Les deux seniors étaient Cog Bsod nams dbang 'dus (58 ans) et Cog Skal bzang tshe ring (30 ans). Nous n'avons pas réussi à déterminer à quoi correspondait cette fonction, quelles tâches incombaient à ceux qui portaient ce titre, ni quels étaient leurs privilèges.

Les dix plus jeunes membres de la mutuelle, appelés « apprentis » *(gzhon gras)*, étaient au service du *skyid sdug* et des aînés : ils devaient veiller au feu, faire bouillir le thé et le servir aux aînés pendant les sessions de travail collectif. Ils répartissaient également l'encre et les feuilles de papier. Ils restaient en poste pendant deux ou trois ans (WN), ou trois ans (PN) et avaient à leur tête un « chef apprenti » *('go dpon)*, nommé pour un an (WN). Un apprenti pouvait avoir entre douze et dix-huit ans (WN). On peut supposer que cette fourchette était assez souple, en fonction de l'âge d'entrée du jeune dans le *skyid sdug*, de la montée en grade des autres apprentis, et du talent de l'apprenti. Le passage par le grade d'apprenti était obligatoire pour tous. Il restait donc cinquante à soixante autres imprimeurs du *skyid sdug*, ni contremaîtres, ni apprentis, que l'on peut comparer à des « compagnons », selon la terminologie des corporations françaises.

5. L'impression

a. Travail obligatoire pour l'État (gzhung las)

* Impression du *Bka' 'gyur* de Zhol et d'autres ouvrages religieux

C'était la tâche principale des imprimeurs du *skyid sdug*. Nous avons obtenu des informations assez diverses concernant le nombre de *Bka' 'gyur* complets qui devaient être livrés annuellement : de 50–60 par saison (T) à 125 (WN). Au retour des beaux jours, tous les imprimeurs étaient réquisitionnés pour se rendre à la grande imprimerie *Zhol par khang chen mo*, construite en 1926[50]. Cette période de mobilisation commençait en général au deuxième mois tibétain, et le travail pouvait durer de trois à six mois (WN). Cette four-

[50] On trouvera une description de ce bâtiment dans Larsen & Sinding-Larsen (2001 : 108–109). La biographie courte du XIII[e] Dalaï-lama (1875–1933) ne mentionne que brièvement l'organisation destinée à l'impression nouvelle du *Canon* tibétain, sans mention des imprimeurs. Voir Bod rang skyong ljongs srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha u yon lhan khang (1989 : 274)

chette (du simple au double) dans la période de travail peut contribuer à expliquer la différence qu'on trouve également dans le nombre total de collections du *Bka' 'gyur* imprimées. Nous n'avons pu recueillir de renseignements qu'auprès d'informateurs qui avaient intégré tardivement la corporation (milieu à fin des années 1950), c'est-à-dire à une époque où la vie traditionnelle et, surtout, le fonctionnement habituel du gouvernement tibétain étaient déjà perturbés. Ces ensembles de textes étaient ensuite destinés aux monastères tibétains. Or, la vie religieuse avait été bouleversée dès le milieu des années 1950 dans tout le Tibet de l'est et du nord, ce qui pourrait expliquer la variation du nombre d'exemplaires à imprimer. Le chiffre de 125 ayant été cité par le plus ancien des imprimeurs, il peut correspondre à un nombre qui n'avait plus cours dans les dernières années du fonctionnement de la corporation.

Les imprimeurs pouvaient aussi être envoyés, sur ordre du gouvernement tibétain, pour procéder à des séries d'impression sur des planches xylographiques entreposées hors de Lhasa dans les monastères environnants. Les imprimeurs étaient alors munis d'un laissez-passer *(lam yig)* qui leur permettait d'atteindre leur destination en se faisant éventuellement aider en route.

* Impression des grands drapeaux à prières de la ville de Lhasa

Sept ou huit imprimeurs étaient également réquisitionnés pour imprimer les principaux drapeaux de prières *(dbu cog)* de Lhasa et des grands temples de la ville : Nor bu gling ka, Gtsug lag khang, Po ta la, Bum pa ri et Smin drug rdza ri à Grib (face à Lhasa, sur la rive opposée de la rivière Skyid chu). Selon la coutume tibétaine, les drapeaux devaient en effet être remplacés à chaque nouvel an. Quelques jours chaque hiver, on en imprimait donc sur une longueur de quatre à cinq *tho po* de tissu (un *tho po* mesurant environ 100 mètres) fourni par le gouvernement tibétain et qui venait d'Inde. Le dalaï-lama les bénissait en y apposant son sceau *(tham rdzas gnang)*, au Potala. On observe des traces de cette coutume de nos jours encore, puisque les drapeaux à prières qui sont vendus au marché de Lhasa, avant le nouvel an, sont imprimés par des imprimeurs (ou des membres de leur famille). Cela leur fournit un complément de revenu à une saison où l'impression du *Bka' 'gyur* et du *Bstan 'gyur*, dans le temple de Rme ru gsar pa[51] est ralentie, voire arrêtée.

[51] Dans ce temple que borde la rue de Pékin, l'impression xylographique du *Bka' 'gyur* a repris depuis 1985, à partir de nouvelles planches gravées par les graveurs de la vallée de Snye mo. Lors de mon passage en 2004, la moitié des planches du *Bstan 'gyur* avait été gravée.

* Impression de billets de banque tibétains *(bod kyi lor)* à la Monnaie de Grwa bzhi *(Grwa bzhi dngul khang)*

Tous les ans, le maître-imprimeur nommait les trois compagnons qui, pendant deux ou trois mois, allaient imprimer les billets de banque. Deux compagnons imprimaient, un troisième se chargeait du transport des planches de xylogravure et de la fourniture du papier. Tous travaillaient sous le contrôle du Trésor. Chaque billet imprimé était ensuite présenté au scribe *(e pa)* qui y inscrivait un numéro unique[52] puis le rendait à l'imprimeur. De nombreux billets furent imprimés à partir de planches à billets métalliques introduites en 1926, mais « on peut supposer qu'on continua à imprimer [les billets de 5, 10, 15, 25 et 50 Tam bleus] à partir de planches xylographiées et à la main, puisque les billets qui ont survécu dans ces séries ne montrent pas de signe de changement dans la technique d'imprimerie »[53].

Le *par pa'i skyid sdug* semble aussi avoir été chargé de l'impression, sur commande, de prières ou de formules de secours. Bkra si a mentionné lors d'un entretien l'impression de ces formules de secours sur papier *(sku srung)*[54]. Cela est corroboré par la biographie d'un fonctionnaire d'État qui précise que, à la mort de son père, « une prière ... fut imprimée sur des petits morceaux de papier par le bureau d'impression du gouvernement de Lhasa. Ces prières furent conservées dans des boîtes à amulettes, les milliers restants étant distribués au gré du vent sur un col de montagne au-dessus de Shigatse, par ma mère »[55].

b. Activités facultatives

Les imprimeurs professionnels étaient recrutés par certains monastères de la vallée de Lhasa qui possédaient des planches xylographiques. En effet, il semble que les grands monastères de la vallée de Lhasa n'imprimaient pas leurs propres livres[56]. Les imprimeurs étaient alors payés à la pièce. Les lieux et ouvrages cités par les imprimeurs rencontrés incluent le monastère de Mtshur phu qui détenait le *Rin chen gter mdzod* en treize volumes ; Se ra

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[52] « Toutes les tentatives de fabriquer de faux billets tibétains furent contrecarrées par l'impossibilité pour les faux-monnayeurs d'imiter la calligraphie des numéros de série écrits à la main sur les billets » Bertsch (2002 : 96), citant H. Harrer dans *Sept ans au Tibet*, dans son édition allemande, Vienne, 1952, p. 174.

[53] Bertsch (1997 : 6).

[54] Interview, Lhasa, 2005.

[55] Carnahan (1995 : 71).

[56] Certains livres étaient interdits d'impression sans permission expresse du gouvernement : les œuvres complètes du V^e^ Dalaï-lama (PN), et celles de Tshe mchog gling Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan (1713–1793), selon Bkra si.

smad ; Se ra byes ; ’Bras spungs (collèges de Blo gsal gling, Sgo mang ; *khams tshan* de Sog po ; Sbyor spyod – peut-être un *khams tshan*, et dont l’orthographe est incertaine) ; le temple de Zhi khro (situé dans la rue du Ra mo che) ; Rdo rje brag (monastère siège de la lignée dite du Byang gter, situé sur la rive nord du Gtsang po, à l’ouest de Bsam yas) pour les œuvres complètes de Rig ’dzin Rgod ldem (1337–1409) ; Smin grol gling (monastère *rnying ma pa* fondé en 1676, qui se trouve à 43 kilomètres à l’est de Lhasa) ; le monastère de Tashilhunpo où PN se rendit plusieurs fois. Dans ces cas-là, les imprimeurs partaient en groupe de deux ou trois, à pied ou à cheval, après avoir acheté du papier à Lhasa. PN se rendit ainsi à dix reprises au monastère de Snar thang pour y coordonner et contrôler l’impression des dix ensembles complets du *Bstan ’gyur* que, au titre de l’impôt, ce monastère devait remettre annuellement au gouvernement tibétain. Un Japonais, de passage au début du XX^e siècle, décrit effectivement les trois cents moines du monastère occupés à les imprimer[57]. PN se souvenait que l’un des dix exemplaires devait être remis à un lama de l’A mdo, lui-même un étudiant du V^e ’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1915–1946). On sait que ce dernier était bibliophile[58] et avait manifesté son intérêt pour l’acquisition de ce volumineux ensemble de textes (225 volumes).

Les imprimeurs étaient aussi appelés dans les familles nobles de Lhasa qui détenaient des planches xylographiques d’œuvres religieuses ou littéraires célèbres. Les imprimeurs convoqués arrivaient au domicile du commanditaire munis de l’équipement nécessaire (encre, papier et brosse) et recevaient en échange de leur travail un salaire d’imprimerie *(par gla)*[59].

Ils mettaient également leur savoir faire au service d’entrepreneurs privés qui possédaient des entrepôts de planches xylographiques ou qui envoyaient des équipes d’imprimeurs dans les monastères. Nous en avons identifié six à ce jour. Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1897–1957 ?) travaillait avec un secrétaire, deux ou trois graveurs et quatre imprimeurs[60]. Un autre, Bstan pa, possédait une vaste imprimerie de seize piliers, au village de Zhol (Lhasa). Bsod nams dpal ldan avait trois à quatre jeunes apprentis sous ses ordres (dont WN), qu’il envoyait au gré des commandes, à Mtshur phu ou dans les trois sièges monastiques (’Bras spungs, Se ra, Dga’ ldan). Les autres imprimeurs dont nous ne possédons que le nom sont Padma don grub qui vivait à Shar lho (non identifié[61]) et venait de Lha klu (quartier du nord-ouest de Lhasa, der-

[57] Kawaguchi (1995 : 248).

[58] Stoddard (1985 : 140).

[59] Pour un exemple d’imprimerie commerciale, voir Robin (2005 : 6).

[60] Voir à son sujet Robin (2005).

[61] Est-ce le Shaglho indiqué dans Larsen & Sinding-Larsen (2001 : 123, réf. 99) ?

rière le Po ta la) ; Tshe brtan du quartier de Bstan rgyas gling à Lhasa ; et Tshe ring chos 'phel. Tous étaient originaires de Snye mo et fournissaient du travail aux imprimeurs du *skyid sdug*.

Enfin, les imprimeurs et leurs femmes pouvaient vendre à Lhasa des livres qu'ils avaient imprimés (moyennant un *par gla*) de leur propre chef. En l'absence de librairie, trois endroits étaient consacrés à la vente de livres dans le Bar skor : près du Jo bo dbu skra (centre du Barkhor) ; près de la résidence appelée Bla brang rnying pa (à l'angle sud-est du cœur du Bar skor)[62] ; et dans le quartier de Klu phug (sud-ouest du Bar skor), près de la résidence de la famille Rdo ring.

6. Revenus

Les imprimeurs recevaient pour le *Bka' 'gyur* 2 à 3 *srang* par journée de travail. L'impression des drapeaux à prières annuels était rémunérée vingt-cinq *khal* de *tsampa* pour cinq personnes, ainsi que 7 *srang* par jour et par personne. Ce salaire était relativement élevé, les serviteurs *(mi ser)* recevant avant 1959 dix-huit *khal* de *tsampa* par an et par personne[63]. Pour la supervision de l'impression d'un ensemble du *Bstan 'gyur*, PN reçut une somme de 60 *gro tse*.

Quand les imprimeurs se mettaient au service de maisons nobles ou d'imprimeurs privés, le salaire perçu était à peu près identique à celui reçu pour le *Bka' 'gyur* (PN). De plus, ils étaient nourris par la maison ou la collectivité qui les employait.

7. Droits et devoirs individuels et collectifs

Le règlement interne de la corporation était consigné dans un règlement interne *(bca' yig)* qui disparut en 1959 et qui, d'après les imprimeurs interrogés, remontait à l'époque du V^e^ Dalaï-lama. Ce règlement interne mesurait deux *'dom* de long (PN), soit plus de deux mètres. Il n'était pas lu tous les ans mais à l'occasion d'une dispute, d'un conflit ou d'un manquement à la discipline. L'imprimeur le plus éduqué et le plus âgé était chargé de sa lecture. Les imprimeurs adultes devaient s'agenouiller, tandis que les plus âgés

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[62] Mon informateur a précisé « devant Sambokhang », ce qui pourrait désigner la résidence de la famille Samdrup Phobrang (Bsam grub pho brang), qui se trouvait à une vingtaine de mètres à l'ouest de la résidence appelée Bla brang rnying pa.

[63] Goldstein (2009 : 62). Le *khal* (« boisseau ») pouvait varier selon le lieu et l'époque, mais le gouvernement tibétain avait établi un *khal* standard, nommé « *'bo* », pesant entre 12,2 et 14,9 kilos d'orge (Ryavec 2001 : 355). Notre informateur a précisé que le *khal* dont il parlait était un « *'bo* ». Voir l'article de R. Chaix dans ce volume pour de plus amples informations sur le *khal*.

se tenaient debout et écoutaient en silence. Les apprentis, eux, s'asseyaient jambes croisées ou restaient debout. Voici quelques-unes des règles de conduite interne qui nous ont été signalées :

- obligation de l'emploi du langage honorifique envers les aînés,
- interdiction pour les « jeunes » (sans précision d'âge) de regarder leurs aînés au-dessus de la taille,
- interdiction d'alcool sur les lieux de travail,
- interdiction des jeux d'argent, même en-dehors du lieu de travail,
- interdiction du sectarisme religieux : on ne pouvait pas s'opposer à imprimer des textes bouddhiques d'une obédience particulière,
- punition pour les erreurs commises lors de l'impression.

Les personnes jugées coupables des trois dernières offenses recevaient dix-huit coups de badine *(o ma)*, ou bien devaient acquitter une amende d'un « *tram ka* blanc » *(tram ka dkar po)*, qui devait être apporté sur une table, enveloppé d'une écharpe de cérémonie *(kha btags)*.

En contrepartie, l'appartenance au *skyid sdug* garantissait à chacun un soutien en cas de difficulté : les frais médicaux étaient pris en charge si besoin était, le maître de la corporation envoyait quelqu'un pour veiller sur un imprimeur malade et le nourrir. Il était également chargé de l'organisation des funérailles et de leur coût. On trouve mention de cette solidarité lors du décès dans le cas du *skyid sdug* des moines guerriers : « Si un membre mourait, une partie de ses biens allait au *skyid sdug*, une autre servait à rémunérer les hommes qui découpait son cadavre, et le reste allait à son collège [monastique] ». Dans le cas des imprimeurs, ceux-ci étant mariés, on peut penser que ses biens revenaient à sa famille, mais cela doit encore être vérifié.

8. Lieu d'activité

Le maître imprimeur avait à sa disposition une pièce de six piliers dans le temple de 'Jigs byed lha khang (quartier de Bstan rgyas gling, à Lhasa), où étaient entreposés bouilloires, théières, poêle, tentes et tapis pour les pique-niques. En revanche, on n'y trouvait ni encre, ni papier. Le maître et un des aînés possédaient chacun une clé de la porte, et leur présence simultanée était indispensable pour déverrouiller le cadenas. De plus, on y conservait une statue du Bouddha placée dans une boîte et le règlement interne de la corporation. L'aîné était chargé d'apporter cette boîte pour les réunions disciplinaires, et le maître imprimeur lui indiquait où la placer.

Les compagnons et apprentis, comme presque tout le petit peuple de Lhasa, n'étaient pas propriétaires de leur logement, mais louaient quelques pièces où chacun vivait en famille. Il n'y avait pas de quartier des imprimeurs à proprement parler.

9. Fêtes et rituels

À mesure que la température baissait, l'impression devenait plus délicate, car l'encre gelait. L'activité ralentissait, et c'était le moment où les imprimeurs, à l'instar des autres corporations et de beaucoup d'autres entités sociales ou familiales, tenaient un pique-nique annuel. Il se déroulait du 15ème au 23ème jour du huitième mois, au parc du Gtor rgyag gling ka, où l'hôpital de médecine tibétaine se dresse aujourd'hui[64]. Ce parc était le reste du temps ouvert au public. Ils apportaient aussi un grand bol en bois, en signe de bon augure. En cas d'oubli, ils devaient acquitter une amende.

Le premier jour était appelé le « pique-nique des maîtres et des aînés » *(rgan spyi bzhi'i gling ka)*. Les quatre dirigeants de la corporation seuls enlevaient leur chapeau et dégageaient un bras de leur manteau. Ensuite, quatre moines du temple de Zhi khro présidaient à une cérémonie d'offrande et récitaient le *Klong chen snying thig*, parfois accompagnés des imprimeurs. Les quatre moines devaient réciter la prière parfaitement, car elle était imprimée par les imprimeurs du *skyid sdug* qui la connaissaient bien. L'objectif visé par cette récitation était l'épanouissement des enseignements du Bouddha au Tibet.

Les troisième et quatrième jours, des représentants du gouvernement pouvaient rendre visite aux imprimeurs, ainsi que des membres de familles nobles qui avaient eu recours à leurs services. Les jours suivants, les imprimeurs et leur famille jouaient aux dés, au mah-jong, et chantaient.

Conclusion

On a coutume de considérer que l'État tibétain *(Dga' ldan pho brang)* était doté d'une administration réduite au minimum, avec à peine quelques centaines de fonctionnaires laïcs et religieux à son service direct. Nous venons de voir que ce n'est qu'en partie exact, du moins en milieu urbain : la production de livres était encadrée par l'État, et il en était de même pour les autres activités artisanales[65]. Outre une volonté possible de veiller au maintien d'un standard minimal de qualité, l'aspect économique de ce contrôle doit aussi être pris en compte : au travers des *skyid sdug*, le gouvernement

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[64] Toutefois, PN a également mentionné le Phyag mdzod gling ka (PN 2008) et le Rgya bu'i gling ka (PN 2005). Ces deux parcs se trouvent côte à côte, au bord de la rivière de Lhasa, direction sud du Jo khang. Le pique-nique du Bureau des artisans religieux du gouvernement tibétain *('Dod dpal las khungs)* se tenait à la même période. Voir Bkra shis tshe ring (1991 : 229).

[65] Cela est clairement spécifié pour les membres du Bureau des artisans religieux (Bkra shis tshe ring 1991). Nous ignorons quel était le statut des artisans chinois et néwars résidant à Lhasa.

imposait de manière indirecte les artisans et ouvriers qui en étaient membres[66]. On pourrait donc parler de substitut à la corvée que devaient acquitter tous les ruraux.

En échange de cette imposition, les membres des corporations participaient indirectement à l'État : en effet, les maîtres siégeaient en séance plénière et exceptionnelle à l'Assemblée nationale[67], organe consultatif convoqué en cas de crise pour débattre des décisions prises par le Conseil des Ministres *(Bka' shag)*. Ces laïcs ne pesaient certes pas d'un grand poids face aux prestigieux abbés des monastères de la vallée de Lhasa qui composaient aussi cette Assemblée, mais ils étaient présents lors des discussions cruciales et participaient donc ainsi aux débats nationaux[68].

Les vieux imprimeurs que nous avons rencontrés ne vivaient pas cette intrication de l'État et de l'imprimerie comme une entrave à leur liberté. Au contraire, ils se plaisaient à souligner le caractère idéal et ordonné de cet état des choses. La nostalgie d'un passé magnifié peut expliquer cette attitude, mais elle ne suffit pas. En effet, comme R. French l'a proposé, la société tibétaine sous les dalaï-lama pouvait s'apparenter à un mandala de cercles successifs d'autorités aboutissant au Potala, siège d'Avalokiteśvara[69]. Les corporations professionnelles (« *kyiduk dang tsokpa* », écrit-elle) occupaient le quatrième niveau de ce mandala politico-religieux, après la personne, la maisonnée et la communauté, et avant les villes et le gouvernement[70]. Ainsi, les imprimeurs, et les membres des *skyid sdug* professionnels en général, participaient à la mission suprême de l'État : la perpétuation du bouddhisme *vajrayāna* et le règne du dalaï-lama. D'ailleurs, le deuxième jour du premier mois tibétain, chaque année, le maître, le contremaître et les deux aînés se rendaient au temple de Gnas chung pour offrir du thé et de l'argent à l'oracle

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[66] Mais Bkra si (décédé en 2006) était parallèlement au service de la puissante famille Bshad grwa et lui devait tous les ans l'impression de drapeaux de prières *(dar lcog)*. Étant donné la taille de la famille et de ses domaines, cela pouvait représenter un nombre de journées de travail assez important.

[67] Cette Assemblée réunissait « les abbés des trois grands sièges du savoir, le Yigtsang et le Tsikang, des représentants des fonctionnaires laïques et religieux du gouvernement central, et des représentants de diverses professions : les forgerons, les soldats, les charpentiers, les fermiers, les nomades, les commerçants, etc. ». Voir Thubten Jigme Norbu (1976 : 332). Goldstein (2007 : 8–9) fournit un bref historique de la constitution de cette assemblée, « consultative et non législative ».

[68] Les représentants des *skyid sdug* n'étaient convoqués que lors de l'assemblée plénière *(Tshogs 'du rgyas 'dzoms)*, dont la composition est donnée dans Goldstein (2007 : 8).

[69] French (1995 : 177).

[70] *ibid.* : 164–170.

d'État et saluer Dpal ldan lha mo. Ce couple de divinités, appelé « le Rouge et le Noir » *(dmar nag gnyis)*, protégeait les dalaï-lama[71].

Même si la corporation des imprimeurs connaissait sans nul doute des frictions et des tensions, la complémentarité entre État et corporation fut particulièrement visible lors du soulèvement de Lhasa, en mars 1959. Dans un autre contexte, urbain, industrialisé et peu religieux, le discours communiste sur la nécessité pour les ouvriers de s'approprier leurs moyens de production et donc de renverser les maîtres traditionnels aurait peut-être reçu un accueil favorable. En contexte tibétain, il n'en était rien. Le 12 mars 1959, « troisième jour du soulèvement, environ cinquante fonctionnaires ... se sont rassemblés dans Shöl, ... au bas du palais du Potala, et ont envoyé des messages aux différent monastères et aux sociétés d'aide mutuelle pour leur demander qu'elles dépêchent leurs représentants »[72]. Des armes furent distribuées depuis la Grande imprimerie de Shöl[73]. Cette tentative de rébellion échoua certes, mais il n'est pas anodin que les imprimeurs, comme les autres artisans, aient pris part à la protection du gouvernement des dalaï-lama au nom de leur métier. Composantes essentielles d'une société disparue, les corporations d'entraide mutuelle méritent donc une attention particulière, pour mieux saisir ce que signifiait le statut de citoyen et d'artisan à Lhasa jusqu'en 1959.

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[71] http://www.berzinarchives.com/web/en/archives/study/history_buddhism/buddhism_tibet/gelug/brief_history_ganden_monastery.html

[72] Butler 2003 : 41.

[73] Jamyang Norbu, "March Winds – Remembering the Great Uprisings of '56 and '59", consultable sur http://www.jamyangnorbu.com/blog/2009/03/06/march-winds/

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ABSTRACT

Preliminary study on the Lhasa printers' mutual aid association (par pa'i skyid sdug)

Before 1959, Lhasa had several groups commonly referred to as "mutual aid groups" *(skyid sdug)*, which came into three kinds:

- private groups voluntarily constituted, whose members committed themselves to sharing materials and financial help;
- professional groups whose membership was compulsory, closely resembling professional corporations, that came under the authority of the Tibetan government *(Dga' ldan pho brang)*;
- religious groups.

Such groups included the tailors' mutual aid association *('tshem bu'i skyid sdug)*, the leather artisans' and bootmakers' mutual aid associations *(rngo bzo'i skyid sdug)*, the builders' mutual aid association *(rdo shing gi skyid sdug)*, and the goldsmiths', silver-

smiths', and jewellers' mutual aid associations *(gser bzo'i-* and *dngul bzo'i skyid sdug)*, to cite only the most well-known. All corporations were abolished in 1959, following the dissolution of the Tibetan government after the Dalai Lama went into exile.

Given the important role that books play in Tibetan society, it is not surprising to learn of the existence of the woodcarvers' mutual aid association *(shing brko'i skyid sdug)* and the printers' mutual aid association *(par pa'i skyid sdug)*. Still, it seems that they have not been described yet. In the present article, I focus on the latter, having had the opportunity to meet five of its surviving members between 2004 and 2008 in Lhasa.

The printers' mutual aid association consisted of roughly 70 members, who worked partially in the service of the Tibetan state: being called upon by the *Dga' ldan pho brang* for various printing tasks. Thus, every year, they met at the Zhol State printery to print a fixed number of volumes of the Snar thang *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*. They were also in charge of printing Lhasa's public prayer flags, which were changed every year; and the government could send them away to print volumes from woodblocks that were kept outside Lhasa. When authorities did not assign them any particular tasks, they were free to sell their expertise to aristocrats who kept woodblocks at home, to commercial printers and to the monasteries, since the monks of the "Three Seats", 'Bras spungs, Se ra, and Dga' ldan, did not print their own literary works from the woodblocks they owned. Like any other such mutual aid group, the *par pa'i skyid sdug* had a strict internal hierarchy, recruitment and wage policy. It also held a yearly picnic. Finally, it was part of the urban social fabric and of the Tibetan state apparatus, that controlled the handicraft sector through these mutual aid groups.

Tibetan Biography: Growth and Criticism

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In 1798 the publisher Ngag dbang dge 'dun zla grags praised author Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma's (1737–1802) skill as a biographer with the following verse: "From the hand moist with Sarasvatī's blessing—a wishing pond / Is born a new lotus—a biographical text of words pungent with alluring poetry." These lines appear in the print-colophon of Thu'u bkwan's famous biography of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786), completed four years earlier in 1794. They highlight not only the treasured qualities of the subject of the biography, but also the creative capacity of the author. They also serve well to draw attention to one of the most fascinating intellectual developments in Tibetan-language literature from the end of the 17th century to the middle of the 19th: the growth of biography as a major form and a concomitant reflection upon the sources, structure, and style of biography.

During the 17th and 18th centuries a significant event in the literary history of the Tibetan cultural regions occurred—the emergence of a critical literature dedicated to biography and autobiography. Biographers during this period engaged in critical evaluation of the form, style, and purpose of biography with what appears to be unprecedented liveliness. Such discussions, which generally occur as introductory or concluding sections to biographies themselves, make explicit viewpoints and debates regarding biography found within certain currents of the tradition itself. Such passages are largely confined to criticism of biography and autobiography, but they also provide us with a more general sense of what these writers took to be literature as opposed to other forms of written or spoken language.

This development appears to have occurred in conjunction with the growth in the size of biography and autobiography, from an average of tens of folios per work in the 12th century to as many as 1000 folios per work by the end of the 17th century. This general trend toward growth can be discerned in various ways, including simply changes in the titles of works: In the 15th century a forty-folio work might be called an extensive biography *(rnam thar rgyas pa)*. In the 18th century, by contrast, a two-hundred folio biography might be called a brief biography *(rnam thar bsdus pa)*. Early examples of large-scale biographical writing appear at the beginning of the 17th century with Tāranātha's 330-folio autobiography. By the close of the century Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho could write an eleven-hundred folio biographical continuation of the Fifth Dalai Lama's nine hundred-folio

autobiography, and from that could extract shorter biography of the Dalai Lama consisting of over twenty-five hundred verses composed according to the complex poetics of Indian *kāvya*, whose two hundred folios could still rival the largest biographies of the previous century. While few would match either Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho or the Fifth Dalai Lama in either shear length or pyrotechnic display, over the next century it came to be all but mandatory that large-scale biographies be dedicated to leaders of major religious institutions. Biographies of the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas generally outweighed those of their contemporaries, although such figures such as Tshe smon gling Ngag dbang tshul khrims (1721–1791), who served as both abbot of Dga' ldan Monastery and as court prelate to the Qianlong Emperor after the death of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, also merited biographies of over seven hundred and fifty folios.

Yet if it is easy to offer an impressionistic account of the growth of biography, and to point to a handful of significant critical discussions of biography in Tibetan literature, it is more difficult to set about demonstrating that the rise in criticism about biography emerged or at least developed significantly only in the 17th century, and that criticism and changes in the length of biographies are in fact causally linked. One good reason to think that this was the case is because Tibetan apologists during this period explicitly link the size of biography with criticism of certain trends in biographical style. But taken alone this fact cannot serve as the sole evidence for either the rise of criticism or the growth of biography, if only because it lacks historical breadth. What is needed is a chronologically and regionally broad literary history that is attentive to both literary structures and topical content as well as historical and geographical location and context, or what might loosely be termed a three-fold focus on the inside of the work, the outside of the work, and the relationship between the two.[1]

To sketch out what such a project might look like, I would like to engage three possible areas of focus in the production of biographical writing over time and space: First, an effort to assemble a quantitative survey of the growth of biography will help to better understand the development of biography both chronologically and regionally, as well as to view any given work—as well as critical discussions surrounding it—in both its widest possible literary context and in its localized intellectual context. Secondly, a focus upon methods of authorial production entails attention to the stages of oral, written, and material transformation that any given biography or autobiography might undergo in order to understand better how works were composed, compiled, created, and recreated (the material aspects and social

[1] See Moretti (2007).

context of book production more generally must also figure here, but exceed the bounds of this essay).[2] The introductory section of the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography serves as a useful source for this.

Lastly, a focus on the literary criticism of biography calls for attention to the growth of a critical tradition of reflection upon biography, or in other words a literary criticism of biography, as well as debates within the tradition about the sources, style, and structure of biography—all studied within the broad context of the growth of Tibetan biography assessed quantitatively. Here I will focus upon three cases of such biographical criticism. The autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama[3] is self-consciously styled as a departure from earlier autobiographies, which it deems either too difficult to understand or evasive when treating their subject's actions. The Fifth Dalai Lama suggests that autobiography is acceptable when it provides a straightforward account of one's positive and negative activities. The second, and more interesting in my estimation is that of Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma who, in an appendix to his 1794 biography of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, offers a lengthy defense of large-scale biography composed in elevated literary language.[4] Thu'u bkwan argues that the language of biography must be elevated to mirror the elevated status of its subject. The third example is by Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal, the preeminent biographer among the Dge lugs pa School in the 19th century who composed some nine major biographies totalling over four thousand pages. Chapter One of his 1846 biography of Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419)—wellspring of the Dge lugs pa School—is a prescription for biography and a defense of his own methods of assembling the many previous biographies of Tsong kha pa into a large new composite work.[5] He argues that the style of biography must be accessible so that all may easily understand its subject matter. Furthermore, biographies must be large to mirror the greatness of their subjects, the great Buddhist masters of past and present. The works of Thu'u bkwan and Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal bear more extended comparison, for while both respond directly to critics of large-scale biography, the reasons they offer in defense—and thus their understandings of proper biographical style—differ greatly.

In the present essay I am for the most part concerned to narrate the comments of these biographers regarding literary style as it relates to their work, and to suggest a possible literary context for their concerns. Yet I am

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[2] See Schaeffer (2009).

[3] Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1989).

[4] Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (1989).

[5] Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (1967).

also interested in sketching, however provisionally, the general contours of traditional Tibetan literary criticism of biography. I will return to this below, but for now let me make three general observations that I hope will be of some help in maintaining a thematic orientation as I work through the texts of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal and Thu'u bkwan. In my reading, the literary criticism exhibited in both works shares three common traits: 1) It is prescriptive and practical rather than descriptive and formal, instructing the reader how biography ought to be written; 2) it is ethically interested, that is, it is concerned with how best to present ethical behavior in biography in a manner that encourages its readers to emulate that behavior; and 3) it is apologetic, offering spirited defense of its own theoretical position and practical application against critics. In the conclusion I will also offer several reasons why this critical reflection may have developed to such a great extent during this period though I beg that this be taken primarily as a call for further research. Much more literary and historical work will be required to answer questions regarding the intellectual and social conditions giving rise to these debates.

Charting the Growth of Tibetan Biography

It is now possible to begin assembling a quantitative account of the development of Tibetan-language biographical literature. Such an account will aid greatly in the effort to put such claims regarding the rise of particular critical discourses at particular times and places on solid footing, for only such a systematic account will allow such claims to be subject to historically informed analysis and interpretation. The minimum categories of data to be collected for Tibetan auto/biographies, 12th–21st centuries should include the following: Date of Composition (for specific comparison); Century of Composition (for general comparison; Region of Composition; Author's School; Subject's School; Subject's Social Position; Tibetan Genre; English Genre (in order to test our own efforts at categorization); Folios; Format. Applying just these ten minimum categories of data to the full sweep of Tibetan biography would help to integrate tightly focused studies of individual works or select groupings of works with widely focused panoramas of historical and regional change. Such integration would put us in a good position to pose more relevant questions and construct more sound explanations regarding the development of Tibetan biography than has previously been practical. Yet even with minimal categories, such a survey would involve the collection and classification of thousands of individual titles for work potentially strewn throughout dozens of collections throughout the world. Such work has been impractical until recently, with the development of databases of Tibetan literature such as the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation

Project, OCLC's WorldCat, and most importantly the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center.

The TBRC database the most complete catalog of Tibetan literature currently available. Equally if not more importantly, it is the most extended attempt to apply a system of classification to works of Tibetan literature, and to make queries possible according not only to individual titles or authors, but also according to Tibetan literary types. The data collected and classified in the TBRC database offers a good starting point for a literary history of Tibetan biography. The TBRC Topic Number 3 (T3) is titled *"rnam thar"*. Despite the title, however, this is a general classification that includes more works than those that actually contain the term *"rnam thar"* in the title. A TBRC search under *"rnam thar"* (Topic 3) yielded some 1450 titles in 2007. Several searches would have to be undertaken to make this list more complete, including searching all *gsung 'bum* and *gter ma* cycles, cataloguing each biographical entry in multi-author collections such as the various *bka' brgyud gser 'phreng*, searching the "outline" section of the TBRC (which as I understand it is a separate database), and searching at least the major catalogues of Tibetan literature not yet input by the TBRC, such as the catalog of manuscripts and prints now housed at 'Bras spungs Monastery, and the NGMPP database. It would also be unwise to assume that the currently available titles and extant works constitute the total literary output in a particular genre. It is quite possible, for instance, that we have lost older materials, and thus more recent works are overrepresented.

At any rate, after removing duplicate titles, approximately 1225 titles remained. Within these approximately 850 contain only the term *"rnam thar"* in the full Tibetan title as the primary indicator of genre, with another 150 including *"rnam thar"* in various combinations such as *"rnam thar mdor bsdus"* ("brief biography"), *"rnam thar rgyas pa"* ("extended biography"), *"rnam thar mgur 'bum"* ("biography and songs"), and so forth. The use of the term *"rnam thar"* as a broad classification is useful in that it captures works that bear close similarity to *rnam thar* proper. However, this loose usage can be employed at the cost of specificity elsewhere. For instance, approximately 100 *"rtogs brjod"* are classified under *"rnam thar"*, yet there are many more works in the TBRC database with *"rtogs brjod"* in the Tibetan title. Some of these were presumably excluded from the subject heading *"rnam thar"* because they did not match the criteria of *"rnam thar"* closely enough. However, in assessing the use of *"rtogs brjod"* as a term used for biographical literature, it would be good to know the full scope of literature to which the term has been applied.

There is thus no doubt that the data presented here is tentative, and that rigorous collaborative efforts at collection and classification must be undertaken in order to provide a solid basis for analysis and interpretation. What

is presented here is meant largely to model a method for using the data at our disposal to create a long-range view of Tibetan auto/biography, and not to provide definitive answers. That being said, I do think that the TBRC data can be utilized to sketch out rough guides to general trends in literary growth and change, at least to the extent that the results gained from systematically studying and augmenting TBRC data can provide working hypotheses that can then be subject to further inquiry.

Some results of the quantitative assessment of the TBRC *"rnam thar"* entries are illustrated in the eleven charts in Appendix 2. These charts focus on four general topics: A) basic chronologies and regional distributions [figures 1–4]; B) comparative figures of size, time, and place [figures 5–6]; C) physical format [figures 7–9]; D) case studies in specific traditions [figures 10–11]. Figure 1: "Number of Biographies by Century," shows steady growth up to the 16th century, and an increased rate of growth from the 17th to the 19th centuries. Figure 2: "Number of Biographies by Tradition of Subject" reveals the number of biographies dedicated to Dge lugs pa subjects to amount to almost the same as Sa skya, Rnying ma, Bka' brgyud combined. Figure 3 details the number of autobiographies by tradition of subject, and is the only place where the general trend of Dge lugs pa leadership in all areas of biographical production is not found. Figure 4 provides the number of biographies by region from the 12th to the 20th century. Figure 5 shows the number and size of biographies by century. The general trend is a punctuated increase in the size of biographies up to the 19th century, with the largest number of folios produced in the 19th century, the largest single biography produced in the 17th century, and the highest percentage of biographies over two-hundred folios to be found, again, in the 18th and 19th centuries. These figures are largely consistent with the growth in more focused collections, as in Figures 10 and 11. Figure 6: "Number of Biographies per century by Tradition and Region" suggests that Dge lugs pa biographies were at a high in 19th and 20th-century A mdo, Bka' brgyud in Dbus and Gtsang during 14th through 16th centuries, Sa skya in Gtsang during the 15th and 16th centuries, Rnying ma in the 17th and 18th centuries in Dbus but moving to Khams in the 19th and 20th centuries, and Bka' gdams in 14th century Dbus. Again overall growth in biographical production is evident, with the greatest growth in the 18th and 19th centuries. An overall movement in production from west to east emerges, with the highest production occurring in A mdo during the 19th century. Figure 7: "Physical Format of Biographies by Century" indicates that block-printing hit a large high in the 18th and 19th centuries, and was most prevalent in A mdo, though Dbus and Gtsang do not lag far behind. Figure 9: "Physical Format by Tradition of Subject" suggests that the number of block-printed biographies of Dge lugs pa subjects is greater than all others combined.

The two examples from different schools illustrated in Figures 10 and 11 can be offered to illustrate the growth of biography seen in the previous charts. The forty-two biographies of the Sa skya masters in the *Lam 'bras slob bshad* teaching lineage stretch from the 12th century at the beginnings of Tibetan biographical writing through the early 20th century (Figure 10). The biographies of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas offer a seven-century view of the growth biographical writing in Dbus and Gtsang in the principal Dge lugs pa establishments (Figure 11). The biographies of the *Lam 'bras* masters begin as small works of only a few folios. The average size increases slowly from the 12th through the 15th centuries, until in the 16th century there occurs a massive growth size. It is not until the 18th century that a biography exceeds 200 folios. Here growth stops for the *Lam 'bras* lives; and this is perhaps no coincidence, for the 18th century is a high point in biographical size in other traditions as well.

The lives of the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas exhibit a similar pattern, if more pronounced at the extremes. Like the lives of the *Lam 'bras* figures, it is not until the 16th century that a work exceeds 200 folios with the autobiography of the Fourth Panchen Lama. Unlike the *Lam 'bras slob bshad* case, however, the Panchen Lama's autobiography is on the small size when compared to later works. Only two out of the seventeen works following his are smaller than 200 folios, and fully twelve of those seventeen exceed 300 folios in length. The period stretching from the late 17th to the late 18th centuries appears to be the most productive period, with biographies and autobiographies charting in at 1092 folios, 892 folios, 680, 610, and 514 folios.

A few comments on the potential relevance of systematic collection and classification of biographical literature may be ventured following this experiment. The great potential of the sort of quantitative research only hinted at here is the power to place regionally and temporally specific phenomena within a broad geographic and chronological context in order to assess relative uniqueness, development, and further to place intellectual phenomena (such as biographical criticism) within varied contexts, including, economic, technological, and political. Quantitative surveys of biographical literature across time and space of the sort merely modeled here do not stand in for either interpretation of individual works or analysis of literary subjects and authors. They do offer rich starting points to explain the growth of auto/biography in terms of structure, styles, content, and historical and geographic location. The specific emphasis that I have placed upon charting the growth of biographies in size beginning in the 17th century is a case in point. I began by asking if the emergence a critical literature dedicated to biography was related to the growth in the size of biography, and I suggest that even the preliminary surveys of the *Lam 'bras* and Dge lugs pa biographies

presented here lend support to the claim that criticism is linked to the growth of biography. Some general conclusions may thus be drawn from this exercise in quantitative analysis: Biographical criticism of sort discussed in the latter half of this essay emerged at time when: 1) the average and the maximum length of biographies were at a peak in Tibet; 2) Block-printing was the more common method of production for biographies; 3) The Dge lugs pa were the most prolific producers of biography; 4) The highest production of Dge lugs pa biography was in A mdo.

In terms of criteria internal to biographical literature, the link between size and criticism likely exists because size is not merely a quantitative measure; it almost always indicates qualitative changes in biography. A great variety of sub-genres are included within these bulging biographies such as letters, catalogs, songs, philosophical teachings, rituals, such that biography becomes a repository for a host of smaller genres. New levels of descriptive detail, endless lists of material objects, difficult ornate verses, doctrinal debates, accounts of political, military, and economic activities could all work in tension with a narrative form ideally centered upon a Buddhist life well-lived. This tension was, at least partially, the cause for a critical literature dedicated to biography. With this in view, charting the growth in size of biography may be seen as a significant component of broader inquiries into the relationships between the structure, style, and contents of an individual work or group of works with its geo-historical location, the genre to which it may be assigned, as well as to the very assignation of such genres to an immensely diverse body of Tibetan literature.

Finally, the challenge of studying Tibetan biography from the perspectives outlined earlier is to integrate them within a coherent approach to Tibetan literature and history. We might rearrange and expand the sketch of a literary history of biography I provided earlier in order to construct a movement from a close-up point-of-view with respect to a given biographical work to a wide-angle point of view: 1) Content ("inside" the biography): the themes, subjects, identities, institutions, and times and places treated by the work; 2) Internal form (at the "inside edge" of the biography: the study of traditional literary criticism as well as our own assessment of literary style). This is important for it sharpens understanding of how the content is delineated and expressed; 3) External form (at the "outside edge" of biography): the study of production, including authorship, redaction, and publication in both textual and material aspects; 4) The biographical work and text through time (the "distant outside"). The social, economic, intellectual and political contexts of biography considered as genre through time and place. Of course, much data for this will come from biographies themselves. The relationships between these perspectives will be multiple, and remain to be worked out in any detail. However, a clearly articulated approach that be-

gins with the assumption that there are concrete and demonstrable relationships between intellectual products and the time, place, and material context in which these are located will aid in the creation of a literary atlas of Tibet that gives equal attention text, content, and context.

The Production of Biography

In order to highlight methods of authorial production I will look first to a very brief account of autobiographical writing that provides at a biographical corpus that has a great deal to say about this, the autobiographical writings of the Fifth Dalai Lama. The autobiography of the 18th-century Sa skya pa figure Dpal ldan chos skyong (1702–1759) offers a brief account of the production process: "The autobiography up to this point is principally what the great leader, the King of Religion himself set down in writing upon scraps of paper or a writing board, as well as what, during this time, he instructed whatever secretaries where employed by him to set down in writing. With the exception of some slight editing for orthography and grammar by others, [this] is [his] unerring word with no revisions or mistakes whatsoever." In 1762 Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1699–1774) continued the work under orders of the Sde dge King, writing his addendum "in the style of the former" work, the autobiography itself of his colleague Dpal ldan chos skyong.[6] Here four principle moments of production are outlined: 1) The author himself composes on scraps of paper or on portable writing board (a *sam khra*). 2) The author dictates to an unspecified number of secretaries. 3) Editing for orthography and grammar is performed by people other than the author. 4) A new author continues the narrative. This is an abbreviated account of the process of biographical production, though for this reason it is useful to point to begin. A series of rich accounts are detailed by the Fifth Dalai lama and his associates, and it is worth spending some time on these more detailed presentations of biographical production.

The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), leader of Central Tibet from 1642 to 1679 and arguably the most important single figure in the history of the institution of the Dalai Lamas, was also among the most prodigious authors of autobiographical literature in the history of the Himalayan plateau. In much of his writing we appear to encounter a very human author writing about the mundane details of everyday life. Indeed, this is largely how the Dalai Lama presents himself. Yet the Fifth Dalai Lama is also considered by tradition to be the reincarnation of a previous Buddhist master, the Fourth Dalai Lama, as well as the incarnation of that ever-benevolent celestial being, the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. In what

[6] Dpal ldan chos skyong (1974–75), vol. 4, p. 286. Waṃ fol. 398.2; 399a.2.

follows I want to briefly consider this apparent tension by looking first at what the Dalai Lama himself has to say about his autobiographical production, and then offering a brief comparison between this and the writings dedicated to him by his Regent and zealous biographer, Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705).

The autobiographical corpus of the Dalai Lama consists of three principle works and amounts to some two thousand five hundred folios. The first is a four-volume record of texts and teachings he had received.[7] Suggestively entitled the *River Ganggā's Flow*, we might be tempted think of it more as a massive survey of Tibetan literary history rather than a single person's reading list. The second work, the opening passage of which I will consider in more detail below, is a three-volume account of his life entitled the *Fine Silken Dress*, covering the years 1617 to 1681, or all save his last year. This work is the single most important portrait of courtly life at the Potala from the 1640s to mid-1681, a veritable mine of political, social and cultural detail. The final work is an account of the many visions of gods, kings, queens, and demons that the Dalai Lama experienced between the ages of six and fifty-six. Together these three works fit well into a traditional three-fold rubric for life writing, which distinguishes external, internal, and arcane aspects of the subject's life.

The final passage of introduction to the *Fine Silken Dress* the work's introduction suggests how the process took place. To begin with, the Dalai Lama utilized two already existing biographies of himself; one composed by Chos dbyings rang grol (1604–1669) and the other by Smon 'gro ba 'Jam dbyangs dbang rgyal rdo rje (16th/17th c.). These were "quite elegantly composed," he admits, yet they both contained factual mistakes and incomplete episodes, and thus "were not very reliable." Rather than taking these as the basis for an account of his young life, he wrote, "Whatever was clear to [his] mind" up to the age of fifteen. For his life beyond that he used notes composed by six of his associates. In cases where these notes needed further elaboration, he relied as well on yearly records compiled by five other figures. The resulting account of his activities was then checked against the compilation of all records by Stag ru nas Blo bzang dngos grub, and doubtful points were researched if there were reliable sources to further draw upon. Through the efforts of these editors, the Dalai Lama's activities—what he refers to as acts of "teaching, learning, composition, and [deeds of] great merit"—were arranged according to a strict chronology. However, events that he vaguely refers to as "other matters" were treated less strictly, for they were "concisely and elegantly placed together in the correct year,

[7] Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, Dalai Bla ma V (1971).

but without regard for the month and day." When this work was done, the autobiography was given over to four figures who are referred to as "skilled compilers of the text." These scribes added final touches to the chronological account by, as the Dalai Lama says, "extemporaneously composing whatever was appropriate and whatever came to [my] mind."[8]

Here we find a much more complex process that that portrayed in Dpal ldan chos skyong's work, including: 1) The assembly of previous biographies; 2) Additional writing based upon memory; 3) Writing based upon notes composed by others; 4) Writing based upon annual records kept by others; 5) Fact checking against a third source; 6) Further research on doubtful points; 7) Arrangement of events within a chronological structure (by the Dalai Lama); 8) Final arrangement and redaction by a team of professional writers; 9) Last-minute additions made by the Dalai Lama based on memory. This account suggests, in short, that the production of the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography was a group effort in which diverse sources were extensively reworked by a team of scribes, editors, record keepers, and the Dalai Lama himself.

On Autobiography: the Fifth Dalai Lama

Yet, in seeming tension with this picture, the opening passage of the autobiography—that is the section immediately preceding this passage on production—presents the Dalai Lama an individual author engaged in serious reflection upon the nature of biography and the stylistic and ethical implications of self-presentation in print.[9] The Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography of his worldly activities contains a fascinating introduction in which he remarks on the nature of the genre itself, and it is in this introduction that we find an early discussion of biographical style, one that may well have influenced the rise of a full-fledged literary criticism of biography in the 18th century. The Dalai Lama begins his autobiography in modest protest against his worthiness as subject:[10] "In this age there is no need to write down the sundry activities which come from the three poisons of non-virtue," he begins, "and life stories which delight the wise are very rare" (The Fifth Dalai

[8] There are other accounts of the production of *Fine Silken Dress* and the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiographical writing, for instance in Ahmad (1999: 276–278).

[9] Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1989: vol. 1, 9–18). Zahiruddin Ahmad has presented a translation of this passage in 1970, though the richness of this passage and its relevance for the study of Tibetan life writing more generally has encouraged me to take a fresh look at the passage. See Ahmad (1970: 25–30). Ahmad translates a block-print edition, fols. 8a.2–10b.6.

[10] See Karmay (1998: ii), which reproduces fol. 1b of the *Rgya can gyi 'khrul snang rnam pa gsal bar bkod pa mthong ba don ldan*.

Lama engages in similar self-critical remarks at the opening of his account of visions: "Scholars should not look [at this], for when they do they will be ashamed. It is a guide for fools who approve of wonders. What arose was not false; the words are falsifying prose, a straight story, eschewing deceit, [yet] corrupted by deception."). For some time his close associates had been urging him to write of his life. He had consistently refused them, citing a verse from the Life of a 14th-century Bka' gdams pa master, Lho brag Mkhan chen Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1326–1401), as an apt description of his own position: "Lazy, born into a backwater in a bad age / I, the Monk Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan / Have no life story fit to set in writing / For [I] am not able to do so from the heart, according to the divine dharma."[11] With these morose lines in mind, the Dalai Lama "gave up interest in writing a life story and let it be without thinking of it."

Then, in 1644 a Bla ma 'Jam dbyangs dkon mchog chos 'phel sent a letter urging the Dalai Lama to write an autobiography. Along with this letter he even went so far as to send a copy of the *Life of Bo dong Paṇ chen*, which was, as he put it, a "well-written example to follow." The Dalai Lama continued to be reluctant, and felt the need to make up various excuses for failing to begin writing an autobiography. "[I] was undertaking many religious activities, and could not write about myself. I was also writing a Perfection of Wisdom textbook." And despite repeated entreaties from various sources, including his own court at the Potala and devotees from Mongolia, he succeeded in putting off writing his autobiography until 1666, when he was confronted with an order to write that he could not refuse. This came from no less a force than the Gnas chung Oracle, who urged that he must write, and quickly.

Despite the Oracle's insistence, the Dalai Lama continued to harbor reservations. "A life story [would be] useful for myself," he considered, "but there is no reason to write one for others." How, after all, could he hope to equal the masters of old? Bu chung ba, Mi la ras pa, and others, he recalled, "beheld the acts of existence as bubbles on the water, and undertook spiritual accomplishments to their very core. The many translators, scholars, and spiritual friends benefited both themselves and others vastly through learning, contemplation, and meditation. I had no hope of possessing even a fraction equal to the story *(avadāna, rtogs brjod)* of their acts." As the passage moves on we see the Dalai Lama slowly working up to an acceptance of the task at hand. Had he not, after all, already composed a record of texts and teachings he had encountered? This four-volume opus, the *River Ganggā's*

[11] The Fifth Dalai Lama refers to Lho brag Mkhan chen Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan's life story, the *Key to the Oral Lineage: An Interior Life Story that Sets Forth Experiential Visions of Contemplation)*. See Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1985).

Flow would, he admitted, be of some pleasure to "intelligent, discriminating, and impartial people," for it was "based upon previously accumulated good karma." In writing this work he had "relied upon many spiritual friends who practice according to the holy dharma, as well as scholars learned in the many arts and sciences," and had even "done a bit of learning and contemplation" himself! "Not merely piling words upon words," in this work he had come "to be sure of the essence of each text" listed. If the *River Ganggā's Flow* was an acceptable account of his interior life of learning, could he not use it as a model to talk about his worldly affairs in a new autobiography? He might even reach a different audience by adapting an old form to new subject matter. "If [I] were to write for old worldly ones," he mused, "on activities other than these, such as agriculture, economy, subduing enemies and protecting friends, it would surely be similar in style to the *[River Ganggā's Flow]*."

Having finally decided to compose an autobiography of his work in the world, he now needed to approach the project with a suitable mix of dignity, humility, and honesty. In this he took advice from a verse attributed to the Life of Stag tshang Lo tsa'a ba Shes rab rin chen (b. 1405), which advises that: "It is impious to praise oneself and defame others / With a shout that assumes oneself to be supreme. / With neither exaggeration or deprecation, one's character / Should be declared to all, such is the manner of the Buddha." With the Buddha's manner in mind, the Dalai Lama decided that "there is no sin in telling with a straight story how this drama of body, speech, and mind transpired with its happiness, suffering, and in between." He would not keep his actions secret, "but make them plainly apparent." Most importantly, his autobiography would be "free of mystifying phrases like 'it isn't and it is' or 'it is and it isn't'."

Successfully accomplishing this was not simply a matter of choosing the right subject; it was also a matter of style. Indeed, many life stories of past masters failed in the estimation of the Dalai Lama due to rhetorical issues. If his autobiography were composed according to treatises on poetics and dramaturgy, with ornate verses quoted and inserted between sections, "those who are learned in such things would be delighted," to be sure. But a large potential audience would be lost, for "those scholars who are attached to explanation, debate, and composition," he delicately suggests, "would find it difficult to look at." His autobiography, by contrast, must be "easy to understand for scholar, fool, and in between." It must be a feast for eye and ear, "a cause to make the spring sun stay long." The *Life of Bo dong Paṇ chen*, which we can recall was given to him earlier as a model upon which he might base his own efforts, did not live up to the Dalai Lama's ideals. Composed by one of Bodong Paṇ chen's close disciples, this Life was so full of effusive praise that one could not help but think that the student was in fact extolling him-

self in his master's name. For the Dalai Lama, this duplicitous praise of one-self was unacceptable. "Some lamas," he laments, "say that they could be the incarnation of some presumed holy person, and on that basis, praise that [lama's] rebirth series. Without hesitation [they say that] they themselves have arrived as promised, remembering clearly [their] former existence." In the Dalai Lama's estimation, such conceited tales encouraged lamas to break their vows, and he read such works with pity for their authors.

There are other faults to which writers of biography and autobiography succumb, as the Dalai Lama humorously points out. "Some lama's Lives are too much based upon poetic style," as he has already alluded to, while some, on the other hand, "have common traits, like the words of old shepherds." Some stories are, "like Arjuna's arrow, straight in appearance yet by nature piercing elsewhere, [or] like a prostitute's story craftily blaming one's own faults upon others," while still others are like the Life of the god Śiva, "fashioned as a wondrous story only as a source of fear, for otherwise it would not stick in the mind." In the end, it seems, no biography (save his own record of teachings received) was suitable for emulation. Even those biographies that were agreeable did not meet his criteria. "[I] have seen good, bad, and mediocre instructions and Lives *(rtogs brjod)* that cause joy whether they are viewed by the noble or the lowly," he concludes, "and still [I] did not model [my Life] after those."

In Defense of Large Biography I: Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal's Biography of Tsong kha pa

If the Fifth Dalai Lama was the preeminent biographer of Central Tibet in the 17th century, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal held that position in the 19th century. After studying at Se ra Monastery, he served as attendant for the Tenth and Eleventh Dalai Lamas. He wrote biographies of some of the most prominent figures of his day, including Rwa sgreng Khri sprul Bstan pa rab rgyas (1759–1815), abbot of Reting (composed 1818); Byang chub chos 'phel (1756–1838), 69th abbot of Dga' ldan Monastery (composed 1846); the Tenth Dalai Lama Tshul khrims rgya mtsho (1816–1837) (composed 1846); the Eleventh Dalai Lama Mkhas grub rgya mtsho (1838–1855) (composed after 1855); the Eighth Rta tshag, No mon han Bstan pa'i mgon po (1760–1811), founder of the important Monastery of Kun bde gling in Lhasa and regent of Tibet for over twenty years (served 1798–1790, 1791–1811); and Lcang lung Paṇ ḍi ta Rin po che Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1770–1845) (Part One was composed in 1826; Part Two in 1847). In short, between 1818 and 1855 he wrote large-scale biographies of the major Dge lugs pa leaders of his day, including the founder of the tradition, the abbots of Dga' ldan and Rwa sgreng Monasteries, two

Dalai Lamas, a regent, and a Qing court chaplain, collectively amounting to over 2216 folios.

In his biography of Tsong kha pa, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal devotes the first of nine chapters to the purpose and style of biography, presenting both prescriptions for how biography ought to be composed, and responding to criticisms about his own stylistic choices.[12] (This is a complex chapter, and the outline of the relevant passage provided in Appendix 1 will aid in providing an overview of the issues.) He begins by listing the common contents of a biographical work, which include the subject's previous births, ways in which he is superior to ordinary people, his overall good qualities of body, speech, and mind, the manner in which he "learned, contemplated, and meditated upon the teachings of the Buddha, and how based upon that he [with the] good qualities of a scholar explained, debated, and composed." Appropriate topics also include how the subject maintains monastic vows, and the level of contemplative realization he has attained are described in terms of Buddhist scholastic categories of spiritual paths and grounds. Finally, the biographer should cover the subject's deployment of scholarly and contemplative achievements in the service of aiding other people.

So much is fine, but even if the biographical subject excels in each of these areas, this fact will not be made apparent if the biographer lacks a proper understanding of the purpose and—more importantly—the stylistic choices to be made when writing biography. If an author is "indiscriminate," he may simply list the subject's qualities in a generic fashion. Such a mediocre author, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal cautions, "may not write much more than that [his subject] is learned, disciplined, and noble, that he explained to such-and-such disciple, that he traveled from here to there, that he stayed here and granted this audience, [or] that this [or that] offering was made." The problem with simply mentioning these things is that it will not fulfill the principle function of biography—to produce faith and devotion in the minds of disciples, or what we might gloss as ideological and institutional commitment among followers.

So harmful is such a routine approach to life-writing that Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal charges: "Such [works] can barely be considered biographies at all." In order to inspire faith, the biographer must certainly take into account the qualities and activities of his subject, but he must also pay the utmost attention to what Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal refers to generally as the "means of expression," or what I take to loosely mean style. For the stylistic choices made by the biographer are not simply ornamental, lacking any causal force; they are integral to inspiring audience members to work

[12] The following is drawn from Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (1967: 7.9–20.7).

for their own spiritual advancement. Even those who have the will to compose a biography of their master often fail through lack of sufficient literary skill, resigning to say that "other than this and this, nothing much seems to happen [in his life]." Such would-be biographers often become as fatigued, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal chides facetiously, "as someone who is trying to turn a crow white." This is perhaps better from his perspective, however, for those that do go on to complete biographies of their masters without the requisite skills are like people using "a slingshot in a temple" who may well do more harm than good. The hackneyed biographies produced by such well-meaning yet poorly skilled biographers only lend aid to the longstanding existential problems highlighted by Buddhism. "People who have come under the sway of non-virtue," Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal writes. "Follow the excessively exaggerating and denigrating language which is motivated by false conceptions of the holy ones (who are similar to the Buddha himself). Each moment [such people] collect much karma without merit, and are [thus] made to wander in many fearful bad rebirths without end." Poorly written biographies are not simply aesthetically deficient; they are ethically and soteriologically harmful.

By contrast, in straightforwardly relating the activities great people such as Tsong kha pa, well-composed biographies cause faith to grow naturally, and likewise cause inappropriate thoughts in the minds of audience members to subside. More strongly, the faith engendered through biographies of such luminaries as Tsong kha pa reduces the number of bad rebirths for their readers. Yet such faith is fragile, it is as "fine as a lotus root," and must be protected and nourished through biography. The stylistic features of biography therefore have both ethical and institutional implications—ethical because if audiences for biography are not inspired to live according the manner prescribed by the actions of the biographical subject, they will cease to live according to Buddhist principles, and institutional because if faith in religious leaders decline, capable religious leaders themselves decline. In short, given the immense power of a well-composed biography, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal urges that such works be taught, and that they be disseminated—particularly through printing.

Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal begins to describe exactly what features a biography must have in order to be considered well-written by responding to critics who complain that another biography of Tsong kha pa is not needed. He summarizes such a critique as follows: "It is possible," he admits, "that some may think the following regarding this: 'According to what you have said, everyone knows that the omniscient Tsong kha pa is a great personage who is indisputably similar to the Buddha coming into this world. And not only that, but his biography has been composed in many large and small versions by his principle disciples such as Mkhas grub Dge legs Dpal

bzang po and 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho as well as many scholar-adepts from both new and old schools after them'." To this he retorts: "If that is the case, then there is no reason for you to compose new versions of the biography of what is unclear in those. For even if you compose in the manner of repeating what has been completed in earlier books, there is no other reason other than to prove what has already been established!"

In Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal's estimation, such critics have not understood what is lacking in previous biographies, nor have they given enough consideration to the contemporary need for a retelling of Tsong kha pa's life. He admits that he has said nothing new in his biography, and he does not claim to possess skill in composition (here he cites Śāntideva's *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Conduct*: "There is nothing spoken here that has not been explained before; I do not even have skill in composition."), yet he continues to write so that his faith might increase. He may be excused for this, however, for he and his contemporaries have been born in an unfortunate era: "We cannot grasp the feet of the many scholar-adepts of old, and so are deprived of good explanations heard in the presence of holy people." Like others in this degenerate age, he laments: "[My] innate understanding is small and my ability to learn is weak, and thus my intellect with which to investigate the great treatises such as biographies and histories is very narrow, like the hole of a needle." What is more, he continues, "[because my] study, reflection, and insight have not surpassed even a hungry goat grazing for grass, [I] do not possess the acumen to be able to create even a fraction of those ornate phrases to which scholars are devoted in scripture, reasoning, poetics, and prosody." He concludes: "To engage in composition in this state would seem to be very presumptuous."

Despite protest that he is ultimately no more qualified than others among his contemporaries to compose a biography of Tsong kha pa, he has persisted in doing so in order to counteract certain opinions regarding Tsong kha pa's activities that have developed from mistaken assumptions about the content and style of earlier biographies. According to Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal, from Tsong kha pa's disciple Mkhas grub onward biographers have spoken largely of the master's worldly activities and have written only sparingly on the esoteric aspects of his spiritual realization. This was not a choice made by the biographers, for Tsong kha pa had forbid his disciples to recount his esoteric biography. Moreover, Tsong kha pa's numerous biographers have tended to compose relatively brief works with little stylistic flourish. "It appears," Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal muses, "that [previous biographers] thought that if everyone from high to low could understand [their biographies] the seeds of faith would be sown extensively." With the proclivities of their audience in mind, such biographers therefore "did not tie up [their biographies] with ornate poetry and rhetoric, and

composed in a summary fashion that was not peppered with scripture and reasoning and was easy to understand and pleasurable to get into."

Now the laconic and unadorned style of previous biographies would not be an issue, were it not for the fact that contemporary readers have naively assumed that, since there are only small biographies of Tsong kha pa, Tsong kha pa only performed minor activities during his life! This is not entirely accurate according to Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal; some biographers did indeed attempt to compile larger works based upon earlier, shorter works, but their inexperience led to "some things that were unclear in the [biographies] composed by Mkhas grub, were included in a haphazard manner by Gnas rnying Kun dga' bde legs, Zang zang Ne ring pa 'chi med rab rgyas, and Mkhar nag Lo tsa'a and others. Yet those were never assembled into a single book. Because of this and based upon only a few suggestive words, some fools with no sense thought that making a large public biography with many pages would alone be a great deed." At any rate, this did not prevent Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal's interlocutors to make assumptions about Tsong kha pa based upon the length of his biographies. It seems that Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal was not the only one who felt that previous biographers had erred on the side caution when elaborating upon Tsong kha pa's life; he attributes the same sentiment to the Abbot of Dga' ldan Monastery, at whose insistence Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal wrote his biography of Tsong kha pa: "The great holder of our Dge lugs pa teachings [the Dga' ldan Abbot] said, 'Because it appears that people of little intelligence have collected unmeritorious karma toward a holy field by composing only small biographies, in order to put a stop to that, and moreover since the Lord Omniscient One possesses deeds equal to the sky and is the most noble one among all the holders of the teachings in the land of snows, like the peak of a victory banner, a large biography must certainly be composed in order to renew everyone's faith.'"

Of particular concern was the fact that Tsong kha pa's profound and vast achievements in tantric learning and contemplative experience—achievements that were in reality no different than those of the Buddha—were underrepresented in earlier accounts of his life. This again was not a problem with the previous biographies themselves; Tsong kha pa himself had urged his disciples to write sparingly of his esoteric experience. "As for his experience of secret mantra," Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal begins, "in accordance with its name, his experiences were quite secret. Even for those worthy vessels with whom he shared the very secret, he did not proclaim them in the market." Most importantly, Tsong kha pa refrained from exhibiting haphazardly his tantric abilities through displays of magic or overt signs. Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal's concern is rather that his contemporaries are disparaging the Dge lugs pa School's prowess in tantric accomplishments. It

appears that Tsong kha pa worked too subtly for some later readers of his biographies who presumed that, while he had ample training in exoteric studies, he had not made much progress in esoteric practice. "This is a perverse notion," Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal writes, "which is [no different] than thinking that the sun is holding a torch." Such ignorance in grasping the full spectrum of Tsong kha pa's overt and covert activities was in Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal's estimation widespread among various schools of Tibetan Buddhism and symptomatic of the larger problem of sectarian rigidity: "There are indeed those who collect unbearable karma through erroneously motivated speech," he comments, "such as those who are Sa skya, Dge lugs, Rnying ma, Kar ma, or 'Brug pa in name only, or those of foolish dispositions who accept a philosophical system based upon the color of a red or yellow hat." Such division is in fact beyond the power of biography to rectify given the intractable nature of such strongly entrenched sectarian identity, a sad state of affairs epitomized by Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal with a verse from Sa skya Paṇ ḍi ta: "However you try to improve the wicked / Their nature will not become good. / No matter how much you strive to wash piece of coal / It will never become white." The problem is compounded further by the fact that a good number of his contemporaries who are both experienced scholars and contemplatives have gone into seclusion rather than deal with sectarian conflict, and have thus neglected the work of scholarship. Yet despite poor chances of success—despite that identity politics will be "difficult to rectify with a bunch of words"—Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal is compelled to take such people as "objects of pity" for fear that the problem may increase, and decides that a large biography of Tsong kha pa is indeed warranted in his day.

In such circumstances and however reticently, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal could not but accept when the Abbot Dga' ldan Monastery urged him to compose a large biography. "Even though I do not have all the qualities of a scholar," he demurs, "through the kindness of the holy ones I have some intelligence to discern appropriate from inappropriate, and [I] understand composition to some extent. Therefore, like the nomad at the head of a line of people being chased by dogs, or like the donkey that must tell the time when the rooster is absent, inasmuch as this obligation to undertake such work has fallen to me, I thought it would doubtless be of benefit to others of the same lot as myself, so I raised my voice to give praise."

His work underway, he used the biographies composed by Tsong kha pa's disciple Mkhas grub as his principle sources, and assembled various episodes from other biographies around them. In addition to compiling sources and rearranging them in such a way that they might counteract the interpretive problems he has already discussed, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal was also tempted to embellish his new work with the "marvelous verbal orna-

ments of poetry," for this in itself would be a cause for others to accrue merit. Yet he largely resisted this inclination—his contemporaries appeared to have difficulty in understanding ornate poetry—and included ornate poetry only between sections and chapters, poetry which he styles as "lines of verse added for diversion, beautified with the aesthetic moods."[13] He thus left the substance of the biography in a language easy to understand, elaborating or summarizing passages in earlier biographies that either read too much like scripture or were in contorted phrasing. (Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal also states in his biography of the Tenth Dalai Lama that he "did not bog the work down with *kāvya*… so that the high and the low could understand the work easily.")[14] This stylistic choice was also a polemic strategy, for he wanted to ensure that his work was successful in refuting critics of Tsong kha pa's life in a clear, reasoned fashion. Following Mkhas grub's lead—who had made an explicit choice to compose an accessible biography of Tsong kha pa—in the end he decided that if people of any aptitude were able to understand the biography with ease, this would greatly aid his overarching concern, to revive faith in Tsong kha pa during his own day. And while many of the issues raised by Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal also concerned other biographers, not all chose to compose their works to meet the expectations of an audience untrained in literary language; some authors argued that the opposite was necessary, and it is to one example of this that we now turn.

In Defense of Large Biography II: Thu'u bkwan's Biography of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje

The biography of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje is one of the most famous Tibetan biographies among contemporary scholarship, having been extensively cited as a source for the history of Tibetan Buddhism at the Qing court. It is also considered by many to be a prime example of Tibetan-language biography composed in mixed prose and verse. In the conclusion of his biography of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, Thu'u bkwan includes a discussion of his sources and motives for composing the work, as well as an impassioned defense against criticisms regarding the style of the biography.[15] Saving his very

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[13] Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (1967) includes twenty passages of intermediate verse, or approximately two per chapter: pp. 21, 54, 101, 193, 250, 276, 296, 307, 358, 384, 403, 422, 441, 463, 508, 519, 551, 569, 585, 624.

[14] Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (Microfilm B2–6.2: 283.10).

[15] Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (1989: 752–782) contains the colophons, which can be divided into the following sections: appendix on biography 752.1–764.5; author colophon in verse 764.6–771.5; author colophon in prose 771.6–773.16; print colo-

interesting remarks on sources and motives for another occasion (despite the fact that they have significant consequences for his comments on style), let me move directly to his efforts to respond to critics.[16] Like, Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal, Thu'u bkwan was responding to those who would fault his biography for being too long. Yet where Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal's critics argued that his work was simply unnecessary, Thu'u bkwan's critics argue that his work includes superfluous material. Several types of material are specifically mentioned, the first of which is philosophical text.

"Some may say" Thu'u bkwan begins, "'You included so many explanations from the [Master's] *Presentation of Philosophical Tenets* in the Master's biography; it is not pretty.'" For Thu'u bkwan this complaint could only come from people who do not understand the point of biography. The principle act of the Buddha, for instance, was teaching the dharma to his disciples so that they could mature and achieve liberation through their own efforts, for as a sutra states, "They should not be bathed with [water] of sin, the suffering of living beings will not be removed by hands in prayer; his realization is not transferred to others; [Buddha] liberates [living beings] by teaching the true reality." Likewise, Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's most important contributions to both Buddhism and to living beings—for here to contribute the former is by necessity to benefit the latter—were his written teachings, for these are available to the faithful long after the master's death. It is therefore entirely appropriate to include extensive passages from his teachings within his biography.

It appears that instead of philosophy Thu'u bkwan's critics would have preferred him to include more description of Lcang skya's miracles and displays of wondrous visions. Yet Thu'u bkwan counters that such things only benefit direct disciples and are of minimal use to others who did not know the master personally. More importantly, the key proponents of the Buddhist philosophical traditions so cherished by Dge lugs pa scholasticism—Asaṅga, Nāgārjuna, and Atiśa in India, and Tsong kha pa himself in Tibet—did not make a great spectacle of their spiritual accomplishments. Furthermore, even though Tsong kha pa did have visions of Mañjuśrī (as did Lcang skya), this alone does not distinguish him from other masters, many of which have had visions. What distinguishes these leaders is their composition of fine works of philosophy, and this is exactly what distinguishes Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje—at least when speaking of his *Presentation of Philosophical Tenets* (Thu'u bkwan does devote an entire chapter to his dream-

phon 773.17–782.6, consisting of a print colophon in verse 773.17–780.19 and print colophon in prose 780.20–782.6.

[16] The following is drawn from Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (1989: 752.1–764.5).

vision of Mañjuśrī, after all). It is these admittedly more mundane activities which are the proper subject of biography for, as was the case with Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal, the purpose of biography is to promote faith (Thu'u bkwan also adds that biography should promote harmony with the dharma), and this purpose cannot be fulfilled through stories of miracles, visions, or heroic deeds. In Thu'u bkwan's estimation such tales only serve to heap praise upon leaders already filled with conceit, "inappropriately recounting," he writes, "how they [gained] their riches, their valor, their glory in defeating demons and protecting allies." Biographies of the past masters included only accounts of their learning, reflection, and contemplation and explanation, debate, and composition; they certainly did not—as far as Thu'u bkwan is concerned—include tales of subduing enemies and defending allies, or summoning thousands of gods (What would he say, one wonders, about early biographies of Padmasambhava, so filled with vivid scenes of these very deeds?). "Influenced by the times," he retorts finally to his critics, "the majority of biographies composed [these days] are of a character *(dbyibs)* comparable to the Gesar epic." Now, the pejorative comparison of faulty biography with the great Tibetan epic is also found elsewhere, suggesting that it served as a potent example of what biography should *not* be. Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po's 1758 biography of the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648–1721) also refers critically to the Gesar epic as he waxes eloquent about biography: "As soon as the biography, which is like a sweet-sounding *vina*, reaches the ear, the wicked cling to jealousy and are harmed by their own actions, just as when drinking the good milk of ambrosia, the unbearable poison is caused to increase according to the faults of the person." Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po also offers stinging critique of what he considers to be faulty style, stating that biographies of conceited subjects may have many words, yet "like the epic of Gesar they are merely seeds from which desire and hatred grow." Most biographies, in his estimation, consist primarily of random stories, "like a beggar's scraps." Some disparage others and are likened to "sharp thorns giving unbearable pain in the heart." Others are like accounting books which list the goods given here, received there. And he laments that biographies of fit subjects are as "uncommon as a daytime star."[17]

Thu'u bkwan moves on to respond to a variation of the above critique that focuses more explicitly on the length of his biography of Lcang skya. He characterizes his critics' claim as follows: "Some say the following: 'In this biography you have included many songs, admonitory teachings, letters, and

[17] Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1991: 241.12). The full colophon verses are on pp. 240.1–243.7.

intermediate verse, as well as a great deal of prose extolling the supreme master and criticizing others. There is no other reason for this than as a means for producing a giant book.'" He takes each one of these specific literary types in turn, offering reasons for including them in biography. Songs and admonitory teachings have been commonly included, he notes, within the lives of Bka' brgyud pa masters such as Mar pa and Mi la ras pa. More generally, certain people respond better to songs and brief instructions while undergoing contemplative training, and thus they are both useful and appropriate. As for the numerous examples of Lcang skya's correspondence he saw fit to include, they too are included in classic examples of Indian and Tibetan biography, and are therefore included here. His examples offer ample precedent: "[The claim] that the number of letters included is to great is also not germane to the circumstances: The *Ornament for the Sutras* states: 'Like hearing a good letter or opening a jewelry box, from the dharma explained here the highest joy is produced.' If the dharma is compared to a good letter, in general letters sent by scholars are of great import. Still, in the biographical setting, in the *Avadānakalpalatā* the girl Mu tig sends a letter to the Buddha. Likewise in many earlier works such as the biography of the Dharma King Srong brtsan sgam po, the story of 'Brom Rin po che inviting Atiśa, and the story of 'Khro phu Lo tsa'a ba inviting Kha che Paṇ chen, as well as in the biographies of contemporary holy people such as the Victor [the Dalai Lama], many letters seem to be included."

Thu'u bkwan now turns to a more serious matter; the propriety of including numerous verses, often composed using the ornate forms of Tibetanized *kāvya* poetry, between sections and chapters. Between fifteen and twenty percent of the biography is made up of "intermediate verses" *(antaraśloka, bar skabs tshigs bcad pa)*. They frame the prose narrative, and they certainly account for the vast majority of the nearly three-hundred verse passages of various types included in the biography. Thus to critique them is tantamount to criticizing the structure of the work as a whole. To defend his generous use of ornate poetry, he cites a host of Tibetan and Indian sources that commend the use of elevated language when writing about subjects of great import. The Sa skya pa scholar Tshar chen (1502–1566), for instance, challenges the possibility of adequately expressing the biographical subject's character with ordinary language: "A fine and well-made biography with wondrous tales / Is an occasion to give nectar to the ears of the fortunate. / How is it appropriate to speak of a holy person's good qualities / With slogans from the jaws of the common fool?" For Thu'u bkwan it is by no means appropriate to speak of his exalted subject, Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, with language that is not equally exalted. If one writes the life of such a person, one must draw upon a "style of perfect composition" *(tshig gi sbyor ba phun sum tshogs pa'i lam)*. He offers a simile to illustrate his point: "When

the son of a universal monarch travels though the city, in order to show off his greatness and resplendent majesty he travels wearing fine clothes, bedecked with ornaments of precious jewels, and with musical accompaniment; if he were to travel wearing beggar's clothes, all would mock him and show contempt." Likewise, in order to successfully represent his status and character to a public, the biography of a Buddhist master must be beautified with the ornaments of language.

For Thu'u bkwan criticisms about his use of ornate verse raise a larger question regarding the register of language proper not only to the biographical subject, but to scholarly work and the scholar's reputation more generally. The subject is certainly important for Thu'u bkwan, "but," he cautions, "if one speaks loosely with the common slang as in a vulgar story which is not in accord with that [subject], one will not able to make intelligent people enjoy it, and the speaker himself falls into disrepute." It is for this reason, states Thu'u bkwan, that Daṇḍin—preeminent Indian scholar of *kāvya* for the Tibetan tradition—offered words of warning to would-be writers: "Scholars say that the speech of proper composition is a wish-fulfilling cow; if the same is improperly composed, it tells that the composer is himself a cow" (*Kāvyādarśa* 1.6). (He cites two other entertaining verses here as well, one from the *Avadānakalpalatā* chides: "If one is without the poetry of the incomparable Victor, then even the scholar is like a parrot." And another from Zur mkhar Legs bshad 'tshol (b. 1509) cautions, "Even if the king may be proud with youthful vigor, if he does not wear ornaments, the people will talk. Just so, the treatise that does not possess ornate poetry will not be considered learned.") The most potent defense of elevated language, however, comes from Tsong kha pa's student and biographer, Mkhas grub.[18] Where Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal relied on Mkhas grub for his defense of exoteric biography, Thu'u bkwan cites him to conclude his defense of *kāvya* in biography. The verses conclude Mkhas grub's short work on regional dialect vocabulary that should be avoided in scholarly composition, and they also summarize Thu'u bkwan's response to his critics in a particularly vivid fashion: "Though many treatises commenting on the intended meaning of the great works have been composed, they are crowded with colloquialisms and foolish expressions, and thus exhibit in writing traits of worldly, vulgar stories. Even if the good book is beautiful in form with ornate poetry and composition, and [the work] is beautified with the radiance of many ornaments, if there is one colloquialism, the poetry is spoiled, just like the young girl who has much jewelry [but] whose nose has been sliced off." Thu'u bkwan therefore feels justified in including correspondence composed by Lcang

[18] See van der Kuijp (1986: 3–49).

skya in ornate verse as well as his own verse in order to induce delight "in the hearts of those few whose minds are endowed with lucid vision," despite protestations that he only just possesses the requisite literary skill: "Because the steps [of my] mind have staggered on the vast plain of the great forms of knowledge," he offers apologetically, "[I] relied on the staff of pretension, and to the ears of the great lamas and teachers in whom [I] take refuge, compared to perfect *kāvya* [this biography] is merely a tune from the shepherd's flute." Yet if he expresses regret for any potential faults in his poetic style, he does not apologize for appending this critical response to his detractors to the end of Lcang skya's biography. Even the Buddha, he reminds, spoke various types of criticism to demons, non-Buddhists, and other generally unsavory people—albeit from a perspective of impartial empathy. If Thu'u bkwan criticized the views of others it is not out of hostility, but only because, as he says, "if the wise were to understand what is not fine biography, they would apprehend with certainty fine [biography] as fine."

He also offers no apology for his motives for writing in an elevated literary manner throughout the biography. For he has not written in this way in an effort to show off his own prowess as a writer, but out of reasoned consideration regarding how best to extol the virtues of his subject in such a way. He has done so in order to appeal to segments of his audience who are predisposed to enjoy the ornate poetry and the scholastic or contemplative instructions with which he has peppered his life of Lcang skya. If not everyone understands the biography or his defense of it, this is acceptable to him: "I am not acting out of passion for prolixity or debate for its own sake," he states firmly, "so even if a few prideful people of rather partial learning ask 'What did he say?' I will have no anxiety whatsoever." Here Thu'u bkwan concludes his defense, and here we can pause to make a few general concluding remarks.

Criticism and the Growth of Biography

Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal and Thu'u bkwan both argue in favor of large-scale biography, for they agree, along with the Fifth Dalai Lama before them, that form is as important as content in representing the auto/biographical subject. Both also seem to be responding to criticism that their biographies are, among other things, simply too long—though it is possible that they are simply positing an interlocutor as a pretense for discussion and debate. The idea that biography could be too long appears to have been a common enough issue in the 18th and 19th centuries that Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal felt compelled to address the matter again in his biography of the Tenth Dalai Lama Tshul khrims rgya mtsho. Some critics, he tells us, had charged that he had written too much about his subject; given that the Tenth Dalai Lama lived for only a short time (twenty-one years), there sim-

ply could not have been that much to write about![19] To this the biographer responded that the Dalai Lama "works each year, month, day, moment for the benefit of innumerable disciples, and we cannot fathom this in any way." In fact, the work could have been much longer if he had correlated the activities of the Dalai Lama to Buddhist categories of graded spiritual progress: "If [I] had explained each activity set out in the ordinary biography in relation to the six perfections, the four collections, [or] the grounds and paths," he threatens, "it would have been very wordy." Such an effort would have been of little value, for people with their "stainless dharma-eyes wide open" would already understand the doctrinal implications of the subject's life, and others, "blinded by false concepts, would deride it for being exaggeration." In some cases then, the biographer claims only to have hinted at the esoteric implications of the young Dalai Lama's actions. Other authors beyond Thu'u bkwan and Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal saw fit to respond to charges of overblown literary creations as well: Gung thang Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me (1762–1823), the biographer of Lcang skya's biographer Thu'u bkwan, responds in his 1803 work to criticisms that thirteen-hundred folios it is simply too large with an appeal to "impartial minds" to understand that the import of the biography was of such great significance that it merited extensive elaboration.

All of these authors agree, we might say, that the medium is the message, but they do so for very different reasons. For Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal, a large biography is necessary because its weight must represent the tremendous magnitude of his subject's life. The point of large-scale biography is that it *is* large. In practical terms it may have become large because it is a compilation of many earlier biographies, but its size is not incidental; it in fact rectifies a fault in earlier works, whose undersized form could not adequately maintain the ethical gravity of Tsong kha pa, whose story formed a veritable template for a life well-lived in the Dge lugs School. In Thu'u bkwan's defense of his work, by contrast, largeness was not a necessary feature, but merely a byproduct of his decision to include a great deal of material not directly related to the chronological narrative of Lcang skya's life. And it is in his choice of material to include that we discern a fundamental difference between Thu'u bkwan and Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal. Thu'u bkwan includes many (too many for his critics) of his own poetic efforts along with many examples of Lcang skya's correspondence—both composed according to the principles *kāvya*—not out of allegiance to any abstract notion of aesthetic pleasure, but because only such language accu-

[19] Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal (University of Virginia Tibetan Collection, Microfilm B2–6.2: 288.17–292.13).

rately portrays the subject in terms of both his actions as a supremely ethical person to be emulated and his position in a high office to be worshipped. It is also the only language capable of representing the biographer as a scholar, as a cultured member of the Dge lugs pa School and product of its august institutions of learning.

What is at stake for these two writers—and what accounts for their divergence—is differing views on the relevance of poetics for rhetoric. If we return for a moment to the common traits of their literary criticism outlined initially—it is prescriptive, ethically interested, and apologetic—it is clear that the two writers would agree on all three points, yet differ on how to realize them in practice. Both agree that biography is rhetorical; its purpose is to persuade the audience through language to at once emulate and venerate its subject. Both also agree that literary criticism is prescriptive, that it tells potential authors what means to employ, and potential audiences how they should respond. They differ, however, over the proper persuasive means to employ in biographical writing. For Thu'u bkwan, elevated language increases the persuasive power of the work; for Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal it severely limits the potential audience for one's persuasive efforts, which is tantamount to diminishing the rhetorical effect of the work. Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal is willing to forego aesthetic values in favor of popular appeal (despite the fact that he does appear to agree with Thu'u bkwan about their merits); Thu'u bkwan argues vehemently that such laxity threatens the very capacity of biography to effectively represent the exalted status of its subject. For the former, poetics is engaged at the expense of rhetoric; for the latter, poetics is a principle means to ensure rhetorical success.

In addition to the growth in size and production levels of biography during the period in which these writers flourished, another possible contributing factor to this increased reflection on biographical style is a more widespread interest in language, linguistics and, in particular, differences between the languages of Buddhism at play during the Qing period. Translation was certainly an issue during this period, as Thu'u bkwan's biography of Lcang skya highlights: Thu'u bkwan credits Lcang skya with extensive language skills in Tibetan, Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese. Whatever religious instruction he was giving, he could translate clearly into the language of his audience, such that even Chinese and Manchu students could gain some sense of the meaning of the teaching even if they had no experience the technical language of Buddhist texts. Lcang skya was involved in other ways with Tibetan-language literature in Beijing; when Chinese monks had difficulty reciting the Sanskrit mantras tantric rituals taught to them by Lcang skya, he developed guidelines for proper pronunciation. He also translated for the Third Panchen Lama when he met with Chinese Buddhist abbot. He is also said to know the Central Tibetan dialects of Gtsang, Dbus, Lho ka,

'Phan po, as well as the colloquial language of Indian scholars and contemplatives.[20]

Yet Thu'u bkwan and his contemporaries were also keenly aware of differences between distinct regional and social variations within Tibetan. Thu'u bkwan's citation of Mkhas grub's verses on the necessity of skillfully crafted language connects the biographer to another intellectual in 18th-century A mdo also concerned with language, if not biography *per se*, for Mkhas grub's verses also appear in a small treatise on the pronunciation of Tibetan composed in 1787 by Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-1788).[21] Sum pa Mkhan po's primary concern was to impress upon his audience the value of speaking Tibetan, the "language of religion," properly. "In order to understand the topics of the Buddha's word and all the treatises of the Indian and Tibetan scholars," he counsels, "one first needs to know the letters, words, and semantic units. If you do not know this, then even when you recite in a temple, if the language becomes corrupted it is meaningless." It is likely that he was addressing principally people whose first-language was not Tibetan, for he urges that "when you do not know Tibetan in the presence of a common Tibetan householder you are like a parrot repeating everything and you become an object of ridicule, so it is necessary to study pronunciation from the outset." Proper Tibetan is indispensable for the proper study of Buddhism, for "if you are conceited with limited knowledge of the language, then whatever dharma you read will only be like a reflection; it will not be the real thing." "If you speak incorrectly with incomplete words," Sum pa Mkhan po warns, "or if the language of dharma becomes vitiated with ordinary language, the meaning will be damaged as well." It is especially important for him that the unique elevated language of religion not be sullied by colloquialisms. This is vital for intellectual reasons, but for social and psychological reasons as well, for he cautions that "when you foolishly let slip flawed terms or shepherds' expressions while debating or discussing scripture and reasoning in the monastic community, you become ridiculed by everyone, and you may become disheartened." Both Thu'u bkwan and Sum pa Mkhan po, then, were very concerned to separate vernacular language from formal, religious language, whether it be applied to monastic disputation or biographical writing. It is certainly possible that this critical evaluation of language difference—abiding since at least Mkhas grub's time in 15th-century Central Tibet yet apparently increasing in 18th-century A mdo—contributed to debates about specific literary genres such as biography. However, as I have said, much more work will be re-

[20] Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (1989: 300–301, 585, 668).

[21] Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1975, vol. 2: 1009–1013).

quired to answer questions regarding the conditions giving rise to these debates.

On a more restricted level, it is very likely that the written sources relied upon by both Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal and Thu'u bkwan for content served as literary models for their theorization of biographical form as well. Mkhas grub's biography of Tsong kha pa includes verses inserted at the conclusion of each its six chapters, if on a much smaller scale than that of the 19th-century biographer was working. Yet Mkhas grub spends much of the brief biography extolling Tsong kha pa as a bodhisattva in lavish non-narrative prose, in the process developing a prescriptive ethical vision that appears to have had a great impact on Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal's work. In researching his subject, Thu'u bkwan read, among other things, Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's 1757 biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama Skal bzang rgya mtsho (1707–1757), a work filled with poetry and correspondence in much the same fashion as Thu'u bkwan's work. Yet Mkhas grub, Lcang skya, and biographers between them do not appear to have devoted second-order reflections to the sources, structure, and style of their work to the extent that both the writers we have looked at here have. With Thu'u bkwan we have passed clearly from writing biographical literature to writing literary criticism about biography.

Yet Thu'u bkwan raises a further—perhaps more fundamental—issue that at the close of his biography of Lcang skya: the relationship between language and soteriology. For Thu'u bkwan the biographer should be acutely sensitive to language not simply for rhetorical purposes, but out of concern for his own salvation. And on this topic we can let Thu'u bkwan have the final, provocative, word: "Even though we have taken countless births in samsara since time immemorial, for the most part all the acts we undertake with the three doors [of body, speech, and mind] simply come to nothing. In particular, all that we utter with speech comes to be without essence, like the sound of an echo. This body we have—a good vessel container to contain the dharma and difficult to obtain these days—does not last a long time, for it is by nature impermanent. And inasmuch as we fail to avoid situations [that produce] karma, we have doubt about where we will take our next rebirth. So, while our thinking is clear and we have the capacity for speech, it would be good if we could seize that which is essential within our bodies, and endeavor with our tongues to speak of the fine qualities of the holy ones."[22]

[22] Thu'u bkwan Chos kyi nyi ma (1989: 762).

Appendix 1: Outline of Chapter One of Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal's Biography of Tsong kha pa (Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal, University of Virginia Tibetan Collection, Microfilm B2–6.2: 7.15–19.2)

*The proper content of biography 7.15
- Rebirths
- Whatever is appropriate in this life
- Superiority
- Good qualities
- Learning and contemplation
- Teaching, debate, and composition
- Monastic purity
- Spiritual realization
- Virtue
- Lasting effects of scholarship
- Benefit to people

*The effects of biography 8.4
- Faith (psychological state)
- Emulation (behavior)

*Faulty biography 8.8
- Flattering language
- Thrilling yet shallow
- Too descriptive
- Cannot change individual psychology and behavior

*The function of biography 8.19
- Both subject and style are causes of omniscience
- Encourages devotion
- Encourages composition

*Current problems with biography 9.6
- Negative cycle of moral decline and literary merit:
- Poor leadership models lead to decline in good biography, which leads to poor leadership…

*On the greatness of Tsong kha pa 9.20
- Unanimously praised
- Ordinary appearance
- Buddha himself returned
- Plain greatness obviates flattery

*Function of Tsong kha pa's biography 10.19
- Fosters faith
- Blesses readers
- Reduces negative thoughts

*Difficulty of developing faith 11.5
- Ignorance, defilements, negative karma rampant
- Difficult to understand careers of enlightened ones
- Faith with understanding is fragile
- Debased advice from teachers
- Negative role models
- Exaggeration and denigration common in biography

*Benefits of propagating biography 12.4
- Study opens the door to liberation
- Printing, teaching, outlining biography serves this purpose

*Critique of need for another biography of Tsong kha pa 12.10
- Many biographies already

*Response to the critique 12.19
- Classical authentic role models needed today
- Current biographers have neither literary skills nor sufficient subject matter

*Content of older biographies of Tsong kha pa 14.4
- Mkhas grub's (composed circa 1419–1438) main example
- Topics: learning, teaching, leadership, reform, missionizing
- Do not include worldly affairs such as collecting offerings

*Style of older biographies 14.14
- Plain language
- Concise
- Minimal scriptural quotation
- Easy to understand
- Pleasurable to read

*The problem of interior knowledge 14.18
- Tsong kha pa hid the full extent of his realization
- Commanded his disciples to do so as well

*Current need for a large biography of Tsong kha pa 15.9
- Large biographies suggest great acts
- No large biographies of Tsong kha pa suggest small accomplishments
- Large biography will promote faith

*On tantric realization and biography 16.6
- Buddha taught tantra yet appeared as monk
- Tsong kha pa was of the highest moral status
- Did not act crudely like some tantric practitioners
- Unintended consequence: Dge lugs pa tradition perceived to lack tantric tradition
- Tsong kha pa considered lacking highest realization

*Current lack of qualified biographers 17.19
- Current biography promotes sectarian differences
- People both learned and realized often go into seclusion

*Apology for writing 19.1
- He is scholar in name only
- Just doing his job

*Sources 19.9
- Major early writers

*Style and audience 19.12
- Plain style
- Broad audience

Appendix 2: Charts

Data compiled from 1225 biographies and autobiographies identified by the TBRC.

A. Basic Chronologies and Regional Distributions

Figure 1: Number of Biographies by Century
*Steady growth up to the 16th c.
*Increased rate of growth 17th–19th

Figure 2: Number of Biographies by Tradition of Subject
*Dge lugs pa subjects amount to almost the same as Sa skya, Rnying ma, Bka’ brgyud combined

Figure 3: Number of Autobiographies by Tradition of Subject
*Only place where general trend is not found

Figure 4: Number of Biographies by Region
*Overall figures from 12th–20th c.

B. Comparative Figures of size, time, and place

Figure 5: Number and Size of Biographies by Century
*Highpoints:
*Largest total folios 19th c.
*Largest single bio late 17th c.
*Highest percentage of bios over 200 pages 18th–19th c.
*Largely consistent if viewed through more focused collections, as in Figures 10 (PL and DL) and 11 *(Lam ’bras)*

Figure 6: Number of Biographies per century by Tradition and Region
*Highpoints:
Dge lugs pa 19th and 20th c. in A mdo, with secondary in Dbus.
Bka’ brgyud 14th–16th c. in Dbus and Gtsang.
Sa skya 15th–16th c. in Gtsang.
Rnying ma 17th–18th c. in Dbus, 19th–20th c. in Khams.

Bka' gdams 14th c. in Dbus.
*Overall growth, with greatest growth in 18th–19th c.
*Overall movement of major production from west to east.
*Highest single number: Dge lugs pa, 19th c. in A mdo

C. Physical Format

Figure 7: Physical Format of Biographies by Century
*Blockprinting at a large high in 18th–19th c.
Figure 8: Physical Format of Biographies by Region
*Blockprinting at a high in A mdo, with Dbus and Gtsang not far behind
Figure 9: Physical Format by Tradition of Subject
*Blockprints of Dge lugs pa subjects greater than all others combined

D. Case Studies in Specific Traditions

Figure 10: Biographies by century and number of folios in the *Lam 'bras slob bshad* collection
Figure 11: Biographies of the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas by number of folios

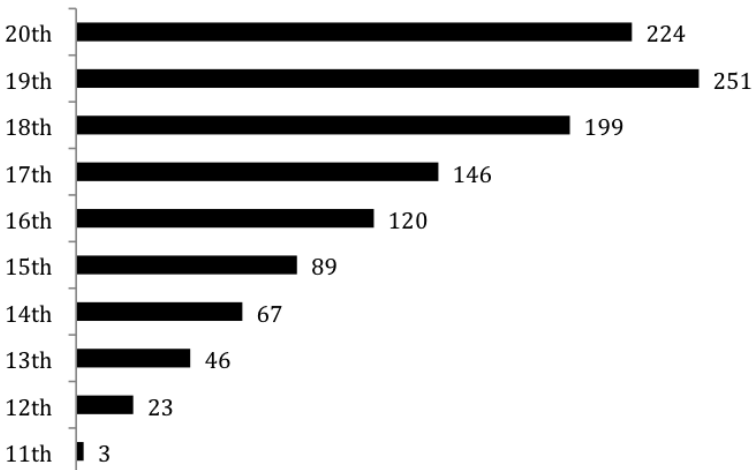


Figure 1: Number of Biographies by Century

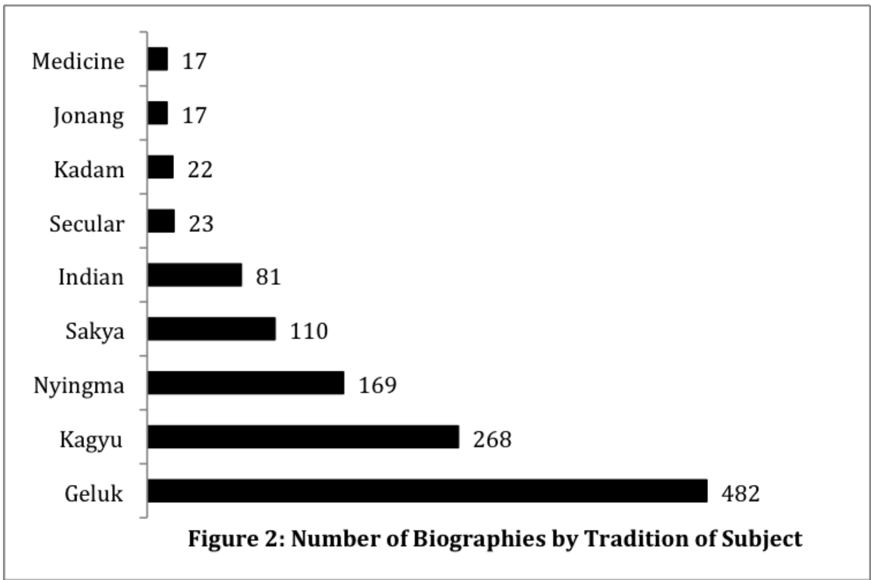


Figure 2: Number of Biographies by Tradition of Subject

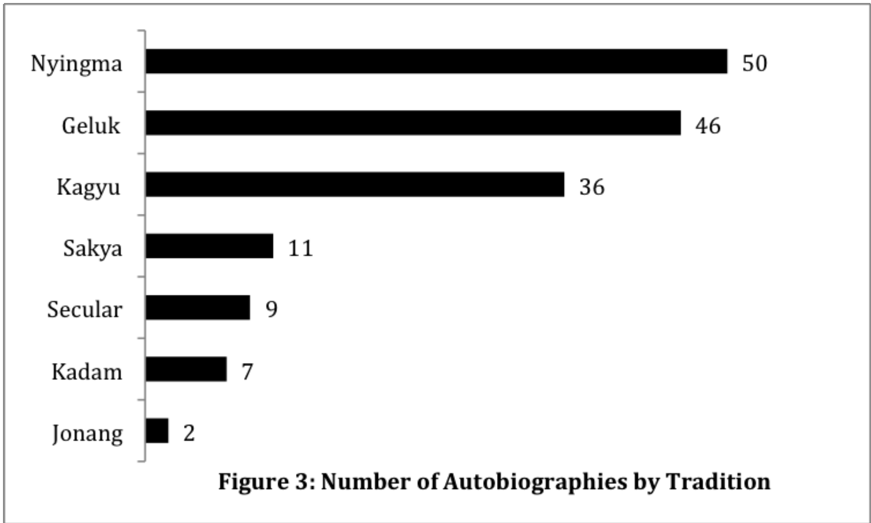


Figure 3: Number of Autobiographies by Tradition

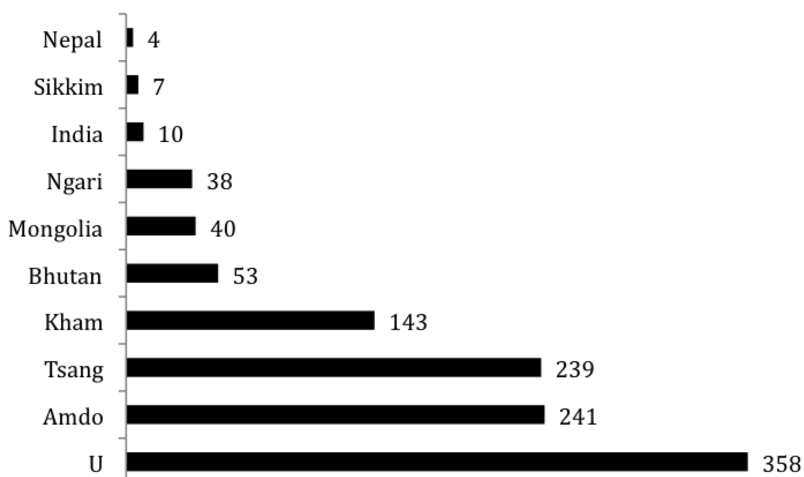


Figure 4: Number of Biographies by Region

Figure 5: Number and Size of Bios by Century (highest values highlighted)

Century Composed	Total Auto/bios	Total Folios	Average Length	Largest in Folios	> 100 Folios	> 200 Folios	> 300 Folios
12th	23	234	22	62	0	0	0
13th	46	1576	44	310	3	1	1
14th	67	4289	70	396	13	6	4
15th	89	4262	48	598	7	6	2
16th	120	6869	64	454	10	9	5
17th	146	12352	85	1081	22	16	8
18th	199	18821	95	752	24	34	17
19th	251	23596	95	812	23	49	21
20th	224	20986	104	965	43	28	14

Figure 6: Number of Bios per Century by Tradition and Region							
GELUK	**Ngari**	**Gtsang**	**U**	**Bhutan**	**Khams**	**A mdo**	**Mongolia**
12th	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13th	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14th	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15th	–	2	24	–	–	–	–
16th	–	–	1	–	2	–	–
17th	–	15	19	–	–	11	–
18th	–	14	35	–	9	40	8
19th	5	15	24	–	6	93	24
20th	1	1	21	–	15	53	2
BKA' BRGYUD	**Ngari**	**Gtsang**	**U**	**Bhutan**	**Khams**	**A mdo**	**Mongolia**
12th	–	2	4	1	1	–	–
13th	–	11	12	1	1	–	–
14th	–	3	26	–	–	–	–
15th	2	6	3	–	–	–	–
16th	7	16	44	2	–	–	–
17th	4	6	15	4	3	–	–
18th	–	7	2	25	2	–	–
19th	2	–	5	6	1	–	–
20th	–	1	4	–	5	1	–

SA SKYA	Ngari	Gtsang	U	Bhutan	Khams	A mdo	Mongolia
12th	–	4	–	–	–	–	–
13th	–	7	–	–	–	–	–
14th	–	12	–	–	–	1	–
15th	4	17	3	–	–	–	–
16th	–	16	1	1	–	–	–
17th	–	14	1	–	–	1	–
18th	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
19th	–	1	–	–	1	–	–
20th	–	4	–	–	5	–	–
RNYING MA	Ngari	Gtsang	U	Bhutan	Khams	A mdo	Mongolia
12th	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
13th	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
14th	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
15th	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
16th	–	2	2	1	–	–	–
17th	1	–	9	1	2	–	–
18th	–	–	15	2	5	2	–
19th	1	2	1	–	30	4	–
20th	–	–	2	–	41	1	–

BKA' GDAMS	Ngari	Gtsang	U	Bhutan	Khams	A mdo	Mongolia
12th	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
13th	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
14th	–	1	10	–	1	–	–
15th	1	2	–	–	–	–	–
16th	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17th	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18th	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
19th	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20th	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

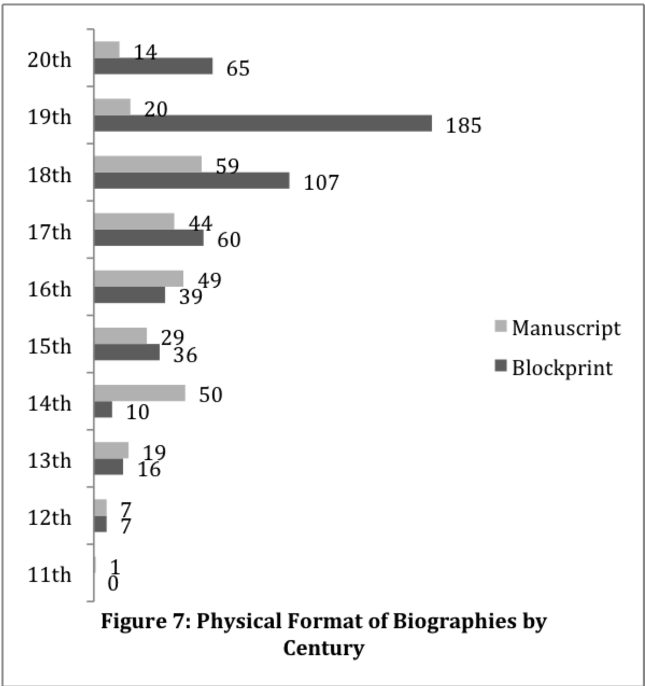


Figure 7: Physical Format of Biographies by Century

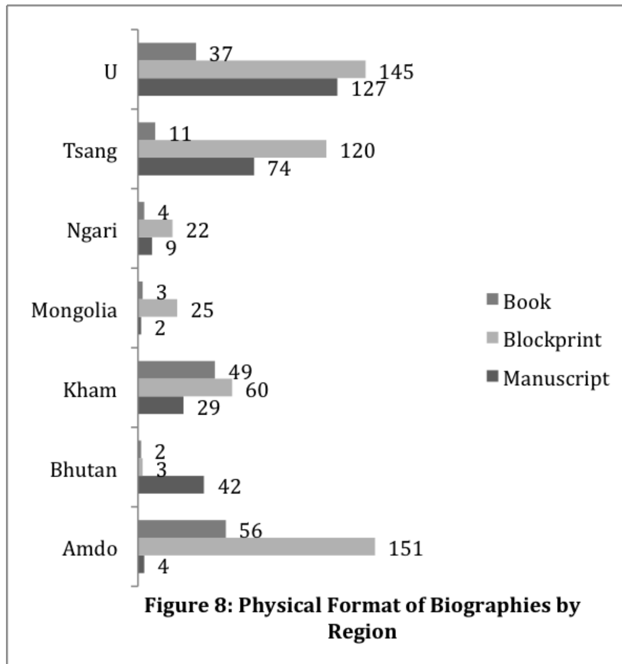


Figure 8: Physical Format of Biographies by Region

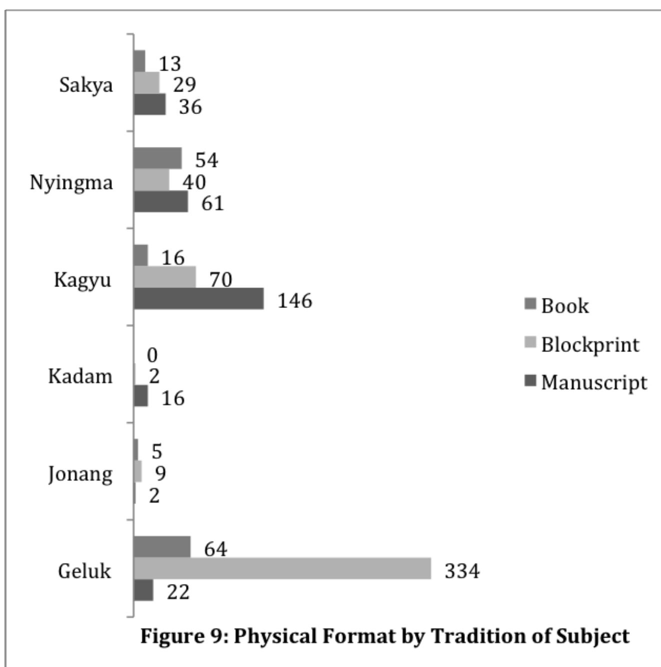


Figure 9: Physical Format by Tradition of Subject

Figure 10: Biographies by century and number of folios in the *Lam 'bras slob bshad*

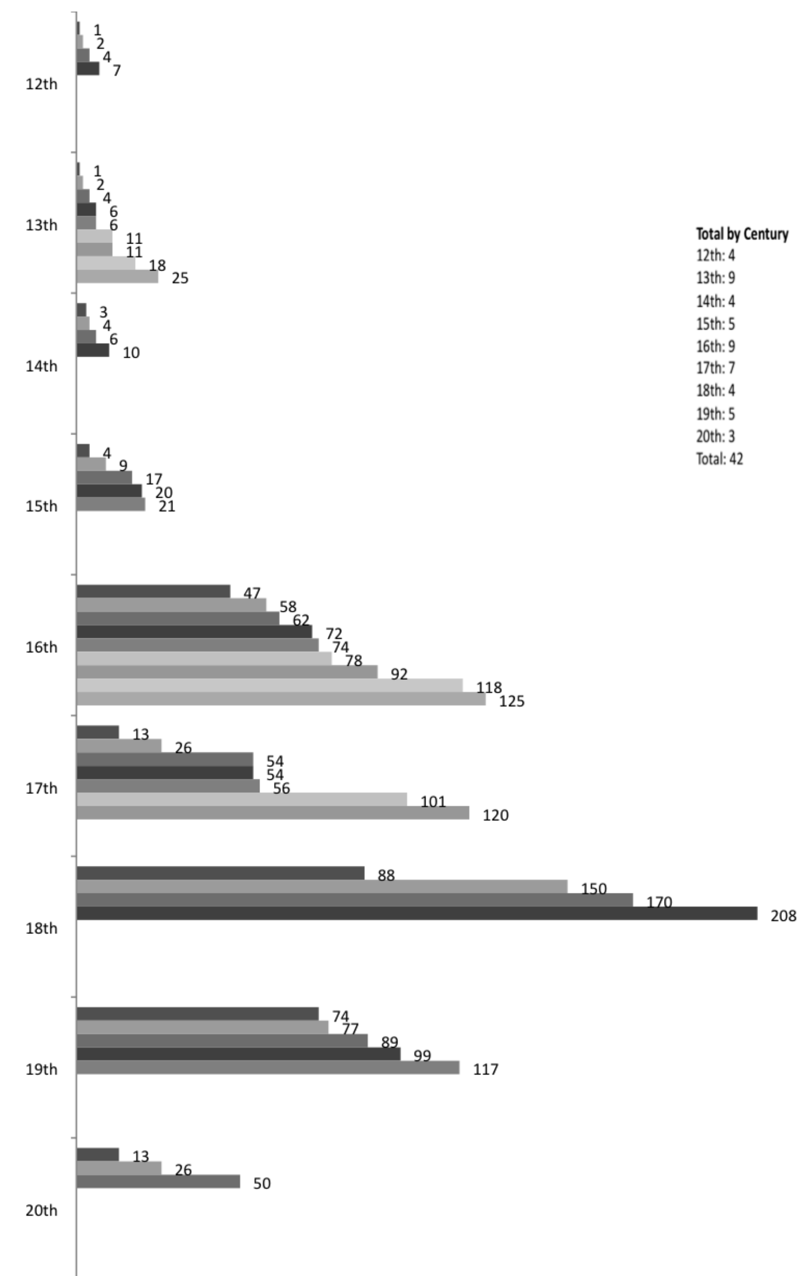
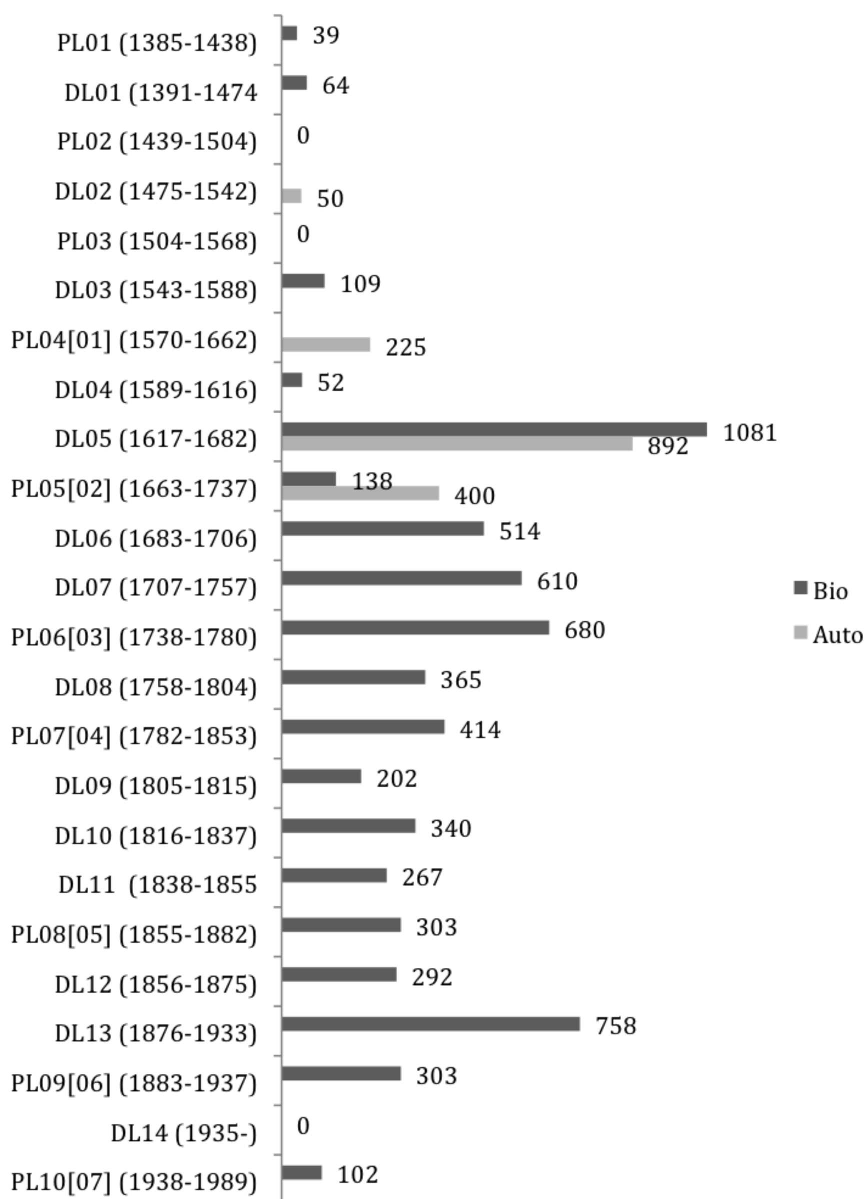


Figure 11: Biographies of the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas by number of folios



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RÉSUMÉ

La biographie tibétaine : développement et critiques

Aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles se développa au Tibet une littérature critique qui, s'appliquant à la biographie comme à l'autobiographie, conduisit à une réflexion sur sa forme, son style et son but. Ce mouvement est lié au développement du volume des biographies et autobiographies et ce lien ne peut être prouvé que par une étude quantitative du volume de ces ouvrages et par une étude des méthodes employées par les auteurs, parallèlement à celle de réflexions critiques faites sur les sources, la structure et le style des biographies. Cela suppose une véritable histoire littéraire globale.

Si l'on examine la dizaine de paramètres nécessaires à une analyse comparative des quelque 1225 textes biographiques recensés par le TBRC, il ressort notamment que la croissance du volume des biographies atteignit son sommet au XIXe siècle, que le nombre des biographies dge lugs pa équivaut à peu près à la somme de celles que produisirent les autres écoles, enfin que la plus grande partie de ces biographies a fait l'objet d'éditions xylographiques. Cependant, en croissant en volume, les biographies comportent désormais des passages ou des chapitres qui n'y figuraient pas auparavant (lettres, chants, catalogues…), le changement quantitatif s'accompagnant d'un changement qualitatif.

Certains auteurs de biographies ont donné des indications sur leurs principes et méthodes de rédaction, en particulier le Ve Dalai lama (1617–1682), qui décrit dans son autobiographie les circonstances et le processus de rédaction, impliquant le choix des modèles, la réunion des documents, la vérification des sources, l'ajout de notes et rapports de tiers, l'incorporation de ses notes de mémoire, la rédaction et les ultimes vérifications et ajouts, avec la collaboration d'une véritable équipe de spécialistes. Au XVIIIe siècle, Dpal ldan chos skyong (1702–1759) et à sa suite Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1699–1774), donnèrent de plus brèves indications sur le processus de rédaction.

Blo bzang ’phrin las rnam rgyal, au XIXe siècle fut le plus important biographe du Tibet. Outre ses nombreux travaux consacrés à des contemporains, il écrivit une biographie de Tsong kha pa, et justifia ses choix thématiques, nullement limités aux faits, et son style de rédaction, plus marqué par la poésie que celui de ses prédécesseurs. Il se défendait d’avoir cherché à apporter des éléments nouveaux à l’histoire du maître et expliquait que son but était de soutenir le progrès spirituel de l’individu, le sien comme celui du lecteur. Il avait voulu également corriger des erreurs dans l’interprétation de certains faits de la vie du fondateur, notamment une relative méconnaissance de ses réalisations ésotériques dans les biographies anciennes, attribuée pourtant à la volonté de Tsong kha pa lui-même. Le volume augmenté de la biographie, son style plus savant, au moins dans certains passages, était une preuve de reconnaissance de l’importance d’un maître et un moyen de maintenir l’ordre religieux. Quelques uns de ces principes étaient déjà affirmés au siècle précédent par Thu’u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737–1802), qui critiquait pourtant certains aspects des biographies de son temps en les comparant à des chapitres du Ge sar, ou par Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po (1728–1791). Mkhas grub rje (1385–1438) en son temps insistait déjà sur l’importance pour la biographie de l’usage d’un langage habile et savant. Blo bzang ’phrin las rnam rgyal s’est inspiré de cet exemple et du traité rédigé en 1787 par Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal ’byor (1704–1788), soulignant l’importance de bien comprendre et parler le tibétain, langue de la religion, pour bien comprendre et parler de la religion.

Considérations sur le travail de traduction et d'édition des textes indiens au Tibet

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L'enquête menée sur des temps longs pourrait commencer par une question d'apparence banale : quel est le sens de l'expression *chos kyi skad*[1]? et une question subsidiaire : quelle est la relation qui s'instaure entre les expressions *chos kyi skad* et *rgya yi skad* (ou *rgya nag gi skad*) que l'on voit apparaître dans les traductions anciennes, conservées dans la collection de manuscrits (mss) de Dunhuang?

À l'époque des premières traductions au Tibet l'expression désigne la « langue savante » se distinguant de la langue d'usage courant ou vulgaire, que l'on appellera plus tard *phal skad,* forgée, ou éventuellement adaptée, d'une langue savante préexistante, dont il conviendrait alors de déterminer les qualités[2]. Quant au style, aux expressions, etc., l'opposition entre langue vulgaire *(phal skad)*, comprise du plus grand nombre, et langue savante, se retrouve dans le colophon au *Byang chub lam rim* de Klong rdol Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang (1719–1794), traduit par Jacques Bacot dans son célèbre article « Titres et colophons d'ouvrages non canoniques tibétains »[3].

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[1] *Bod brda'i tshig mdzod* (1989), s. v. *chos skad* : *chos tshig*. *brDa dag ming tshig gsal ba* (1972), s. v. : *deest*. *Bod kyi tshig mdzod chen mo*, *stod cha*, (1985), s. v. : *phal skad ma yin pa'i chos bod nang gi tha snyad rnams* « les expressions/mots *(tha snyad)* propres à la religion bouddhique tibétaine et qui ne relèvent pas de la langue vulgaire *(phal skad)* », à savoir qui relèvent de la langue « savante » voire « sacrée » *(chos skad)*, bref la langue des clercs, lettrés et/ou intellectuels. Sur la base de l'analyse du *sGra sbyor*-même on peut définir ainsi le *chos kyi skad* : « la langue *(skad)* qui sert à traduire *(bsgyur)* en tibétain *(bod kyi skad)* les traités du dharma *(chos kyi gzhung / dar ma)* au moyen des méthodes de traduction du Saddharma *(dam pa'i chos bsgyur ba'i lugs)* », voir Scherrer-Schaub (1999 : 67 et 72 *et passim*). *Cf.* la définition de D. S. Ruegg (2004 : 321–343, 323) : « … a classical language—the *chos skad*—suitable for translating the most difficult words from Sanskrit (etc.) into Tibetan… ».

[2] Au sujet de la langue des textes tibétains anciens, Tsuguhito Takeuchi note : « Old Tibetan texts basically reflect spoken forms of Central Tibetan in 6–7th c. with variations stemming from multilinguistic milieu », *cf.* Takeuchi (2002–2003 : 139–140).

[3] Bacot (1954 : 301) : *grub pa'i dbang po nyid rang nyid mkhas grags dang jo bzang du grags pa'i mdzes lam dang tshig sbyor sogs la gtso bor mi mdzad par bka' gdams gong ma'i gsung ltar phal skad go bde ba gtso bor mdzad pas bzlos pa dang* | Il convient du reste de souligner que l'article en question comporte l'essentiel de la problématique de l'édition dans le cas des mss de Dunhuang, ainsi que des éditions xylographiques plus tardives.

À l'époque qui nous intéresse, le *chos kyi skad* est la langue de traduction, une langue tibétaine pour ainsi dire nouvelle, à l'usage des clercs, intellectuels et/ou lettrés, intégrant à la syntaxe, à la morphologie et surtout au lexique des éléments nouveaux. La mutation qui s'ensuit est déterminée à la fois par les principes exégétiques élaborés en Inde dès les premiers siècles de notre ère (et que l'on se gardera de confiner à la seule « exégèse bouddhique », car ceci obscurcit sensiblement une grande partie du phénomène en étude), et par les règles propres au système complexe de dérivation de la tradition grammaticale indienne, grammaire traditionnelle (paṇinéenne) et grammaire non-paṇinéenne[4], prescrites aux traducteurs. Les érudits indiens *(paṇḍita)* et les très savants traducteurs tibétains *(lo tsā ba mkhas pa)*[5] qui présidèrent à la composition du *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* s'accordèrent aussi au sujet de la précellence du respect de quelques règles syntaxiques, de style, de poétique. Comme nous l'avons montré dans le détail à plusieurs reprises, la traduction porte en elle permanence et changement, transmission et adaptation. La collection des traductions d'époque ancienne et classique (recouvrant *snga dar* et *phyi dar*), et conservées dans les manuscrits de Dunhuang, d'Asie centrale, de Tabo, mais également du Tibet central, est gigantesque. Son étude systématique reste à faire[6]. Ces matériaux intéressent à la

[4] Pieter Verhagen a consacré l'œuvre d'une vie à l'étude de ces questions dont l'importance pour les études indo-tibétaines à notre grand regret est loin d'être reconnue à sa juste valeur, alors qu'il s'agit d'une œuvre capitale, destinée à durer à travers les siècles. Voir Verhagen (1994) et (2001). Il est intéressant de voir qu'alors même que les essais d'historiographie critique (ou non…) abondent, les approches « classiques » ou « lettrées » se font rares. Il est vrai qu'elles requièrent une attention au détail, dont les essais à caractère éphémère peuvent, à l'occasion, se passer. Pour un exemple d'approche classique dans l'optique de la modernité, voir Squarcini (2005 : 11–38).

[5] Dans un ouvrage récent, Ralf Kramer revient sur le sens de *lo tsā ba* « commonly used in Tibet as a metaphorical expression for 'translator', is obviously not a word of Tibetan provenance ». L'auteur retient l'idée qu'il puisse s'agir d'une transcription (abrégée) du mot sanskrit *lokacakṣus / 'jig rten mig,* et cite D. S. Ruegg (1966 : 80, n. 3) dans sa traduction du *rnam thar* de Bu ston qui renvoie au *rDzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston* du V[e] Dalaï lama, voir Kramer (2007 : 51 et n. 33–36).

[6] Des études systématiques sur le lexique et les normes stylistiques sont rares, sinon très rares. Rolf Stein s'intéressa à la poésie ancienne et classique (1959, 1981) et analysa les traductions tibétaines, faites à partir du chinois, en relevant les différences d'ordre lexicologique par rapport aux expressions tibétaines, traduites de textes indiens (1983). La question est terriblement complexe et nécessite une reprise pour ainsi dire à neuf. Qu'en est-il des différences syntaxiques que Stein avait pressenties ? À première vue il n'est pas toujours aisé de reconnaître une traduction faite à partir du chinois. Les savants indiens et tibétains qui procédèrent aux révisions ont-ils d'une manière ou d'une autre, par le truchement du *chos kyi skad,* « indianisé » les traductions faites à partir du chinois ? Le *chos kyi skad* devint-il si normatif qu'il en vint à constituer une langue d'arrivée pour d'autres idiomes que les langues indiennes ? Il est indéniable que l'on trouve des expres-

fois les études de linguistique comparée, phonétique historique, lexicographie, poétique, pratique exégétique. Et l'analyse fine des choix de traduction révèle des aspects intéressants de la vie des savants de cette époque, en somme un pan de l'histoire de la vie intellectuelle du Tibet ancien, plus proche, à quelques égards, de celle d'Alcuin ou de Paul Diacre que des problématiques modernes et contemporaines.

Une nouvelle fois cependant, l'étude doit s'ouvrir à d'autres perspectives. Car comment parvient-on à « décanter » ces matériaux de sorte à pouvoir comprendre dans quelle mesure cette langue savante se laisse courtiser et succombe à la langue véhiculaire, voire au vernaculaire ?

II

L'importance de l'entreprise de traduction au Tibet n'échappa point aux philologues et linguistes du siècle dernier, sans doute en raison de l'essor prodigieux des sciences du langage qui caractérisa leur époque. Dans une lettre à Constantin Regamey expédiée depuis Klippvagende, Lidügo, le 14 février 1955, Helmut Schmidt écrit ceci :

> « À Upsal j'ai revu le jeune Nils Simonsson auteur d'une petite pièce faite, sans doute de truismes sur la métrique tibétaine, mais que j'ai encouragée … parce qu'il combattait l'Edgertonisme cecho-magyar. À présent ce garçon-là travaille un fragment assez étendu d'un *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* tibétain, trouvé au Khotan (Fig. 1) par un membre de la mission Sven Hedin, et que (*sic* = qui), à l'encontre de la version imprimée, préfère traduire les demi-strophes comme unités syntaxiques, tandis que la traduction « classique » rend chaque strophe sanskrite par une unique période tibétaine. Naturellement, ce fragment comporte tous les archaïsmes des mss de Touen-houang signalés par M^lle^ Lalou. S'il arrive à traduire convenablement le petit « manuel de traduction en deux chapitres » qui a bien l'air de faire le pont entre la manière archaïque et la technique des locāba classiques,—et qu'il

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sions tibétaines divergentes dans le cas des traductions à partir du chinois et du sanskrit. Pourtant et par exemple dans le cas du mot « Tathāgata », mentionné par Stein (1983) on peut penser que dans le processus de traduction se glissait ou s'insérait l'aléatoire de la déviation, parfois minime, du sens introduite par l'interprétation et surtout par le décalage entre la période de traduction du texte indien en chinois et la traduction de ce dernier en tibétain. La relation entre mot de départ et mot d'arrivée dans ce cas est biaisée et n'est pas nécessairement biunivoque. Que dire de la position « austère » de Stein (1983), lorsqu'il affirme que le mot « *dar ma* » devrait nous diriger vers les traductions chinoises ? Comment mesurer le maniérisme d'un milieu ? Comment suivre la transmission d'un usage ? Sur les procédures de traduction des textes bouddhiques en Chine voir, récemment, Chen (2005).

sait utiliser sa formation pāṇinéenne qui est respectable—cela fera une thèse (selon les lumières d'Upsal). Comme il n'y a pas de rapporteur compétent en Scandinavie,—le trouverait-on à Lausanne-Fribourg? … » *[la lettre continue]*[7]

Simonsson qui en 1949 séjourna à Paris pour suivre les cours de Jules Bloch, s'initia au tibétain auprès de Marcelle Lalou[8]. Le travail annoncé par Schmidt est un chef d'œuvre tant par l'analyse comparative des traductions tibétaines sur la base des manuscrits tibétains de Dunhuang, que par celle

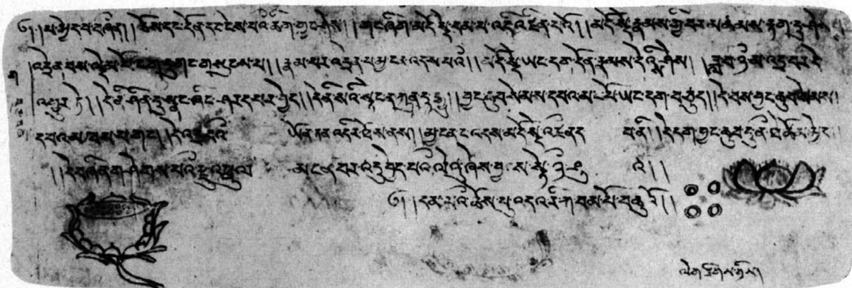


Fig. 1 Dernier folio de la traduction tibétaine du *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* sur lequel travaillait Simonsson. Tiré de : Simonsson (1957).

des éditions canoniques et des sources indiennes. Dans sa thèse, Simonsson fit aussi une part importante aux moyens et méthodes mis en œuvre par les savants indiens et tibétains[9] et publia la première traduction complète du *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa.* L'étude systématique des traductions initiée par Simonsson, si elle inspira de nombreux travaux d'édition de textes canoniques, dans sa conception-même cependant n'eut pratiquement pas de suite[10]. L'analyse de la terminologie de traduction pour sa part connut une fortune meilleure, à commencer par la magistrale étude de Rolf Stein.

[7] Collection privée.

[8] L'amitié profonde qui lia Marcelle Lalou et Constantin Regamey, faite d'estime et d'affinités, dura jusqu'à la mort de la grande tibétologue française, comme en témoigne sa dernière lettre à Constantin Regamey, expédiée quelques jours avant sa disparition.

[9] Notre collègue Namgyal Nyima Dagkar (1998) a publié un article sur les méthodes de traduction des textes Zhang zhung en tibétain.

[10] À l'exception des linguistes, spécialistes des langues tibéto-birmanes dont les études sont, indirectement, liés à la problématique. *Cf.* Zeisler (2006 : 57–101) et Beckwith (2006 : 1–38, notamment 19–21). La parution récente du dictionnaire du dialecte bTsanlha de la langue rGyalrong montre, si besoin était, la richesse des échanges dans le domaine des langues tibéto-birmanes, voir Prins & Nagano (2009). Jacques Bacot (1951), en notant l'impasse à laquelle doivent faire face les linguistes qui s'appliquent à l'étude du tibétain « en mode indo-européen », plaidait déjà pour son étude du point de vue linguistique, telle que la pratiquait Constantin Regamey, l'un des premiers à inclure

À cette forme particulière de hiérarchie de sens que la traduction tibétaine appelle, vient s'ajouter le fait suivant. Le *chos kyi skad,* s'il ne force pas toujours la langue tibétaine dans le moule du sanskrit, fait de celle-ci un mode particulier d'écriture qui apparaît tout d'abord comme la conséquence d'un choix de traduction littérale, et se révèle ensuite comme une forme particulière de transfert du rythme initial du texte de départ (la traduction du code poétique) lui-même déjà normalisé dans la langue de départ, parce que fixé et, en principe, inaltérable, bref « sacré »[11].

Voyons maintenant ce que les sources tibétaines de première époque elles-mêmes nous disent sur les tensions variées qui purent se créer ou exister au moment et à l'occasion de la traduction en langue vernaculaire des écrits indiens (bouddhiques certes mais aussi non bouddhiques, comme en témoignent les mss de Dunhuang), bref des « classiques indiens ». Une allusion passablement cryptique qui pourrait faire référence à une forme de polémique au sujet du sanskrit[12] nous vient d'un passage du *sBa bzhed* (avec des parallèles chez d'autres historiens, Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192) par exemple, au demeurant avec des sens sensiblement différents) où l'on se demande comment les expressions sanskrites [telles *sa ra mi ta*, recte : *pa ra mi ta* ? les graphèmes *sa* et *pa* pouvant effectivement se confondre] étant inintelligibles *(go ba med pas)* pourraient-elles convenir *(btub pa ci la 'ong)* [à l'exercice de l'enseignement du] dharma *(chos)*. Le motif est récurrent et aussi vieux que les discussions des scoliastes indiens, et se rencontre à plusieurs reprises au cours de l'histoire de la transmission des textes indiens en dehors de l'Inde. Celle-ci se fit suivant deux cas de figure : transmission du bouddhisme d'abord en sanskrit (et/ou *quasi*-sankrit) et ensuite en vernaculaire (à Khotan par exemple ou en sanskrit et autres langues bouddhiques, comme à Turfan), ou transmission directe en vernaculaire (Chine, Tibet)[13].

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la linguistique tibétaine dans son programme d'études aux universités de Fribourg et Lausanne. Bacot lui-même s'appliqua à l'enseignement du tibétain dit « littéraire », dont il composa une grammaire.

[11] Tant et si bien que l'on put procéder à la rétro-traduction du tibétain en sanskrit. En 1951, Jacques Bacot soulignait les hésitations, voire les limites du procédé de rétro-traduction, toujours d'actualité à l'Institut d'études tibétaines et bouddhiques de Sarnāth. Sur la valeur d'un tel procédé, voir Steinkellner (1980 : 97–98) et (1988 : 109–110), Ruegg (1992 : 385–388) et (1995 : 96 et n. 1).

[12] Nous trouvons dans le *sBa bzhed*, Stein (1961 : 79.11) : *rgya gar gyi skad sa/pa ra mi ta 'di la go ba med pas chos btub pa ci la 'ong | 'o cag (12) btsun pa thams cad khyim par phab la chos la sku bsnyad 'tsal ba chos khrims gzhig ces (13) gleng nas* … « On se pose la question de savoir si la langue sanskrite [est une langue] convenable *(btub pa = rung ba)* [pour enseigner] le dharma, puisque des [expressions comme] *sa/pa ra mi ta* sont [du véritable] charabia/inintelligibles *(go ba med pa)* … ». *Cf.* Nyang ral (1988 : 431–432).

[13] *Cf.* Scherrer-Schaub (2009 : 160).

La langue « sacrée » cependant persiste dans la liturgie et le rituel. À Khotan par exemple la langue indienne est de rigueur dans l'administration des *saṃvaru (saṃvara, sdom pa)*. L'officiant doit parler en « langue indienne » au moment où il informe les buddha des dix directions que l'impétrant souhaite prendre les vœux, en somme le sanskrit est ici la « langue des dieux », comme dirait Sheldon Pollock.

L'on pourrait en rester là, n'était le fait que le critère d'intelligibilité *(go ba)* de la langue tibétaine prend de l'importance dans les règles adressées aux traducteurs de première époque. Dans le *sGra sbyor* ce critère prend même un caractère exclusif :

> « Quant à la méthode pour traduire les textes bouddhiques, [voici ses principes fondamentaux] : pour autant qu'il n'y ait pas de contradiction avec le sens *(don dang yang mi 'gal la)* il faut [traduire] comme il sied au tibétain. Quant à la traduction des [textes] bouddhiques *(dharma bsgyur ba la)*, si en traduisant en tibétain sans dévier de l'ordre correct/régulier (*go rims*, *anukrama*, i. e. la syntaxe, et la morphologie?) de la langue indienne, et que [de la sorte] la relation entre sens et expression convient [au tibétain, autrement dit si cela respecte l'intelligibilité] *(don dang tshig tu 'brel zhing bde na)* dans ce cas que l'on traduise sans s'écarter [de la syntaxe indienne].
>
> Il advient [cependant que] le bon [tibétain] et l'intelligibilité *(bde zhing go ba)* ne s'obtiennent qu'en s'écartant [de la syntaxe indienne], tel est par exemple le cas *(rung ste)* [de la traduction de passages versifiés,] d'une stance en quatre ou six pieds : [dans ce cas] que l'on s'écarte [de la syntaxe indienne] et que l'on traduise de manière appropriée dans le cas *(nang na)* d'une unique stance et pour ce qui est du pied lui-même *(rkang pa)* que l'on s'écarte [de l'ordre du vers indien] en sorte que cela convienne [au bon tibétain,] en visant en premier le sens *(don gang snyegs pa yan chad kyi)* tout en ayant en vue à la fois l'expression et le sens, les deux *(tshig dang don gnyis ka la)*. »[14]

Ce simple paragraphe, surtout lorsqu'il est mis en relation avec les documents anciens, nous éclaire beaucoup sur le travail effectivement accompli par les érudits tibétains et indiens qui, faut-il le souligner, travaillaient sur un pied d'égalité. Il se peut du reste que la plupart d'entre eux aient été bi-

[14] *dam pa'i chos bsgyur ba'i lugs ni don dang yang mi 'gal la Bod skad yang gar bde bar gyis shig / dha rmma bgsyur ba la rGya gar gyi skad go rims las mi bsnor bar Bod kyi skad du bsgyur na don dang tshig tu 'brel zhing bde na ma bsnor bar sgyur cig / bsnor na bde zhing go ba bskyed pa zhig yod na / tshigs bcad la ni rtsa ba bzhi pa'am / drug pa'ang rung ste / tshigs su bcad pa gcig gi nang na gang bde ba bsnor zhing sgyur cig / rkang pa la ni don gang snyegs pa yan chad kyi tshig dang don gnyis ka la gar bde bar bsnor zhing sgyur cig / cf.* Scherrer-Schaub (2002 : 319–320).

lingues *(skad gnyis smra ba rnams)*, bilinguisme que l'on retrouve chez sKyogs ston lo tsā ba Rin chen bkra shis[15] et a toujours cours au XVII[e] siècle chez Tshe ring dbang rgyal[16], voire plurilingues. De surcroît, les traductions pouvaient être soumises à un processus complexe d'édition sur la base de versions en langue non indienne, considérées néanmoins comme fiables. Nous savons qu'à Khotan au X[e] s., le *Siddhasāra*, célèbre traité médical indien, fut retraduit sur la base d'une version ancienne à partir du sanskrit et d'une traduction tibétaine réputée. Le fait est doublement confirmé par la préface au texte, écrite en khotanais, et par l'étude philologique de la traduction khotanaise[17].

Mais revenons au Tibet. Comme nous l'avons vu, cette langue virtuelle de traduction qui se veut normalisante—n'oublions pas qu'aux VII–VIII[e] siècles le bouddhisme indien a plus de dix siècles d'histoire et de pratique exégétique, à savoir aussi de «traduction interne» à une même langue dans le cas de textes anciens indiens en Inde-même—se heurte aux impératifs de la poétique tibétaine de l'époque bien que, pour l'heure, la question soit relativement difficile à cerner[18].

Autre cas intéressant. Le *sGra sbyor* toujours, comporte un passage sur l'usage des préfixes verbaux ou des particules invariables *(tshig gi phrad, nipāta)* qui, en sanskrit, jouent un rôle complexe. Les préverbes *(nye bar [b]sgyur ba, upasarga)* peuvent, suivant les cas, qualifier le verbe ou projeter leur fonction sur un autre élément de la phrase. Le *sGra sbyor* prescrit la traduction des particules en question, lors qu'elles concourent « à un surplus de sens » *(don lhag pa)*, mais non pas si leur fonction est purement explétive (*rgyan lta bur*, litt. « comme qui dirait ornementale »).[19] Or, une analyse fine des traductions montre un certain flou dans le respect des règles de traduc-

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[15] Verhagen (1996 : 279) en se référant au *sGra'i nyer mkho gal che ba'i skor 'ga' zhig,* note « It is evident from these notes that Skyogs-ston not only consulted the Tibetan translation(s), but, in cases where there was reason to assume that due to the original translator(s), reviser(s) or scribes some error had corrupted the Tibetan transmission, he would go back to the Sanskrit originals. It appears that Skyogs-ston used several Sanskrit manuscripts for this purpose, two, perhaps three of *Mahā-pratisāra-vidyā,* two of *Mahā-sāhasra-pramardana-sūtra*, and at least one of *Mahā-māyūrī-vidyā* ».

[16] *Cf. Nye bar mkho ba'i legs sbyar gyi skad bod kyi brda' kā li'i phreng bsgrigs ngo mtshar nor bu'i do shal.*

[17] Emmerick (1985 : 23).

[18] Per Sørensen tout en soulignant les difficultés inhérentes à l'étude de la tradition littéraire à l'époque ancienne, fournit des données très précieuses que l'on peut glaner à travers toute son œuvre. Voir notamment Sørensen (1994 : 1–39). Le premier savant féru de poétique fut sans doute Sa skya Paṇḍita, notamment le petit traité intitulé *« sDeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po ba », cf.* Jackson (1987, vol. I : 59).

[19] *Cf.* Simonsson (1957 : 255–256).

tion, et il n'est pas rare d'observer que lorsque le texte indien comporte une famille d'expressions composées (verbe racine qualifié par différents préverbes) les traducteurs optent pour un seul équivalent, généralement le plus simple. Nous nous heurtons ici à un problème de lexicographie historique.

Mais encore : pour quelle raison conseille-t-on aux traducteurs de s'en tenir à la langue vernaculaire dans le cas de la traduction des nombres[20] si, comme tout le laisse à croire, la nouvelle langue *(chos kyi skad)* normalisante et normalisée est uniquement destinée à traduire les textes bouddhiques qui, après tout, pourraient bel et bien supporter une terminologie « recherchée », bref respecter la lettre du « sacré » ? À l'évidence, l'intelligibilité prime, donc le souci de diffusion du savoir, le but visé étant la *publication* du texte, bref sa circulation[21]. Voilà un cas éclatant où les contraintes inhérentes au processus de traduction modifient *de facto* le texte indien. Du coup, la traduction devient matière vivante, la langue d'arrivée « plie » la langue de départ :

> « La traduction est si loin d'être la stérile équation de deux langues mortes que précisément, parmi toutes les formes, celle qui lui revient le plus proprement consiste à prêter attention à la maturation posthume de la parole étrangère et aux douleurs d'enfantement de sa propre parole. »[22]

III

À cette oeuvre d'édition interne des textes, où nous voyons les érudits indiens et tibétains travailler de concert et sur la base d'analyses très savantes —le manuel destiné aux traducteurs conserve dans sa seconde partie un véritable petit traité de lexicologie[23]—s'ajoute le travail d'édition externe pour lequel des passages difficiles ou incompréhensibles nécessitent la recherche d'autres exemplaires du texte indien, voire de la traduction tibétaine.

Ainsi du cas célèbre de la traduction de l'un des textes de *Sher phyin*, conservé à Dunhuang, qui atteste le formulaire *ne varietur* des colophons tel que nous les connaissons par les éditions tardives des écritures :

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[20] *Cf.* Scherrer-Schaub (1999 : 73).

[21] Il est important de souligner le fait que la circulation du texte, bref son édition et publication, est co-essentielle à une grande partie du monde bouddhique. Ainsi, les *mahāyāna-sūtra,* ou en tout cas une partie de ceux-ci, contiennent le précis du rite d'éloge, dévotion, diffusion et multiplication du texte, en une sorte de préfiguration d'*hyperlink* qui active le texte en sa dimension performative.

[22] Benjamin (2000 : 250).

[23] *Cf.* Simonsson (1957 : 264–280), Scherrer-Schaub (1992 : 213–217), (1999 : 71) et (2002 : 328–330).

> « Après que le *mkhan po* indien Śīlendrabodhi et le grand réviseur *lo tsa ba* vénérable Ye shes [sde?] eurent corrigé [le texte[24]] sur la base de la *ṭīkā*, [le texte] a paru *(phab pa').* ʻIl comporte un bam po.ʼ » *rgya gar gyi mkhan po Śi len 'tra bo de dang | zhu chen gi lo tsa ba ban de Ye shes | ti ka dang sbyar te zhus nas slad kyis phab pa'|| bam po gcig* ||[25] Ptib 99

Ce passage qui conserve l'un des témoignages les plus anciens du travail d'édition des traductions tibétaines, appelle quelques explications. La formule « *…zhus nas slad kyis (gtan la) phab pa'* » peut se traduire aussi, plus simplement, par « une fois corrigé [le texte] a ensuite été édité ». Or, l'expression « *gtan la phab pa* », de même que ses variantes et dérivés, ont été interprétés par les scoliastes tibétains comme se référant à l'état final du texte qui, après correction [et révision par le 'super-correcteur' *(zhu chen)*,] est établi *(gdab pa)* comme fiable *(yid ches par)*, autrement dit dont la correction est pour ainsi dire « assurée » *(thag gcod)* de manière non équivoque *(gcig tu shes pa)*[26]. Nous avions du reste jusqu'ici adopté cette interprétation qui renvoie à la pratique des logiciens et/ou à la pratique juridique. C'est bien ainsi que l'expression *gtan la phab pa* peut avoir, comme antécédent sanskrit, *nirṇaya* et dérivés, terme bien connu de logique, mais désignant aussi la conclusion ou la sentence d'un procès. Nous avions effectivement retenu ce sens dans le cas de la première mesure officielle prise au Tibet à l'égard des principes de traduction des textes bouddhiques, décision qui fut fixée et/ou ratifiée par les hautes instances en la présence du *btsan po*[27].

Mais le verbe *phab pa* sert aussi à traduire le sanskrit *avatṛ-* qui signifie notamment « descendre, arriver, venir » (ainsi par exemple Ptib 1288, l. 20 *et passim* : *by*i *ba'*i *lo la bab ste*), tomber (ainsi de la pluie : *char phab pa*), entrer, apparaître, à savoir venue, surgissement, apparition *(avatāra)*; mais aussi *ā-viś-* et dérivés signifiant « entrer, entrer dans tel état, s'emparer ». Le verbe

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[24] Il s'agit de la *Vajracchedikā* ou *rDo rje gcod pa' shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa theg pa chen po'i mdo.* Or, le commentaire à la *Vajracchedik*ā que Tucci trouva au monastère de Ngor (en sanskrit) fut mal compris par les Tibétains, alors que (exception oblige) la traduction chinoise est, dit Tucci, plus fidèle au sanskrit. Le mss de Dunhuang (complet !) est à cet égard très précieux. De surcroît, un fragment du même texte est conservé dans la collection de Tabo, avec de minimes variantes. Voir Harrison (2009 : 69, § 1.1.6.1.4).

[25] Lalou (1939 : 33, Ptib 99).

[26] *Cf. brDa dag ming tshig gsal ba*, ss. vv. *gtan la phab pa, gtan la dbab bya*. Les sens auxquels renvoie Chos grags semblent suggérer que, dans le cas précis, *gtan la phab pa* a, pour antécédent, le sanskrit *upadeśa*, notamment en *Nyāya-sūtra* I.7. Voir aussi *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, ss. vv. *gtan la phebs pa*, *gtan la 'bebs pa*.

[27] *Cf.* Scherrer-Schaub (2002 : 292–293). Pour un autre sens, voir Sørensen (1994 : 184), au sujet du Code de Srong btsan sgam po, que les lois « were set in system ».

'bebs dont il dérive peut avoir, comme antécédent sanskrit, le verbe *utsṛj-* qui, entre autres, signifie « émettre, produire, transmettre, donner, créer (dans le cas du poète par exemple) ». La congruence de sens que nous voyons à l'œuvre ici renvoie à la fois à l'acte d'éditer un texte et à son résultat, ou si l'on veut au processus et au produit. Elle n'est pas sans évoquer les emplois variés des verbes latins *edere*[28] *(in lucem)* et *emittere* désignant la naissance de l'œuvre (sa *mise au jour*), en usage chez les intellectuels du moyen âge.

Les métaphores que cet emploi évoque, dans le cas du Tibet ancien, sont au moins deux. En premier, la fameuse image du « *dar ma* venu/descendu du ciel » (*gnam babs kyi dar ma*[IO 370.5, l. 1])[29], dont les implications, prégnantes, dépassent de beaucoup le cadre du présent travail. Ensuite, celle de l'« entrée [de la divinité] dans un support » *(dbab pa'i snod la)*, dans le cas précis un (ou une) enfant par qui le rite de divination peut s'accomplir. Un passage très intéressant de l'« Enquête de Joli-bras » *(Subāhuparipṛccha)*, l'un des premiers *tantra* traduits au Tibet (*cf.* Scherrer-Schaub 1999), conserve pour nous un parallèle frappant. Le texte décrit les préparatifs du rite auxquels s'adonne l'officiant, ici appelé *mantrin (sngags pa)*, afin que la divinité parvienne à *choir (lha 'bab)*[30] dans le support pour que le rite de divination puisse réussir. Il met en place un ensemble terminologique proche de la formule de *mise au jour* de l'œuvre que nous avons vu dans le cas des traductions. Une remarque très intéressante de Hildegard Diemberger au sujet du *lo tsā ba*, l'officiant qui intervient dans le rite de divination, nous permet de souligner la parenté étroite existant entre le traducteur et l'interprète. David S. Ruegg cite un épisode de la vie de Tsong kha pa qui nuance la vision trop restrictive que l'on pourrait avoir de sa personne :

> « His biographies and hagiographies have represented him as indebted to other Tibetan masters also. Among his contemporaries there was Bla ma dBu ma pa dPa' bo rdo rje, who is stated to have acted as intermediary (*lo tsā ba* 'interpreter') for Tsoṅ kha pa in visionary encounters with the Bodhisattva Mañjughoṣa… »[31]

On peut souligner que le rite de divination, les rencontres visionnaires, ainsi que la transmission d'un texte reposent tous sur la lecture d'un certain type de signes, leur interprétation et leur communication. Au Tibet, comme en

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[28] *Edere*, dans son sens étymologique de *ex dare*, proche de « publier », l'une des acceptions du mot « éditer ».

[29] *Cf.* MvyS 4103 s. v. « *lha yul nas babs pa* », sanskrit « *devāvatāra* ».

[30] *Cf.* Stein (1959 : 335–340).

[31] Ruegg (2004 : 327). Remarquable également la suite : « The *topos* of visionary encounter and teaching may perhaps be understood as implicitly alluding, in India as well as in Tibet, to a felt need for both conservative traditionalism and restorative or renovative interpretation ».

Grèce ancienne, le même verbe peut signifier traduire et interpréter : *(b)sgyur ba* et *hermēneúô* et, chez Platon par exemple, la pratique herméneutique est en premier « l'interprétation des oracles et des signes divins ». Il s'agit d'une problématique qui embrasse pour ainsi dire l'universalité de la question : au Tibet, comme en Inde ou en Grèce, traduire et interpréter procèdent de pair. Les verbes pour le dire évoquent la transformation, le changement, la science des transformations et les arts magiques.

Comme en témoignent de riches notes interlinéaires conservées à Dunhuang, à Tabo, et au Tibet central, le travail de traduction et/ou d'édition avait lieu parallèlement au travail d'explication *(bśad pa, vyākhyā)* des textes. La lecture de ces annotations révèle des faits intéressants : l'affiliation scolastique des maîtres qui commentaient le texte (qui peut conduire à une datation précise de la traduction en question), la dynamique entre oral et écrit, la connaissance des textes existants dans une région donnée, (une pratique que nous connaissions bien grâce à l'immense littérature des *rnam thar* et des *chos 'byung*), mais encore l'origine du scribe. L'analyse de ces matériaux[32] et notamment des commentaires interlinéaires met en évidence le rôle des diverses écoles exégétiques dans la transmission des textes, un fait bien connu dans ses généralités, mais qui demeure obscur dans le détail et ce, en Inde déjà. Plus intéressant encore parce que directement lié à la pratique éditoriale et à la publication des textes, les matériaux anciens montrent que d'anciennes traductions plus proches de l'original sanskrit ont été altérées en raison de principes éditoriaux[33]. Une certaine perte dans la transmission s'est ainsi opérée, alors comme aujourd'hui, en raison du phénomène d'unification inhérent à toute édition et surtout à la collation des écritures. Or, sans l'archéologie des fragments anciens, il serait fort difficile de s'en apercevoir.

Une nouvelle fois, les analyses de micro-histoire viennent pointer du doigt l'extrême variété des pratiques, la diversité des apports réciproques. Éviter l'opposition trop simple et le confinement des aires d'études pour

[32] Toru Tomabechi (1999 : 61) a suivi les notes interlinéaires d'un fragment de manuscrit du *Guhyasamāja* de Tabo et montré que le commentaire annoté suit la tradition de l'école Ārya *('phags lugs)*, telle qu'elle est présentée dans le *Pañcakrama*.

[33] C'est le cas par exemple de la traduction de *Pradīpoddyotana* qui fut traduite une première fois par Rin chen bzang po et Śraddhākaravarman et revisée ensuite par 'Gos Khug pa lhas btsas, la première en collaboration avec le *paṇḍita* Śrījñānakara, la seconde avec Kṛṣṇa. Or on remarque que 'Gos lo tsā ba révisa le texte sur la base des *pratīka* du *Guhyasamāja* [ce principe est bien connu et attesté par le *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas* de Rol pa'i rdo rje]. Or, ce faisant, les réviseurs altérèrent le texte original du *Pradīpoddyotana*, que nous connaissons grâce aux fragments de Tabo et sans lesquels nous serions bien embarrassés de pouvoir conclure. Voir Toru Tomabechi (1999 : 66–67 *et sq.*).

chercher en revanche la complexité des époques de transition et des espaces de transmission, tel est le but de notre recherche.

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ABSTRACT

Reconsidering some aspects of the process of translating and editing Indian texts in Tibet

At the epoch of the first Tibetan translations of Indian texts the expression *chos kyi skad* designates the scholarly language to be distinguished from the ordinary language, later on called *phal skad*. The *chos kyi skad* is, from a certain point of view, a new form of Tibetan, elaborated in the process of translating Indian Buddhist texts. This peculiar language integrates new elements into the preexisting syntax, morphology and, above all, the lexicon. As attested in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa,* this semantic novelty is accompanied by a complete set of refined instructions, jointly elaborated by the Tibetan and Indian scholars, and recommending that translators act in accordance with the rules of syntax, style and poetics. Particular emphasis is put upon the respect of the rules of the target language, namely Tibetan, and the pre-eminence of intelligibility *(go ba)*, thus showing particular concern to/of the *diffusion of knowledge*, aiming at its *publication*, in short its *circulation*.

The systematic study of cases, drawn from the impressive amount of Tibetan translations, and dating of/to the *snga* and *phyi dar*, particularly when confronted with the corresponding Indian extant texts, shows that the constraints inherent to the process of translation, are *de facto* modifying the Indian text, even if subreptitiously: thereby the translation becomes a living material, the target language (Tibetan) inflects the source language (Sanskrit).

To this *inner process of producing text*s, made in concert by Indian and Tibetan scholars, is added an *outer editing work* that requires the search of Indian *exemplars*, if not of pre-existing Tibetan translations, to clarify difficult or obscure passages, and settle the final edition *(gtan la phab pa)*. At the same epoch however, the expression *phab pa (> 'bebs pa)* is also used to translate a family of terms referring to the act of editing a text and to its result, in other wordes the *process* and its *produce*. Moreover, a complex terminological cluster appears that connects the act of translating to the act of interpreting *via* the interpreter *(lo tsā ba)*. And in this respect the divination rite, the visionary encounter, as well as the text transmission all rest on the reading of a certain type of sign, that is its interpretation and further communication. In Tibet, as in classical antiquity, the same verb (namely *[b]sgyur*) signifies «translate» and «interpret». As in Plato, where the hermeneutic practice is first of all «the interpretation of oracles and divine signs».

Finally and if we follow diachronically the *snga* and *phyi dar* translations, extant in various manuscripts collections (Dunhuang, Tabo and Central Tibet), we may see that in some cases the former translations, close to the Sanskrit antecedents, have been subsequently altered due to the editorial process. A kind of loss of textual transmission had taken place at that time, as today, because of a phenomenon of standardization inherent to the edition and collation of Scriptures (and even in secular production!), that without the «archaeology» of old fragmentary manuscripts would hardly be noticed.

Collecting and Arranging the *gTer ma* Tradition: Kong sprul's Great Treasury of the Hidden Teachings

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For many years I have been working with the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, the "Precious Treasury of Rediscovered Teachings", compiled between 1855 and 1893 by Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899). The first catalogue describing the texts contained in the first thirteen volumes of the altogether 63 volumes of the mTshur phu edition[1] (printed between 1909 and 1912) was published already in 1990. In 2009 the detailed catalogue of the whole collection as preserved in the Berlin State Library ("Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz") has been completed. The descriptions of the more than 2,500 texts cover five thick volumes with altogether more than 2,000 pages.[2] The description of each single text of the collection includes the transliteration and translation of the full title and colophon. In many cases summaries or detailed structures of the respective content are added. A separate volume containing the indices will follow soon. Therefore I want to use this opportunity to reflect on the genesis, structure and compiling of this famous collection which is nowadays part of the canonical collections of the rNying ma school of Tibetan Buddhism as well as an evidence for Kong sprul's commitment to the non-sectarian *Ris med* movement he had founded together with 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892).[3] The *Rin chen gter mdzod* incorporates not only hundreds of texts from the rNying ma tradition but also selected texts from the bKa' brgyud, Sa skya, Jo nang, bKa' gdams and Bon traditions. Due to the efforts of Kong sprul the *Rin chen gter mdzod* constitutes a collection of authoritative writings which since then has been appreciated and transmitted especially among followers of the rNying ma and the Karma bKa' brgyud schools.

The *Rin chen gter mdzod* is a representative cross-section of the *gter ma* tradition of the rNying ma school bringing together texts from many centu-

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[1] Regarding the history of this edition see Schwieger (1990: XXXIII ff.).

[2] Schwieger (1990), Schwieger (1995), Schwieger (1999), Schwieger (2009), Everding (2008).

[3] For a brief historical summary of the *Ris med* movement and its significance to Tibetan Buddhisms today see Samuel (1993: 536–543).

ries starting with the 11th century and ending with the 19th century, the time being contemporaneous with the compiler. In fact texts said to have been handed down in an unbroken lineage from the 11th century are rare. A great portion of the texts attributed to early treasure finders *(gter ston)* turn out to be earth or meditational rediscoveries from later periods.[4] In this regard 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po holds a key position. Comparing the different periods of receiving Buddhist teachings through treasure findings and visions, the 17th century stands out as a very productive epoch. The names especially to be mentioned are Karma Chags med (1613–1678), Mi 'gyur rdo rje (1645–1668),[5] Kaḥ thog gter chen Klong gsal snying po (1625–1692), gTer bdag gling pa (1646–1714) and Rol pa'i rdo rje (17th–18th century).

The *Rin chen gter mdzod* includes all types of *gter ma*: earth treasures *(sa gter)*, once again discovered treasures *(yang gter)*, sky treasures *(gnam gter)*, mind treasures *(dgongs gter)* and pure visions *(dag snang)*. Most of them are rather small texts functioning as the core of a specific cult. Added are therefore many additional texts composed and more often compiled by Kong sprul, which he regarded as necessary to complete the actual *gter ma* texts and to enable their applicability to the practice. Again and again he thought it important to emphasize that his additions are free from personal creations *(gzhung gi tshig ma bcos par, rang bzo med par)*. Normally he took the passages for recitation from the respective *gter ma* source text or from similar *gter ma* texts and combined them through his own wordings as well as short instructions for the practice. *Mantra*s were sometimes modified to suit them to the cult of the specific deity.[6] Kong sprul contributed most of the supplementary texts himself. Therefore his various names appear most often in the colophons of the collection. However, among the additions are also texts from other famous rNying ma authors like Dharmaśrī (1654–1717/8) and rDo rje brag *rig 'dzin* Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717) as well as selected texts from other Buddhist schools.

Totally missing are the dGe lugs pa. The fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), present as an author in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, does not appear as a representative of the dGe lugs tradition but clearly as a figure of the rNying ma one. In this context he is closely linked with gTer bdag gling pa and rDo rje brag *sprul sku* Padma 'phrin las. Their cooperation is not only proved by

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[4] Regarding Sangs rgyas bla ma see Schwieger (1990: XXIX, note 14).

[5] Cf. Jampal Zangpo (1988: 35–70), Schwieger (1978: 37–40). According to Kong sprul, Mi 'gyur rdo rje died in his 24th year, that is 1668 (cf. Schwieger 1978: *ibid.*). According to Jampal Zangpo (1988: 51) he died in 1667, in his 23rd year.

[6] Cf. Schwieger (1990: XXXII).

gTer bdag gling pa's biography[7] but by many colophons in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* as well.

A few Bon texts selected as something useful especially regarding worldly goals[8] are also included.[9] This seems to be plausible against the background of Kong sprul's biography. However, when you take a look at Kong sprul's other great collections it is only in the seventh volume of the *Thun mong ma yin pa'i mdzod* that you find a "fair amount of material on the Bon po tradition in Tibet".[10] As Madame Blondeau pointed out, Kong sprul had to face criticism for his openess towards the Bon tradition and felt that he had to defend his attitude by emphasizing overlaps between the *gter ma* traditions of the rNying ma pa and the Bon po.[11] However, the few Bon texts included into the *Rin chen gter mdzod* are all somehow connected with Padmasambhava whose heritage is to be preserved by the collection.

The whole collection is divided into the sections of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga, thus assigning the different *gter ma* teachings to a place within the classification of the three final vehicles *(theg pa)* unique to the rNying ma pa. Similar to the collection of the ancient tantras, the Mahāyoga section is here by far the most extensive one among the three. It covers 52 volumes of the altogether 63 volumes of the mTshur phu edition. Emphasizing the practice of the development stage its texts contain the *sādhana*s of Vajrasattva as the embodiment of all the Buddha families, the assembly of the peaceful and wrathful deities, the *guru* as the source of blessing, the personal deities *(iṣṭa)* as the source of accomplishments and the sky goers *(ḍākinī)* and the guardians of the teachings *(dharmapāla)* as the source of activities. They then further deal extensively with the various attached activities of protection, pacification, enrichment, domination and destroying—not only in the volumes 40 to 54 which explicitly cover these activities but spread all over the other parts of the Mahāyoga as well.[12] Especially the activities of protection, pacification and enrichment take up a lot of space. We find activities to protect from diseases, evil spirits, defilements, war, the dangers of the ele-

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[7] Cf. Schwieger (1985: XLVIII–LX).

[8] See the colophon of text no. 2162.

[9] Especially in vol. 39 *(Ti)* and 40 *(Thi)*. Cf. Schwieger (1999: 279ff.).

[10] Smith (2001: 266).

[11] Blondeau (1985), Blondeau (1988), Schwieger (1990: XXXIII).

[12] The classification of the texts into Mahā-, Anu- and Atiyoga does not say that texts belonging to a specific class do not contain methods and views of the others but that they are grouped according to the prevailing ones (cf. Everding 2008: XXXVIII). For a detailed analysis of the structure see the catalogues, especially the respective table of content as well as the introduction especially in Schwieger (1990: XXXV–XXXVII), Schwieger (1995: XLI–XLIV), Schwieger (1999: XIX–XXII).

ments, hail, frost, poison, robbers, thieves and weapons, activities to pacify diseases, evil spirits, black magic, spells and sins and activities to enrich life, wisdom, merit, wealth, reputation, harvest, descendants and the Buddhist teachings. Although Anu- and Atiyoga are regarded as superior to the Mahāyoga there obviously was much more need for Mahāyoga texts. According to my impression the reason is that Mahāyoga includes rituals and techniques of visualisation not only useful for attaining enlightment but for serving numerous worldly goals as well, which makes the Mahāyoga a perfect tool within the range of what Samuel (1993) has called the Pragmatic Orientation of Tibetan Buddhism.

The Mahāyoga again is divided into many subsections representing an order which does not follow the history of this specific literature but is totally orientated towards the practice. All in all most of the texts contained in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* are of a schematic type making use of a limited spectrum of patterns and deal with the procedures of ritual and meditation performances.

In the history of the rNying ma school, major activities to collect scattered texts and transmit them as part of authoritative canonical collections started already in the 15th century when Ratna gling pa (1403–1478) laid the foundations for the collection of ancient tantras, the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*.[13] His initiative was much provoked by the fact that many of the tantras appreciated by the rNying ma pa were not included in the *bKa' 'gyur*. In the 17th century gTer bdag gling pa 'Gyur med rdo rje continued these efforts in his monastery (sMin grol gling) supported by his brother Dharmaśrī. Already in the year 1660, at the age of fourteen, he intended to study the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* with his father in the monastery of Dar rgyas chos gling. Dar rgyas chos gling, located in dBus, was his birthplace and home. However, because the monastery held only eighteen volumes of the whole collection, his father sent him to lHo brag, the home area of Ratna gling pa, in the same year. There, in the monastery bKra shis chos gling, he then received the complete reading transmission *(lung)* of the collection from *gsung sprul* Tshul khrims rdo rje. Later, during the years 1685 and 1686, he worked on a new edition of the *rNying ma brgyud 'bum*. Wherever he could find them he collected old issues of the single texts and examined them in regard to their origin. He brought the orthography in line with the one of his time, grouped the texts into different classes and engaged seventeen scribes to copy the texts with golden and silver ink. The texts were arranged in nearly fifty volumes at that time.[14] In the 18th century this collection was

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[13] Dudjom (1991: 794ff).

[14] Schwieger (1985: XLIII, XLVff., LX).

then protected through the efforts of 'Jigs med gling pa (1730–1798). Furthermore he added the first catalogue of the collection as well as a history of the old tantras.[15]

Regarding the three mentioned rNying ma scholars, Ratna gling pa, gTer bdag gling pa and 'Jigs med gling pa, it is said that they considered the continuous transmission of the so-called *bka' ma* tradition as endangered and therefore made efforts to protect and stabilize it through creating a corpus of texts with canonical character. Such a motivation also guided Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas when he decided to create a similar corpus for the *gter ma* tradition to preserve what Padmasambhava is said to have taught in Tibet and the treasure finders have brought out into the open successively. As a motivation, Kong sprul mentions a strong devotion to Padmasambhava since his childhood. Therefore he wanted to strengthen the endangered transmission of the old *gter ma* texts and considered it useful to arrange old and new *gter ma* texts in a single collection.[16] He expressly orientated his project towards what the two sMin grol gling brothers and their close partner, the rDo rje brag *sprul sku* Padma 'phrin las, had achieved jointly for the *bka' ma* literature.[17] There is however a difference between the collection of the old *tantra*s and the *gter ma* collection called *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Whereas the former can be seen above all as part of the efforts to organize a stable canonical ground for the rNying ma school in a period when they faced problems competing with the new schools, the latter is also an instrument through which Kong sprul linked the *gter ma* tradition of the rNying ma pa with the non-sectarian *Ris med* movement.

During his childhood and youth Kong sprul was exposed to different religious traditions. Brought up in a Bon environment he had received his first systematic education in the East-Tibetan rNying ma monastery of Zhe chen. After settling in the Karma bKa' brgyud monastery of dPal spungs, the residence of the incarnations of the Si tu paṇ chen, in 1833, he received empowerments and reading transmissions of the bKa' brgyud, the rNying ma and the Jo nang tradition.[18] At that time practices of different Buddhist schools obviously were already well established in dPal spungs. In 1840 Kong sprul came into contact with the scholar 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po. Their relations were intensified especially from 1852 onwards. 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po, in his youth ordained in the famous rNying ma pa monastery sMin grol gling, had received empowerments and

[15] Cf. Van Schaik (2000: 6ff.), Dudjom (1991: 838).

[16] Text 8: 6r.

[17] Text no. 8: 3v, 4v.

[18] Cf. Barron (2003: 24ff.).

traditions of the rNying ma, the Sa skya, the bKa' gdams and the different bKa' brgyud schools.[19] So he was well able to support Kong sprul's non-sectarian attitude, to the effect that in 1852 Kong sprul began to speak up actively for the ideals of the *Ris med* movement.[20] The basic ideal of this movement was to gain a general acceptance of the traditions and practices of different schools including the Bon one as authentic and authoritative. But we can presume that the motivation was also a political one: The idea arose when the dGe lugs pa in Khams became stronger and severely tried to suppress especially the Karma bKa' brgyud pa in Khams.[21] In such a situation the search for allies suggests itself.

Already in his youth Kong sprul had received initiations and reading transmissions of some *gter ma* traditions of the rNying ma pa. In the year 1855 he began to think about producing a collection especially of smaller and rare important *gter ma* texts whose unbroken transmission he had received in the years before. 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po supported this idea and provided as a basis four volumes of *gter ma* texts he had collected himself. Kong sprul asked mKhyen brtse to write a table of content *(dkar chag)* for the collection.[22] The next year Kong sprul engaged three scribes to copy the *gter ma* texts he already had collected earlier.[23] In 1856 ten volumes of *gter ma* texts were completed. Kong sprul did the proofreading and paid the scribes *(yon sprad)*. At that time he called the collection "garland of *gter ma*s" *(gter phreng)*.[24]

In 1862 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse told Kong sprul that he had a vision indicating that the *mDzod lnga*, the five treasuries, would be Kong sprul's special commission *(bka' babs)*. Accordingly he should name the collection of *gter ma* teachings as *gter mdzod*, treasury of *gter ma*s[25] making it one of altogether five great treasuries Kong sprul would produce in his lifetime.[26] In the following year Kong sprul finally changed the name of the collection from "garland of *gter ma*s" into "Precious Treasury of Rediscovered Teachings", *Rin chen gter mdzod*, and started to compile the liturgy manuals *(las*

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[19] Dudjom (1991: 849ff.).

[20] Barron (2003: 86), Schuh (1976: LVI).

[21] See Smith (2001: 248ff.).

[22] Schuh (1976: LIX). Kong sprul's related statement in his autobiography is not correctly translated by Barron (2003: 102). Cf. Kong sprul & Karma (1997: 181).

[23] Barron (2003: 104), Schuh (1976: LIX), Kong sprul & Karma (1997: 183).

[24] Kong sprul & Karma (1997: 186), Schuh (1976: LX), Barron (2003: 106).

[25] Kong sprul & Karma (1997: 212), Barron (2003: 130).

[26] The others are the *bKa' brgyud sngags mdzod*, *gDams ngag mdzod*, *rGya chen mdzod* and *Shes bya mdzod*. For a brief description see Smith (2001: 262–267).

byang), empowerment rituals *(dbang chog)*, instructions *(khrid yig)* and required supplementary texts *(yan lag nyer mkho)* which should complete the actual *gter ma* texts so that for each cult a complete set of rituals could be offered.[27]

In 1868 Kong sprul gave the empowerments and reading transmissions to some prominent lamas and tulkus for the first time. And he would repeat this during the following years. Nevertheless the next years he was still busy writing supplementary ritual arrangements. In 1871, Kong sprul composed a first history of traditions *(brgyud yig)* for the *gter ma*s collected in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. In 1872 he gave the empowerments and reading transmissions of the whole collection for the second time. And he would repeat this during the following years. dBon sprul rin po che of dPal spungs monastery promised to sponsor the printing of the new collection. Since he died in 1874, he was able to do so. Therefore 1,300 bricks of tea were taken from his personal estate to serve as funds for the printing. For additional support Kong sprul asked the royal family of sDe dge. Finally in the year 1875 the lengthy work of printing the new collection started. In charge was the steward Pad legs. In February 1878 Kong sprul was busy with correcting his *Rin chen gter mdzod*. During the next years he continued to correct and arrange the *gter ma* texts and to compile additional ritual prescriptions. In 1889 he started to write the final table of contents and the history of the transmission of the teachings.[28] The total completion of the work is marked by the composition of a supplication prayer *(gsol 'debs)* addressed to the succession of the treasure revealers[29] and an extensive instruction in the bestowal of the empowerment of the whole *Rin chen gter mdzod*.[30] The colophons of the two texts merely make reference to this circumstance without giving the year. For the year 1893 the autobiography mentions that all the five great treasuries of Kong sprul were completed that year.[31] This is also the last year for which according to the colophons in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* Kong sprul is mentioned for composing a supplementing text. Only six colophons at all give a year in the eighties or nineties of the 19th century. So the majority of supplementing texts were already composed before. However, the work of

[27] Kong sprul & Karma (1997: 215), Barron (2003: 133).

[28] Barron (2003: 233). This must be text no. 8. So the date I provided in Schwieger (1990: 10) should be corrected accordingly. Probably the text is based on the above mentioned first lineage history composed in 1871.

[29] Cf. text no. 5.

[30] Cf. text no. 9.

[31] Barron (2003: 249), Schuh (1976: LXVII). A brief account of Kong sprul's activities to collect the *gter ma* teachings is also given in Ringu Tulku (2006: 27–29).

collecting, copying, arranging, supplementing and printing the *gter ma* collection had taken about 37 years altogether.[32]

Two persons very much influenced the genesis and arrangement of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* and also left their distinct traces in the collection itself. One was the already mentioned 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po, the other was the treasure finder mChog gyur gling pa (1829–1870). Together with Kong sprul the three produced a little less than 50% of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.

'Jam dbyangs mkhyen rtse'i dbang po appears in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* in different roles. He contributes his own mind treasures, earth treasures, once again discovered treasures and pure visions, among them *gter ma* especially intended as contribution to the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.[33] He is mentioned as the scribe of some of mChog gyur gling pa's *gter ma*. He is the author or compiler of numerous supplements, like empowerment rituals *(dbang chog)*, supplication prayers *(gsol 'debs)* and ritual activities *(phrin las)*. Often he acts as the one who encouraged, requested or admonished Kong sprul to compose a supplementing text. Or he is mentioned as the origin of oral instructions written down by Kong sprul. And finally we find his name in lineages proving the unbroken transmission of the teachings. In some cases when the lineage was broken, it was 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po who restored it by receiving in his vision a *nye brgyud*, a direct transmission, from a *mkha' 'gro ma* or a prominent teacher of the past. But above all he is mentioned again and again as Kong sprul's most respected spiritual teacher.

In January 1858 mChog gyur gling pa started to integrate Kong sprul in his activity as treasure finder. Kong sprul performed special rituals and copied *gter ma* texts from the original yellow scrolls. Kong sprul also actively supported mChog gyur gling pa in propagating his *gter ma* teachings. In turn Kong sprul asked mChog gyur gling pa to check whether the inclusion of the *gter ma* texts he had collected so far would be appropriate or not. Verses of Padmasambhava which Kong sprul had found in *gter ma* texts discovered by mChog gyur gling pa gave him the impression that he had received Padmasambhava's permission to collect and arrange the *gter ma* texts.[34] Numerous *gter ma* texts of mChog gyur gling pa as well as supplementing texts composed by him are contained in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. Often Kong sprul is mentioned as the scribe who fixed his *gter ma* texts in their final form.

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[32] Cf. Kong sprul & Karma (1997: 237ff., 244, 254, 260, 262ff., 279, 287), Barron (2003: 152ff., 159, 168, 173ff., 176, 190, 197), Schuh (1976: LXVII).

[33] Cf. for example text no. 847.

[34] Kong sprul & Karma (1997: 190ff.), Barron (2003: 110ff.), Schuh (1976: LXff.).

For sure 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse and mChog gyur gling pa had the strongest influence on Kong sprul's commitment to collect the *gter ma*—not only by encouraging him but also by actively contributing numerous texts to the collection, clarifying which *gter ma* should be included and providing hints which gave Kong sprul the perception that he had the approval of Padmasambhava for his activities. However, among the most influential persons, there were not only figures contemporaneous with Kong sprul. As expected, strongly represented in the collection are especially the great treasure finders 'Gyur med rdo rje alias gTer bdag gling pa and 'Jigs med gling pa. But what is perhaps a bit surprising is the prominence given to Karma Chags med alias Rāga asya. Together the three provide more than 15% of the texts of the whole collection.

The *Rin chen gter mdzod* has the names of many *gter ston*s, but while the majority of them is merely represented with one, two or three samples it is the range of quite well-known treasure finders, visionaries and scholars who contributed great clusters of texts. Along with those already mentioned the following ones are important: Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1136–1204),[35] Gu ru chos dbang (1212–1270), rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408), Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–1396), rDo rje gling pa (1346–1405), Ratna gling pa (1403–1478), Padma gling pa (1450–1521), Shes rab 'od zer (1517–1584), Zhig po gling pa (1524–1583), bDud 'dul rdo rje (1615–1672), the fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), Kaḥ thog *rig 'dzin* Klong gsal snying po (1625–1692), rDo rje brag *rig 'dzin* Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717), Mi 'gyur rdo rje (1645–1668),[36] Dharmaśrī (1654–1717/8), sTag sham Nus ldan rdo rje (born 1655),[37] Chos rje gling pa alias Rog rje gling pa (1682–1720), Rol pa'i rdo rje and Kaḥ thog pa *rig 'dzin* Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755). The presence of all the major *gter ston* in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* does not indicate that all their major *gter ma*s are represented by a broad or even a small selection of samples.

Karma Chags med was a famous scholar of the Karma bKa' brgyud pa from Khams but also one of the most important teachers of *rig 'dzin* Kun bzang shes rab (1636–1699), the first throne holder of the great East-Tibetan rNying ma pa monastery dPal yul. Karma Chags med's name often appears in relation to his disciple *sprul sku* Mi 'gyur rdo rje. While receiving and practicing *gter ma* traditions from the rNying ma pa, for example teachings out of the *gter ma* of Ratna gling pa and Karma gling pa (14th century),

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[35] Regarding the disputed dates of Nyi ma 'od zer's life see Dorje & Kapstein (1991: notes 989, 995).

[36] Cf. note 5.

[37] Regarding the date of his birth see Schwieger (1990: 299).

as well as the Mahāmudrā teachings of the bKa' brgyud school, both, Mi 'gyur rdo rje and Karma Chags med, can be regarded as true precursors of the East-Tibetan *Ris med* movement.[38] In the *Rin chen gter mdzod* there are a lot of texts composed or compiled by Karma Chags med. Among them are not only additions to the visions of Mi 'gyur rdo rje but also to different *gter ma* teachings of well-known previous treasure finders of the rNying ma tradition.

Although the life of Mi 'gyur rdo rje was very short he left behind a huge number of very small ritual texts all collected in his so-called *gNam chos*, sky teachings. Many of them were included into the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, classified as *dag snang*s, pure visions. Nevertheless some of them are also called *dgongs gter* and they have the *gter ma* sign *(gter tsheg)* instead of the usual division stroke *(shad)*, even when it was not Padmasambhava who revealed them to Mi 'gyur rdo rje in his vision. The *dag snang*s do not differ from the *gter ma* tradition with regard to their content, however they differ in their claimed origin. Both traditions are rooted in Tantric Buddhism. Most of the *dag snang* texts contain ritual prescriptions which are related to the Mahāyoga vehicle.

On the one hand the rNying ma pa add *dag snang* as a third distinct form of transmission of their teachings to *bka' ma* and *gter ma*. On the other hand they put *dag snang* close to the *gter ma* tradition or even call them a special form of *gter ma*. The *gter ston* 'Jigs med gling pa for instance carefully distinguishes in the 18th century between initiations, instructions, oral transmissions and so on of *bka' ma*, *gter ma* and *dag snang* teachings.[39] In contrast Gu ru bKra shis wrote in regard to this distinction:

> "In general the sphere of *dag snang* goes not beyond *gnam gter* and *dgongs gter*. Because it therefore belongs to the sphere of the profound *gter ma* it is unnecessary to make a special distinction. However, according to the custom to differentiate the doctrine of the gSang chen rnying ma into three great systems of tradition, that is *bka' ma* as the long tradition, *gter ma* as the short tradition and *dag snang* as the profound one, the origin of the religious teachings out of the profound pure vision should be arranged together here as well."[40]

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[38] Cf. Schwieger (2007).

[39] Kun-Khyen Jig-Med Ling-Pa (1980: 13).

[40] Gu ru bKra shis (1990: 599): *spyir dag snang gi skor rnams gnam gter dang dgongs gter gang rung las ma 'das pas zab gter gyi phyogs su gtogs pas zur du dbye dgos pa ma mchis kyang / gsang chen rnying ma'i ring lugs la ring brgyud bka' ma / nye brgyud gter ma / zab mo dag snang ma zhes brgyud pa'i bka' srol chen mo gsum du dbye bar mdzad pa'i lugs bzhin / 'dir yang zab mo dag snang gi chos sde rnams kyi byung tshul phyogs sdebs su dgod par bya ba yin te /*

Here the distinction seems to be a bare convention. Tulku Thondup first speaks of "pure visions" as of a further kind of *gter ma* beside *sa gter* and *dgongs gter*, but he adds that not all *dag snang* necessarily can be regarded as rNying ma *gter ma*, since such teachings received in vision from deities or spiritual teachers do not necessarily belong to them. Only the teachings which Padmasambhava once had concealed in the mind of his disciples and which in a later existence were awakened by pure vision should be considered *gter ma*.[41] In practice however an exact distinction was not always made.[42]

According to another point of view, one can classify the *gter ma* teachings collected by Kong sprul into three categories:

1. teachings for which hardly any written copies *(dpe rgyun)* were available and whose empowerments *(dbang)* and reading transmission *(lung)* were difficult to obtain during his time;[43]
2. those whose transmission was broken and could be repaired through a direct transmission *(nye brgyud)* especially provided by visions of 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po;
3. new *gter ma* teachings especially of Kong sprul's partner mChog gyur gling pa whose propagation and practice should be supported by including them into the collection.

Let us finally put the question: How did Kong sprul strengthen the continuity of the *gter ma* tradition with his *Rin chen gter mdzod*? He did it in two ways.

The first one consists of the concrete volumes of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, a collection of manuals for the immediate and comfortable use. He provided everything which was needed to perform the respective rituals without the need to search somewhere else. This was his ambition. One of his most used phrases for characterizing the ritual prescriptions he had added himself was "arranged as something you just have to read" *(bklags chog tu bkod pa)*.

The second one goes beyond the mere texts. It consists of the boost and repair of the empowerment lineages and the reading transmissions of the *gter ma* tradition. To ensure the living practice of the *gter ma* teachings for the future and to make their transmission easier Kong sprul had not only collected a cross-section of the *gter ma* tradition. He also composed an extensive prescription on how to bestow the empowerment for the whole *Rin chen gter mdzod* in one go.[44] Still during his lifetime he forwarded the transmission of

[41] Tulku Thondup (1986: 61ff., 88–91).

[42] See Schwieger (1990: XXVII, note 1).

[43] Cf. text no. 8: 5r.

[44] Cf. text no. 9.

the whole collection repeatedly. From that time onwards the lineage of these transmissions is unbroken.

As the main result of Kong sprul's activity in collecting the *gter ma* texts one might sum up that he provided a broad canonical basis for the cult of Padmasambhava, the propagation of his central role in Tibetan Buddhism—especially his role in subduing the forces hostile to Buddhism—and the belief in his continuous work for the welfare of Tibet up to the present day. The effect was lasting and reached beyond the sphere of the rNying ma school. Finally even some dGe lugs pa scholars felt attracted. The development was brought to a temporary climax in the exile situation when in 1975 the fourteenth Dalai Lama introduced the worship of Padmasambhava among the dGe lugs pa.[45]

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Text no. 8: Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, *Rin chen gter gyi mdzod chen por ji ltar bzhugs pa'i dkar chag dang / smin grol rgyab brten dang bcas pa'i brgyud yig dngos grub sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig*, cf. Schwieger (1990: 9ff.).

Text no. 9: Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, *Rin chen gter mdzod chen po'i smin grol dkyus gcig tu 'bog pa'i skabs kyi lag len phyogs mtshon dang / bcas bsham bya ba'i tshul mthong bas go 'byed*, cf. Schwieger (1990: 10).

Text no. 847: 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po, *Yang zab thugs rje chen po rgyal ba rgya mtsho'i gdams pa ye shes 'od kyi snying po*, cf. Schwieger (1995: 275–277).

Text no. 2162: Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, *Phyva phrin nor bu mchog rgyal lag tu blang ba'i zur 'debs kyi yi ge nor bu'i sgron me*, cf. Schwieger (2009: 398–400).

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RÉSUMÉ

Recueil et mise en forme de la tradition gTer ma : Le Grand Trésor des Enseignements Cachés de Kong sprul

Le *Rin chen gter mdzod*, compilé entre 1855 et 1889 par Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899), est un hybride assez représentatif de la tradition gTer ma, puisqu'il rassemble des textes du XIe au XIXe siècle. Il inclut toutes les catégories de *gter ma* et Kong sprul y a ajouté de nombreux textes, qu'il a composés ou compilés pour la plupart, afin de compléter les *gter ma* ou d'aider à leur pratique. La collection comprend des textes de toutes les écoles du bouddhisme tibétain, à l'exclusion des dGe lugs pa (le Ve Dalai Lama apparaît dans le recueil comme lié aux rNying ma pa) et contient quelques textes bon po.

L'ensemble est réparti en trois sections : section du Mahāyoga, de l'Anuyoga et de l'Atiyoga, propres aux rNying ma pa, la plus importante (52 des 63 volumes de l'édition de mTshur phu) étant celle du Mahāyoga. Le recueil des textes est une activité ancienne chez les rNying ma pa, par exemple celui du *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* à partir du XVe siècle. Toutefois le but de Kong sprul n'était pas seulement de constituer une collection canonique, mais aussi de lier cette tradition au mouvement éclectique Ris med. Il avait connu diverses traditions religieuses dans son enfance et sa jeunesse. En 1840, il rencontra 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892), qui avait reçu enseignements et initiations des rNying ma pa, des Sa skya pa, des bKa' gdams pas et de diverses écoles bKa' brgyud pa.

Le but du mouvement Ris med était de faire accepter de façon générale l'authenticité et l'autorité des traditions et pratiques d'écoles diverses, y compris le Bon. La poussée des dGe lugs pa au Khams et leurs attaques contre les autres écoles vinrent sans doute conforter ce mouvement.

Commencée en 1855, la collection comptait déjà 10 volumes en 1856 et fut appelée *gTer phreng* ; le nom de *Rin chen gter mdzod* lui fut donné en 1863, à la suite d'une vision des "Cinq trésors" de Kong sprul que fit mKhyen brtse, et où elle était le cinquième trésor. Kong sprul commença à en donner la transmission à partir de 1868, tout en continuant à en compléter les textes rituels. L'édition, commencée en 1875, financée par dBon sprul rin po che de dPal spungs et par la famille royale de sDe dge, fut achevée en 1893. mKhyen brtse et le *gter ston* mChog 'gyur gling pa (1829–1870) encouragèrent l'œuvre de Kong sprul et y collaborèrent. Si tous les grands *gter ston*, et bon nombre de *gter ston* moins célèbres, sont représentés dans la collection, cela ne signifie pas que tous

leurs *gter ma* y sont présents. La collection comprend des enseignements devenus très rares et difficiles à trouver à l'époque de la rédaction, des enseignements dont la transmission avait été interrompue et ne pouvait être rétablie que par des visions (en particulier de mKhyen brtse) et des enseignements nouveaux, comme ceux de mChog 'gyur gling pa, dont la diffusion devait être aidée par leur inclusion dans l'ouvrage. Le *Rin chen gter mdzod* assura la continuité de la tradition gTer ma en mettant à disposition tous les textes nécessaires à la pratique, et en en revivifiant les lignées de transmission.

Reconstructing the History of Buddhism in Central Eurasia (11th–14th Centuries): An Interdisciplinary and Multilingual Approach to the Khara Khoto Texts

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This paper is intended to show how an interdisciplinary and multilingual approach to the Khara Khoto texts discloses a great number of religious-historical sources and sheds a new light on the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century. We know that great progress in historical studies, is often made by discovering new historical sources. For instance, the reconstruction of the colorful history of the legendary Silk Road before the 11th century was entirely made possible by the uncovering of a large cache of ancient manuscripts written in seventeen different languages and twenty-four different scripts in a grotto shrine in Dunhuang, an oasis city of Central Eurasia, by European adventure-scholars such as Aurel Stein (1862–1943) and Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) at the beginning of the last century. However, the good fortune to suddenly expose "a large cache of ancient manuscripts" does not shine on every historian. In the following pages, I would like to show how the rediscovering of the Khara Khoto texts may greatly improve our knowledge and understanding to the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century.

1. *Why does the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century have yet to be reconstructed?*

Central Eurasia, or Xiyu 西域 (the Western Regions) in Chinese, is defined for this paper as the vast area of Eastern Central Asia (East Turkestan or Chinese Turkestan in western literature and Xin Jiang 新疆 in Chinese now), Northwest China (Gansu Corridor and Hexi regions within the territory of the former Tangut kingdom), the Mongolian plateau and Eastern Tibet. In the pre-modern period Central Eurasia was a melting pot of all eastern and western religious traditions. It was one of the most religiously diverse places on the globe until this very pluralistic religious environment came to be one of the world's most uniformly Muslim regions after the 14th century. Thanks to the uncovering of the long-forgotten ancient library in Dunhuang cave, and to the bulk of subsequent research on Dunhuang manuscripts done by scholars worldwide, the history of religions in Central Eurasia before the 11th century when the cave library was closed was color-

fully reconstructed. The religious diversity of the region still captivates the western imagination of the Silk Road nowadays.[1]

In stark contrast to the multi-colored history of religions before the 11th century, the religious history of Central Eurasia afterwards looks dim and colorless. The most religiously diverse culture in the world seems to have vanished overnight. The Islamization dominates the history of Central Eurasia thereafter, while the history of Buddhism and other religions becomes hopelessly marginal. From the 11th to 14th century, three ethnic groups, the Uigur, Tangut, and Mongol, played a significant role in the history of Central Eurasia. In 840, the Uigurs, a Turkish people who once founded a state on the Mongolian steppe in 744, were overrun by another Turkic group, the Kirghiz, and were forced to move westward from Mongolia into the Gansu Corridor and the Tarim Basin where they established a new kingdom with its capital at Qocho 高昌. Subsequently, the Tanguts (Dangxiang 党項 in Chinese and Mi nyag in Tibetan), a group of Qiang 羌 people, who had originally moved from East Tibet into Northwest China in the 7th century, founded the Tangut kingdom of Xia at the beginning of the 11th century and ruled a vast area of Central Eurasia for almost two centuries. At the beginning of the 13th century, the Mongols came from the North and conquered both the Tanguts and Uigurs, unifying them within the great Mongol empire. Although both the Uigurs and Tanguts were converted to Islam around the end of the 14th century, making Eastern Turkistan and Northwest China one of the world's most uniformly Muslim regions, all three are believed to have been Buddhist originally. Unfortunately, history books on religions of the Silk Road in Central Eurasia do not fully reveal the whole story of their Buddhist beliefs.

1.1 The Uigur kingdom of Qocho (850–1227) and Uigurs in the Gansu Corridor

It is well known that Manichaeism enjoyed the status of a state religion under the Uigur state before the Uigurs moved westwards from Mongolia into the Gansu Corridor and the Tarim Basin in 840 AD. Only afterwards, did Manichaeism slowly lose its adherents to Buddhism. With the islamization of the Uigurs which took place sometime around the end of the 14th century, all Buddhist texts vanished and the Buddhist past of the Uigurs was almost entirely forgotten. Before four German expeditions led by Albert von le Coq and Albert Grünwedel in 1904–1914 found a great number of manuscripts in different languages, together with paintings, sculptures and other artifacts in Turfan in the Tarim Basin, the Buddhist past of the Uigurs

[1] Foltz (1999).

was only indirectly and vaguely discernable through a few passing references in the travel writings of Chinese pilgrims and envoys. The Turfan Manuscripts, which were brought back to Germany and are now preserved at Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, single-handedly disclose the unknown history of Buddhism in the Uigur kingdom. The uncovering of these long-lost old Uigur manuscripts from Turfan is of paramount importance for reconstructing the history of Buddhism in the Uigur kingdom. To date, German, Japanese, and Chinese scholars, together with some scholars of Turkic origin, have succeeded in deciphering and translating a great number of old Uigur Turfan manuscripts.[2] However, the reconstruction of the history of Buddhism in the Uigur kingdom remains an impossible mission, since most Buddhist texts are fragments of translations of Buddhist scriptures which usually reveal few historical information such as chronological data and biographical sources. The exact date in which a manuscript was created often becomes a controversial point. The differences could leap over several centuries. In addition, a large number of old Uigur manuscripts unearthed in Turfan and surrounding areas by Chinese archaeologists during the eighties of last century remains untouched.[3] Needless to say, to successfully reconstruct the history of Buddhism in the Uigur kingdom, we need to draw support from other sources.

1.2 Tangut kingdom of Xia (1038–1227)

Although the former territory of the Tangut kingdom, i.e. the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region of China, is currently a purely Muslim region, the Tangut kingdom was among the countries in world history having adopted Buddhism as a state religion. From its inception, the ruler of the kingdom acquired Buddhist teachings from the neighboring Chinese Song dynasty,

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[2] In this field, the German scholar Peter Zieme has made a great contribution through his numerous works. To mention but a few of them: *Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren*, Berlin 1985; *Die Stabreimtexte der Uiguren von Turfan und Dunhuang: Studien zur alttürkischen Dichtung*, Budapest 1991; *Religion und Gesellschaft im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo: Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien* (= Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; 88), Opladen 1992; *Magische Texte des uigurischen Buddhismus* (= Berliner Turfantexte; XXIII), Berlin 2005; *Fragmente tantrischer Werke in uigurischer Übersetzung*, (co-authored with G. Kara) (= Berliner Turfantexte; VII), Berlin 1976; *Die uigurischen Übersetzungen des Guruyogas "Tiefer Weg" von Sa-skya Paṇḍita und der Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (= Berliner Turfantexte; VIII), Berlin 1977; *Ein uigurisches Totenbuch: Nāropas Lehre in uigurischer Übersetzung von vier tibetischen Traktaten nach der Sammelhandschrift aus Dunhuang, British Museum Or. 8212 (109)*, Budapest 1978.

[3] Most of them are now preserved in the Turfan Museum in Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region of China.

using all conceivable means. Besides, geographically speaking, Tanguts had easy access to Tibetan Buddhism. The close ethnic affinity between Tanguts and Tibetans further facilitated this convenience. Tibetan historians usually take the Buddhist history of Tanguts as an integral part of the world history of Buddhism since the thirteenth century. However, the Buddhist history of the Tangut kingdom is neglected in most existing religious/historical works of Central Eurasia in English scholarship.[4] The study of the Buddhist history of the Tangut kingdom remains under-developed, although scholars from Russia, Japan and China have successfully decoded the long-forgotten tongue of Tangut and outlined the history of the Tangut kingdom. Rarely does it go beyond cataloguing the Tangut Buddhist scripts and clarifying the identity of Buddhist figures and institutional establishments of the Tangut kingdom.[5] To date, Buddhist texts in Tangut scripts found in Khara Khoto and elsewhere are mostly used as language sources, together with their Chinese parallels, for constructing the foundation of linguistic studies of the Tangut language. Most of Tangut and Chinese Buddhist texts of Tibetan origin among Khara Khoto manuscripts remain unidentified and untouched. A large number of Tangut and Chinese Buddhist texts, uncovered in both Basi gou 拜寺溝 and Shanzui gou 山嘴溝 near the former capital of the Tangut kingdom by local archaeologists in recent time, are receiving the same treatment.[6] As mentioned above, reconstructing the history of Buddhism in the Tangut kingdom is not yet accomplished.

1.3 Mongol Yuan dynasty (1206–1368)

Among these three ethnic groups the Mongols are the only people who remain predominantly Buddhist to this day. However, the study of the history of Buddhism among Mongols during the Yuan dynasty is also under-developed. Previous studies either focus on Shamanism or simply claim Mongols to be extremely pluralistic in their religious faith by taking a pragmatic attitude towards all kinds of religious tradition. While Tibetan tantric Buddhism arguably enjoyed great popularity within the Mongol court of the Yuan dynasty, there are neither religious nor historical sources which pro-

[4] Up to date, there is only one work which is dedicated to the Tangut Buddhist history in English scholarship, see Dunnell (1996). Even in Chinese scholarship there is still only one synthetical study on the Buddhist history of the Tangut kingdom, which was written in the eighties of last century. See Shi Jinbo 史金波 (1988).

[5] Two catalogues are available now, one in Japanese and the other in Russian. They are Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄 (1977); Kyčanov (1999).

[6] Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, ed. (2005 & 2007).

vide any details.[7] In the writings of contemporary Yuan Chinese literati there are only numerous distorted descriptions of the so-called Secret Teaching of Supreme Bliss 秘密大喜乐法, i.e. tantric sex, and some legendary stories on the magic power of the famed protective deity Mahākāla, evoked by Tibetan lamas. These unwarranted stories created the belief among Chinese in the past that Tibetan lamas were evil monks and Tibetan Buddhism was a form of sorcery.[8] In addition, it was widely believed that only the Mongols within the imperial court practised Tibetan Buddhism and this vanished immediately when the empire collapsed, and Tibetan Buddhism was actually introduced into Mongolia in the middle of the 16th century through the concerted efforts made by the Mongol prince Altan Khan (1507–1582) and the third Dalai Lama bSod nams rgya mtsho (1543–1588). Virtually nothing is known about the religious activities of Mongol nomads of Central Eurasia before and during the Mongol Yuan dynasty.

To sum up, modern scholarships to date have not succeeded in reconstructing the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century. The insufficiency of religious/historical sources explains such academic dead ends. Meanwhile, the sharp division between different disciplines is to blame for this failure. More often than not, scholars, especially philologists, go to any extreme to improve their skills in order to produce the finest works within their own discipline, but do not pay enough attention to other interrelated disciplines. In our case, scholars of Uigur, Tangut, Tibetan and Mongol studies, especially in Europe and Japan, have made remarkable achievements respectively, but little effort has been made to integrate their researches into a much broader platform. Yet, an interdisciplinary and multilingual approach to the Khara Khoto texts is extraordinarily important for achieving our goal of reconstructing the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century.

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[7] Only very recently attention has been paid to the *Dacheng yaodao miji* 大乘要道密集 *(The Secret Collection of Works on the Essential Path of Mahāyāna)*, a Yuan compilation of Chinese translations of Tibetan tantric Buddhist texts from both the Tangut kingdom and Yuan dynasty. It contains a total of 83 texts mostly related to the Path and Fruit teaching *(lam 'bras)* of the Sa skya pa tradition. Texts of authors from other traditions, for instance Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) of the Zhva lu pa and Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361) of the Jo nang pa, are also found in the *Dacheng yaodao miji*. Meanwhile numerous texts of a similar nature have been discovered recently in both the National Palace Museum, Taibei, and the Chinese National Library, Beijing. See Shen Weirong (2007a).

[8] See Shen Weirong (2004).

2. *Re-discovering the Khara Khoto manuscripts*

E. I. Kyčanov, a worlwide leading Russian scholar for Tangut studies, once proudly claimed that "the achievement of discovering the unique St. Petersburg collection of manuscripts of Xixia [Tangut] writing belongs to the professional geographer and traveler Peter Kuz'mich Kozlov (1863–1935)."[9] In 1908 and 1909, a Russian expedition led by Kozlov went to Khara Khoto, the "Black water city", a ruin of the ancient Tangut-Mongol city in the Gobi desert of Mongolia (near present-day Edzina of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region). There they uncovered a vast collection of manuscripts in Chinese, Tangut, Tibetan, Mongol, Uigur and other Central Asian languages and artifacts dating from the 11th to 14th century. This was undoubtedly the second-most important discovery of literary materials after the excavation of the grotto library in Dunhuang within the regions of Central Eurasia. Afterwards, more texts and artifacts were successively unearthed in Khara Khoto by Aurel Stein in 1911, and local Chinese archaeologists and scholars of Tangut studies in the 1980s.[10] Undoubtedly the Khara Khoto texts constitute the basis of modern Tangut studies, though the value of the Khara Khoto manuscripts has not yet been fully realized. Because only part of this collection was ever made accessible to a large readership through a new Chinese xerographic publication in Shanghai in 1990s, the impact of the Khara Khoto manuscripts to Central Eurasian studies cannot compare with that of the Dunhuang manuscripts. The St. Petersburg collection of the Khara Khoto manuscripts remains a treasure to be exploited.[11]

The full exploitation and utilization of the Khara Khoto manuscripts depend on an interdisciplinary and multilingual approach to the texts. Current studies are often confined to historical and linguistic approaches from either Tangutological or Sinological perspectives. Disciplines such as Uigur studies, Mongol studies, Tibetan studies and Buddhist studies are hardly involved. Yet, because the study of the history and culture of the Tangut kingdom is distinct from that of the Uigur kingdom or the Mongol Yuan dynasty, many precious manuscripts are simply laid aside and neglected. Their potential

[9] Kyčanov (1999b).

[10] The Aurel Stein collection of the Khara Khoto manuscripts is preserved in British library. A xerographic reproduction of the Stein collection has been recently published in Shanghai. See Xibei dier minzu xueyuan 西北第二民族学院 etc. (2005). The finds of Chinese archaeologists in 1980s in Khara Khoto are mostly published in Li Yiyou 李逸友 (1991).

[11] The xerographic reproduction of both the Kozlov collection in St. Petersburg and the Stein collection in London published by Shanghai guji chubanshe have brought these invaluable texts to see the light of day once again and have had a great impact on the study of Central Eurasia. Shi Jinbo, Wei Tongxian & E. I. Kychanov (1999).

value for Uigur and Mongol studies has been generally unnoticed. Furthermore, modern Buddhist scholars mostly ignore the Khara Khoto collection, even though it contains substantial numbers of Chinese and Tangut Buddhist texts. More than twenty years ago, Russian Sinologist L. N. Men'shikov published an annotated catalogue of the Khara Khoto Chinese manuscripts, *The Description of the Chinese Manuscripts from Khara Khoto*.[12] As a piece of sinological work, this catalogue is certainly excellent in its own way. However, the author was not able to convey the full value of these texts for Buddhist studies. He did not pay enough attention to a great number of manuscripts with tantric Buddhist content. Instead he relegated all of them to the amorphous category of "indigenous works." In fact, these manuscripts include ritual texts, manuals of yogic practices, *dhāraṇī*s and mantras. They are probably the most valuable texts among all of the Khara Khoto manuscripts, since they reveal details about the actual practices of Tangut, Chinese and Mongol Buddhists in the region. Thus they are invaluable for the reconstruction of the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century.

To date, scholars of Tangut literature and Tangut Buddhism often confine themselves in their own discipline and do not investigate the history of Buddhism of the Tangut kingdom in comparison with that of the Uigur kingdom and Mongol Yuan dynasty. By comparing the Tangut Buddhist texts with old Turfan Uigur Buddhist texts, it becomes notable that these two corpuses share striking similarities. This leads us to an insight into the shared origins of the Buddhist traditions in these three regions of Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century.

It was by a stroke of luck that I came to rediscover these invaluable texts. In 2003 and 2004, I was conducting a joint research project in the comparative study of Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Dream Sūtra* together with Professor Katsumi Mimaki at Kyoto University, Japan. I was desperately searching for a better version of the *Dream Sūtra* among Chinese texts of the Dunhuang collection. Although my search was unsuccessful, I found a text called *The Essential Instruction for Yogic Practice of Illusory Body of Dream* 梦幻身要门 in the newly published xerographic reproduction of the Khara Khoto collection preserved in Russia.[13] This set of fascicles happened simply to be sitting on the library stacks of the library of Kyoto University's faculty of letters alongside the Dunhuang collection. Obviously, this text has nothing to do with the *Dream Sūtra* I was looking for. It is, instead, a text of Tibetan tantric Buddhist nature. This discovery was truly astonishing. Until

[12] Men'shikov (1984).

[13] See Shen Weirong (2005a).

then, Mongolists, Tibetologists or Buddhist scholars did not know of such a text. Soon after, I found a whole series of texts of the same kind in the Khara Khoto collection.[14] Since then, the Khara Khoto texts have been the focal point of all my research works. I have realized the great value of the Khara Khoto texts in the historical study of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century by:

- discovering numerous Chinese texts concerning Tibetan tantric Buddhism among this collection, texts which have been totally ignored by others for the last one hundred years;
- by comparing them with Tangut texts in the Khara Khoto collection and old Uigur texts in the Turfan collection; and
- by contextualizing them in Chinese, Tibetan and Central Asian Buddhist traditions.

I was certainly fortunate to have re-discovered the Khara Khoto manuscripts. In retrospect, I would say, it was not a chance occurrence at all. Actually all my educational training had prepared me well for the discovery of these hitherto entirely ignored texts which are instrumental for the reconstruction of the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century.

3. The main content and great value of the Khara Khoto Chinese Buddhist texts

The Khara Khoto collection contains a total of 331 Chinese texts which are more or less "complete". Among them, 283 are Buddhist texts. The vast majority of these 283 texts consists of various fragments of a few common Chinese Buddhist sūtras such as *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* 般若波羅蜜多經, *Vajracchedikā-nāma-sūtra* 金剛經 *(The Diamond Sūtra)*, *Mahāvaipūlya-sūtra* 華嚴經 *(The Flower Garland Sūtra)*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* 妙法蓮花經 *(The Lotus Sūtra)*, *Suvarṇaprabhā-sūtra* 金光明最勝王經 *(The Sūtra of the Golden Light)* and *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* 無量壽經 *(The Sūtra of Longevity)*. Others are fragments of the block prints of less relevant Chinese Buddhist sūtras, commentaries, hagiographies, and Chinese apocrypha scriptures such as *Foshuo bao fumu enzhong jing* 佛說報父母恩重經 *(The Sūtra of Retribution to Parents' Love)* and *Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 佛說天地八陽神咒經 *(The Dhāraṇī-Sūtra of Eight Lighters of the Earth and Heaven)*. Although these sūtra texts were the overwhelming majority in quantity, in terms of quality they are far less essential than the rest of the Khara Khoto Chinese Buddhist texts, especially for the reconstruction of

[14] For a tentative list of texts see Shen Weirong (2007g).

Buddhist history. The remainder are almost all tantric texts, either block prints or manuscripts. Among block prints a few are already available in Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, such as *Foshuo dacheng sheng wuliangshou guangmingwang rulai tuoluoni jing* 佛說大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經, *Shou lengyan jing* 首楞严经 *(The Śurangama sūtra)* and *Sheng jixiang zhenshi ming jing* 聖妙吉祥真實名 a.k.a. *Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya paramārthanāmasaṃgīti*. Others were unknown texts which are not available in existing Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. They are:

1. *Foshuo sheng dacheng sanguiyi jing* 佛說聖大乘三歸依經 *('Phags pa gsum la skyabs su 'gro ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, The Mahāyāna Sūtra of Three Refuges)*,[15]
2. *Foshuo sheng fomu banruo boluomiduo xinjing* 佛說聖佛母般若波羅蜜多心經 *(The Heart Sūtra)*,[16]
3. *Chisong sheng fomu banruo boluomiduo xinjing yaomen* 持頌聖佛母般若波羅蜜多多心經要門 *(The Essential Instruction to the Practice of Reciting and Holding the Heart Sūtra)*,
4. *Sheng guanzizai dabeixin zongchi gongneng yijinglu* 聖觀自在大悲心惣持功能依經錄 *('Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug thugs rje chen po'i gzungs phan yon mdor bsdus pa zhes bya ba, The Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Avalokiteśvara the Great Compassionate)*,[17]
5. *Shengxiang dingzun zongchi gongneng yijinglu* 勝相頂尊惣持功能依經錄 *(gTsug tor rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba'i gzungs phan yon mdor bsdud pa zhes bya ba, The Dhāraṇī Sūtra of the Buddha Uṣṇīṣvijaya)*, and
6. *Sheng dacheng shengyi pusa jing* 聖大乘聖意菩薩經 *('Phags pa rgyal ba'i blo gros zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, The Mahāyāna Sūtra of Bodhisattva Jayamati)*.[18]

According to the colophon, all these texts were purportedly translated from the Sanskrit original and printed in great numbers in the Tangut kingdom of Xia during the reign of Ren Zong 仁宗 (1139–1193). Since no corresponding texts are found in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, Men'shikov logically but incorrectly considered them to be Chinese apocrypha scriptures. But, as I have since shown, their authenticity can be convincingly testified by the existence of their Tibetan parallels in the Tibetan canon. Only the text *Chisong sheng fomu banruo boluomiduo xinjing yaomen (the Essential Instruction to the Practice of Reciting and Holding the Heart Sūtra)* is not yet identified. The

[15] Shen Weirong (2009).

[16] Shen Weirong (2007d).

[17] Shen Weirong (2007b).

[18] Shen Weirong (2007c).

fragmentary Tibetan version of the texts numbers 4 and 5 are also seen among the Khara Khoto Tibetan texts (XT 67). Since the text no. 5 is not included in the Tibetan canon, its Khara Khoto version may well be the only remaining copy.[19] It would appear that all of these texts deserve inclusion in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. The new edition of the *Heart Sūtra* alone will attract great attention among Buddhist scholars worldwide.

These six new scriptures do not limit the contribution of the Khara Khoto collection to the Buddhist studies. In my opinion, the most valuable part of the Khara Khoto collection is the manuscripts. They are the earliest Chinese translations of Tibetan tantric Buddhist texts so far known to us. Before this discovery the only known texts of the same kind were to be found in the *Dacheng yaodao miji*. While texts of the Sa skya pa tradition constitute the substantial part of the *Dacheng yaodao miji*, the Khara Khoto Chinese manuscripts pertaining to Tibetan tantric Buddhism are so comprehensive that almost every aspect of Tibetan tantric Buddhism is touched upon. These manuscripts, mostly *sādhana (sgrub thabs)*, *man ngag*, *dhāraṇī*s and *mantras*, etc., are texts which were utilized for actual Buddhist practices. Therefore, the discovery and subsequent research on these texts will reveal the true story/history of how Tibetan Buddhism was disseminated in Central Eurasia. Three kinds of texts are predominant among the Khara Khoto Chinese manuscripts. They are:

1. Many mantra or *dhāraṇī* texts. Among block prints there are:
   a. *the Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Avalokiteśvara the Great Compassionate* 聖觀自在大悲心惣持功能依經錄
   b. *the Dhāraṇī Sūtra of the Buddha Uṣṇīṣvijaya* 勝相頂尊惣持功能依經錄
   c. *the Dhāraṇī Sūtra of the Golden Wheel* 佛說金輪佛頂大威德熾盛光如來陀羅尼經
   d. *the Dhāraṇī Sūtra of the Great White Umbrella* 佛說大白傘蓋総持陀盧尼經
   e. *the Dhāraṇī Sūtra of Buddha Mother the White Umbrella* 聖一切如來頂髻中出白傘蓋佛母餘無能亂総持 *('Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i gtsug tor nas byung ba'i gdugs dkar can gzhan gyis mi thub pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs)*.

Among manuscripts there are mantra or *dhāraṇī* texts of Buddha Uṣṇīṣvijaya, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Mahākāla, complete or fragmentary at the same time. In addition, there are mantras or *dhāraṇī*s aimed at special purposes, such as praying for rain or eliminating malicious things

[19] On Tibetan document X67 among Khara Khoto Tibetan texts see Piotrovsky ed. (1993: 278); Shirai Satoko (2004); Shi Jinbo 史金波 (2005).

things and so forth. These texts offer mantras and *dhāraṇī*s to be chanted by practitioners to evoke the help from the Buddha and specific Bodhisattvas. They describe all possible benefits and advantages of chanting these mantras and *dhāraṇī*s. In summer 2005, I was able to take a close look at all Tibetan texts among the unpublished Khara Khoto collection preserved in the Institute for Archaeological Studies of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in Hohhot. To my surprise, almost all Tibetan texts were block prints of *dhāraṇī* of the Buddha Uṣṇīṣvijaya. This reflects the practical purpose of religious faith of the people in Central Eurasia as they faced extreme harshness of their natural environment.

2. The second text corpus, which is outstanding both in quantity and quality, comprises texts on yogic practices of various *Yi dam* deities. Yogic Practice of *Yi dam* deities is one of the most preeminent characteristics of Tibetan tantric Buddhism. The basic principle of the practice is that the practitioner identifies or combines himself with his own *Yi dam* deity, Buddha or Bodhisattva alike, mainly through meditative visualization. The goal is to attain enlightenment and acquire the capabilities and magic powers that the *Yi dam* deity possesses. Besides meditative contemplation, the Yogic practice of *Yi dam* deity includes making offerings, chanting mantras, praising and taking initiation from the lamas etc. Accordingly, there are several types of texts, which belong to this body of texts such as sādhana (*sgrub thabs*, means of accomplishment), *cho ga* (ritual, liturgy), *bstod pa* (praise) etc. Among the numerous texts on yogic practice of *Yi dam* deity, two deities, Mahākāla (Nag po chen po 大黑天, the Great Black One) and Vajravārāhī (rDo rje phag mo 金剛亥母, the Adamantine Sow) seem extraordinarily popular. In the Khara Khoto texts there are a great number of works from the periods of both Tangut-Xia and Mongol Yuan that concern either Mahākāla or Vajravārāhī cult. For instance, there are the following texts on the Mahākāla cult:

a. *Dahei genben mingzhou* 大黑根本命咒 *(The Root Mantra of the Life of Mahākala the Great Black One)*, Tangut origin.
b. *Ciwu dahei yaomen* 慈烏大黑要門 *(Essential Instruction on the Practice of Mahākala the Great Black One)*, Yuan origin.
c. *Dahei qiuxiu bing zuofa* 大黑求修並作法 *(The Means of Evoking and Practicing Mahākala the Great Black One)*, Yuan origin.

It should be noted that all Chinese Buddhist manuscripts in the Khara Khoto collection excavated by the archaeological institute of Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in the eighties of the last century are exclusively texts of the Mahākāla cult, be they mantras, praises, prayers, or liturgies.[20]

[20] Shen Weirong (2007e).

As for Vajravārāhī, she is believed to be the consort of the tantric Buddha Cakrasaṃvara ('Khor lo bde mchog 勝樂), i.e. ḍākiṇī of the wrathful meditational deity Heruka, the blood drinker. Both Sa skya ba and bKa' brgyud pa traditions held this so-called Adamantine Sow in high esteem. In the Khara Khoto collection, there are liturgical texts of Vajravārāhī 金剛亥母成就法 of various kinds. There are other additional ritual texts related to the Vajravārāhī cult such as:

a. *Jingang haimu jilun gongyang cidi lu* 金剛亥母集輪供養次第錄 *(Liturgy of making offering to the gathered wheels of Vajravārāhī)*
b. *Jingang haimu lue shishi yi* 金剛亥母略施食儀 *(Liturgy of offering food to Vajravārāhī)*
c. *Jingang haimu zisheshou yaomen* 金剛亥母自攝授要門 *(The essential instruction of self-initiation of Vajravārāhī)*
d. *Jingang haimu sheshou pingyi* 金剛亥母攝授瓶儀 *(Liturgy of the vase initiation of Vajravārāhī)*

What these all suggest is that the yogic practice of Vajravārāhī was no doubt prevalent in Central Eurasia at the time of Tangut Xia. There were several temples and meditational caves that were dedicated to Vajravārāhī in Khara Khoto and its surrounding area.

Besides Mahākāla and Vajravārāhī, there were texts concerning the yogic practice of a great number of other terrifying tantric deities such as Manjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vaiśravana 多聞天, Vajrapāṇī 金剛手, Cakrasaṃvara 上樂金剛, the Buddha Mother of Eye 佛眼母 (Ekajaṭī), the Ḍākiṇī of four syllables 四字空行母, the Great Black Mother 黑色天母, and the protective deity of desire 欲護神 etc.

3. The third most important section of the Khara Khoto texts pertaining to Tibetan tantric Buddhism is a series of practical instruction *(man ngag)* on yogic practices of *The Six Doctrines of Nāropa (Nā ro chos drug)*. *The Six Doctrines of Nāropa* were based on the esoteric teachings of the 10th century Indian master Nāropa. The culminating meditations of the Great Seal *(mahāmudrā, phyag rgya chen po)* constitute the essence of the tradition of the Mar pa bKa' brgyud pa. Since most Tibetan lamas at the Tangut court are believed to have been bKa' brgyud pa lamas, it is logical that *The Six Doctrines of Nāropa* were well known in the Tangut kingdom.

The Six Doctrines of Nāropa refer to inner heat *(gtum mo)*, illusory body *(sgyu lus)*, luminosity *('od gsal)*, the transference of consciousness *('pho ba)*, the transference of consciousness into another body *(grong 'jug)*, and the intermediate state *(bar do)*. Often, the yogic practice of dream *(rmi lam)* replaces the transference of consciousness and stands alone as one of the six doctrines. The practitioner is offered various opportunities at different times and in different situations to attain enlightenment by realizing one of three different kinds of bodies of the ultimate Buddha in the process of these

yogic practices. In the Khara Khoto texts there are numerous texts which provide essential instruction in the practices of these six esoteric teachings. There are:

a. *Jiushi xianfa guangming yi* 九事顯發光明義 (*The meaning of luminosity demonstrated by nine things*, 'od gsal),
b. *Zhongyoushen yaomen* 中有身要門 (*The essential instruction of the body in intermediate state*, bar do),
c. *Menghuanshen yaomen* 夢幻身要門 (*The essential instruction of the yogic practice of the dream and the illusory body*, rmi lam *and* sgyu lus),
d. *Ganlu zhongliu zhongyoushen yaomen* 甘露中流中有身要門 *(The essential instruction of the middle stream of nectar of the body in intermediate state* (bar do),
e. *Sheshou yaomen* 捨壽要門 (*The essential instruction of abandoning rebirth*, bar do),
f. *Zhuohuo nengzhao wuming* 拙火能照無明 (*The inner heat which is able to illuminate ignorance*, gtum mo).

All these texts originated from the Tangut Xia period in the 12th century and we know that they were transmitted by bKa' brgyud pa lamas, since one of them, *The Essential Instruction of the Yogic Practice of the Dream and the Illusory Body*, has been identified as the Chinese translation of the bKa' brgyud pa master sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen's (1079–1153) *sGyu lus man ngag*, i.e. *The Essential Instruction on the Illusory Body*.[21] This identification shows that the teaching of the so-called *Tibetan Book of the Dead (bar do)* was already disseminated in Central Eurasia and China more than seven hundred years ago.

4. *Reconstructing the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century*

Any attempt to reconstruct the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century must begin with the Uigur kingdom (850–1227). To date, the most problematic issue in the reconstruction of the history of Buddhism in the Uigur kingdom is the establishment of proper chronological order for the Uigur manuscripts. In the past, determining the exact date of a certain old Uigur text became the subject of much controversy. However, with the aid of the Khara Khoto texts, which sometimes provide precise chronological data in their colophon, this may be remedied. Simply by comparing the Khara Khoto Chinese, Tangut and Tibetan texts with the old Uigur texts in the Turfan collection, it becomes amazingly clear that most of

[21] Shen Weirong (2005).

them are in fact parallel to each other, though they are written in different languages and found in different places. This comparing process indicates that most of the old Uigur Buddhist documents uncovered in Turfan are indeed from the 11th to 14th century.

Now, the majority of the Uigur Buddhist texts from Turfan are translations of a few well-known Chinese sūtras. Among them we have found all the above mentioned Chinese sūtras familiar to us including two Chinese apocrypha scriptures. In the very same way, all these sūtras, including these two Chinese apocrypha scriptures, are found in Tangut translations among the Khara Khoto texts. This strongly suggests that neither the Uigurs nor the Tanguts accepted Chinese Buddhist scriptures without question. There is the hypothesis of the existence of both Tangut and Uigur *Tripiṭaka*. Although many kinds of Buddhist texts are found in the Khara Khoto collection, they were not indiscriminately, but rather selectively chosen and translated. The parallelism of the Khara Khoto texts and the old Uigur texts in the Turfan collection again refutes the hypothesis of the existence of both Uigur and Tangut *Tripiṭaka*.

Besides, there are numerous works of Tibetan origin in the Uigur texts of the Turfan collection. They are: *Rājāvavādaka-sūtra*, *Aparamitāyurjñānamahāyānasūtra*, *Uṣṇīṣvijayadhāraṇī*, *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra*, *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, *Śrī Cakrasaṃvara*-text, *Mañjuśrī Sādhana*, several texts related to *Nāro chos drug*, one *Guruyoga* text written by Sa skya *paṇḍita*, etc.[22] Evidently, most of them have their parallel in the Khara Khoto collection in either Chinese or Tangut. The Chinese version of the *Guruyoga* text attributed to Sa skya *paṇḍita* is found in the *Dacheng yaodao miji*.[23] Peter Zieme, the most accomplished German scholar in the studies of the Turfan Uigur texts worldwide, once pointed out, "Die Übersetzungswelle aus dem Tibetischen setzte erst in der Mongolenzeit (13.–14. Jahrhundert) ein."[24] This claim seems to be incorrect. In fact, only a few texts such as the *Guruyoga* text of Sa skya *paṇḍita*, were indeed translated from Tibetan in the Mongol-Yuan time. However, most of the above mentioned Uigur texts of Tibetan origin must have been translated during the time of the Tangut kingdom. This includes the translation of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, which used to be con-

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[22] Zieme (1992: 40–41); Elverskog (1997: 105–125).

[23] The title of the Tibetan original reads *Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor*. It is seen in *Paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi bka' 'bum*, compiled by Bsod nams rgya mtsho, Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968, No. 41, pp. 339-343; for its Uigur translation see Zieme & Kara (1987); its Chinese translation is included in the *Dacheng yaodao miji* and its title reads *Jingangcheng xiushi guanmen* 金剛乘修師觀門 *(The Gate of Visualizing the Guru of Vajrayana)*. See Shen Weirong (2005b: 74–75).

[24] Kyčanov (2004: 158).

sidered as a Yuan production, but actually originated from the Tangut time.[25] As a matter of fact, it would appear from my findings that the Uigurs played an instrumental role in shaping the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century. The Uigurs acted as a go-between among Chinese, Tibetan, Tanguts and Mongols during that time.

Perhaps it is only because Chinese texts or texts of Chinese origin constitute the majority of both the Turfan and Khara Khoto collection that people have concluded that both the Uigurs and Tanguts were more influenced by the Chinese Buddhist tradition. Kyčanov claims that "Beide Völker wurden zunächst Buddhisten und übernahmen die Traditionen des Chinesischen Buddhismus aus dem westlichen China der Tangzeit."[26] That can no longer be said to be the case. It is undeniable that the Chinese Buddhist tradition had a great impact on both the Uigur and Tangut Buddhist traditions. Not only was the Pure Land teaching very popular among Uigur Buddhists, but Chinese Ch'an Buddhism was also introduced into these two kingdoms. The imperial preceptor Xianjue Shengguang 贤觉胜光 was said to have transmitted a Chinese Ch'an treatise into both Uigur and Tangut. In addition, the popularity of Chinese apocrypha scriptures among both Uigurs and Tanguts suggests that Chinese influence had strong presence in Uigur and Tangut Buddhism. As late as the Yuan dynasty, another famous Chinese apocryphal scripture called *the Sūtra of the Great Bear* 佛說北斗七星延命經 was translated into Uigur, Mongolian and Tibetan. This text became very popular in Central Eurasia.[27]

Nevertheless, this does not necessarily testify to the predominance of Chinese Buddhism in Central Eurasia. These new findings suggest otherwise. Rather, Central Eurasia was apparently still playing its traditional role as a melting pot of all eastern and western religious traditions during this time period. This makes sense since, in this region and at that time, the population consisted of Uigurs, Chinese, Tanguts, Tibetans and Mongols. Intercultural and inter-religious exchanges must have been a daily occurrence. Even Indian, especially Kashmir masters, would occasionally make their presence felt there. In the *Turfan Uigurica*, several Sanskrit scriptures of Indian origin on *Abhidharmakośa* were found.[28] Many Chinese and Tan-

[25] The Chinese translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* made by Shizhi 释智 was usually considered as a Yuan production. However, a fragmentary version of it is seen among the finds of the Square Stupa in the Baisigou valley. Since all finds of the Square Stupa are exclusively of Tangut Xia origin, Shi Zhi's translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* must be a production of Tangut Xia. See also Hoong Teik Toh (2004: 23–32).

[26] Kyčanov (2004: 157).

[27] Matsukawa Takashi (松川節) (2004).

[28] Hartmann (2004: 125–128).

gut texts claim to have been directly translated from their Sanskrit original.[29] There are other pieces of evidence which also point to the "melting-pot" scenario rather than one-sided Chinese influence. For example, the first ruler of the Tangut kingdom is said to have once stopped Indian masters, who were actually on their way to China proper, and kept them in his own kingdom for the purpose of disseminating Buddhist teachings. Also, the Kashmir master Jāyānanda, a contemporary of the imperial preceptor Xianjue Shengguang, was named the state preceptor of the Tangut kingdom. He transmitted a great number of Indian Buddhist texts concerning both Mādhyamika philosophy and tantrism among his Tangut and Chinese followers.[30] Furthermore, the Tangut monk rTsa mi *lo tsā ba* Sangs rgyas grags pa travelled to India, where he achieved renown as a siddha and translator. He was reported to have even become the leader of the Sangha at Bodhgayā and Nālandā. He left a great number of translations of texts on Kālacakra and Mahākāla teachings in the Tibetan canon.[31] Not only these, Tibetan lamas of various schools were imperial preceptors of both the Tangut kingdom and Mongol-Yuan dynasty.[32] During the Yuan dynasty not only Tibetan lamas, but also Tangut lamas were favored by Mongol Khans. There were Tangut lamas who were either notorious like Yang Lianzhenjia 杨琏 真伽 (Rin chen skyabs) or virtuous like Sha luo pa 沙罗巴.[33] Evidently, cross-cultural contacts and exchanges were still a regular feature of the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia.

Popular though Chinese and Indian Buddhist beliefs might have been, it was Tibetan tantric Buddhism that dominated the religious faith of the various peoples of Central Eurasia between the 11th and 14th century. Various pieces of evidence lead to this conclusion. First, while most Chinese texts or Tangut and Uigur texts of Chinese origin only deal with a few common sūtras, texts of Tibetan origin are mainly ritual texts outlining actual practices. Secondly, more than 50 percent of all Tangut texts found in Khara Khoto are of Tibetan origin. Recent archaeological finds in other Central Eurasian

[29] All six new Chinese scriptures of block prints in the Khara Khoto collection mentioned above were said to be translated from the Sanskrit original and printed in great numbers in the Tangut kingdom of Xia during the reign of Ren Zong 仁宗 (1139–1193). Obviously there are certain differences between these Chinese texts and their Tibetan parallels in the Tibetan canon. Therefore, they could not be direct translations from Tibetan.

[30] van der Kuijp (1993).

[31] Sperling (1994).

[32] Sperling (1987); Dunnell (1992); Nie Hongying (2005).

[33] About Yang Lianzhenjia see Shen Weirong (2004). About Sha Luo pa see Franke (1985).

regions show the same tendency. Thirdly, all imperial preceptors, besides the Xianjue Shengguang whose identity is yet to be determined, were Tibetan lamas. Fourthly, most monastic establishments and various kinds of art works found in the region strongly evince the tantric style of Tibetan Buddhism.[34] Therefore, it would seem logical to infer that Tibetan tantric Buddhism dominated the religious faith of peoples in Central Eurasia at least starting from the 11th century, if not earlier still.

Again, Uigurs played a central role in transmitting Tibetan tantric Buddhism among Tanguts, Chinese and Mongols. As already mentioned, the Uigurs moved westward into the Tarim Basin and Gansu Corridor in 840. At that time, a great part of Central Eurasia was still a part of the Tibetan empire. Tibet occupied a vast area of Central Eurasia for close to one century (from the mid-8th to the mid-9th century). After the Tibetan withdrawal from this region, the Tibetan language remained the *lingua franca* of the Central Eurasian region centered around Dunhuang for another one and a half century. Tibetan was the most widely used secondary language among various ethnic groups including Chinese, Khotanese and Uigurs until the beginning of the 11th century.[35] Therefore, it would have been common for Uigurs to be skilled in the Tibetan language. Indeed, by all accounts, the Uigurs were often multilingual. People such as the Dharma master Shengguang must have been very skilled users of such languages as Uigur, Chinese and Tibetan in the very least. As late as the Mongol Yuan time, the Uigurs often served as interpreters for Tibetan lamas and used their linguistic skills to advance their political careers.[36] During the Mongol-Yuan dynasty, they translated a great number of Chinese and Tibetan texts into both Uigur and Mongolian.

We have good reason to infer that after 840 the Uigurs in Central Eurasia under Tibetan rule, strongly influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, gradually converted from Manichaeism to Tibetan Buddhism. After Tibetan rule was overthrown, many Tibetans remained in this area. As Tibetan Buddhists suffered from an unprecedented brutal persecution and lived in an age of darkness in central Tibet, Tibetan tantric Buddhism continued to thrive among its followers in Central Eurasia. The activities of local Tibetans in Hexi, especially the Kokonor, A mdo and eastern Gansu areas obviously

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[34] Xie Jisheng 谢继胜(2002).

[35] Tsuguhito Takeuchi 武内紹人 (2004).

[36] For instance, the notorious Yuan statesman Sang-ko桑哥 (Sang-ge) started his career as an interpreter for the Imperial Preceptor ’Phags pa lama and became eventually Chancellor. He was called Uigur by a Chinese source, but Tibetan by a Tibetan work. Indeed, he seems more likely to have been a Tibetanized Uigur or a Uigurized Tibetan. See Franke (1942 & 1993); Petech (1980).

increased toward the end of the 10th century. That is presumably why numerous Tibetan tantric texts, mostly related to the rNying ma pa tradition, were found in the cave library of Dunhuang.[37] Tanguts rose from the beginning of the 11th century and conquered the area of the Gansu corridor where the Uigurs made up the majority of the population. Before Tibetan lamas from Central Tibet arrived in the Tangut kingdom, the Tanguts must have already been influenced by Tibetan Buddhism through mixing with the Uigurs as well as local Tibetans. Judging from the fact that there are only scant pieces of information about Tibetan lamas in the Tangut kingdom in Tibetan historical works, we must conclude that Tibetan lamas were active in Tangut kingdom only in its later period.

My investigations into the Khara Khoto manuscripts show that this collection includes texts of the same kind originating from both the Tangut kingdom and Mongol Yuan dynasty. This revelation demonstrates a certain consistency between Tangut and Mongolian Buddhist traditions. Before the establishment of the Yuan dynasty in 1268, the Mongols would have been already influenced by Tibetan tantric Buddhism, since they were surrounded by Tibetan Buddhists, either Uigurs or Tanguts, before they rose to world power. One often holds the view that "Mongolian Buddhism was born from Uigur Buddhism and nurtured by Tibetan Buddhism," a synchronic and diachronic analysis of the Khara Khoto texts and the Uigur texts in Turfan collection that supports the view that there is a link and certain consistency among Uigur, Tangut and Mongolian Buddhism in a historical context. Both the Uigur involvement and the prevalence of Tibetan tantric Buddhism in the Tangut kingdom laid a solid foundation for the Mongol adoption of Tibetan tantric Buddhism.[38] Early Mongolian translations of Buddhist scriptures often reveal Uigur elements and they perpetuated the Uigur and Tangut traditions in many aspects. For instance, the Tangut institution of Imperial Preceptor (*di shi* 帝师) was not only inherited, but further developed to a higher level by the Mongols. As mentioned before, Chinese sources reveal that Mongols were infatuated with both the *Secret Teaching of Supreme Bliss* and the magic power of Mahākāla. Mahākāla was even viewed as "the protective deity of the state" 国之護神. The discovery of many ritual texts concerning the Mahākāla cult not only greatly enriched our knowledge about the Mahākāla cult itself, but also shows that its popularity in the Mongol Yuan dynasty was merely a continuation of the old practice of the Tangut kingdom.[39] It was not, in other words, a Mongol Yuan innovation.

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[37] Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明 (1992).

[38] Shen Weirong (2008).

[39] Shen Weirong (2007e).

As mentioned earlier, the distorted descriptions of the so-called *Secret Teaching of Supreme Bliss* in Chinese sources relegated Tibetan Buddhism to a form of sorcery. A serial text on *Cakrasaṃvara* works, which deal with the Hevajra cult and the related practice of tantric sex, is found in both the Khara Khoto and Turfan collections. This shows that this kind of practice appeared in Central Eurasia before the advent of the Mongol-Yuan dynasty. The practice of Tibetan Buddhism was not limited to the Yuan court and did not discontinue when the dynasty collapsed. The occurrence of a great number of Chinese texts concerning Tibetan tantric Buddhism in Khara Khoto itself indicates that Chinese living in Central Eurasia must have enthusiastically practiced Tibetan tantric Buddhism. Even the teaching of the "intermediate state" *(bar do)*, which makes up the essence of the so-called *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, was quite popular among Chinese followers during that time. The harsh criticism levied against Tibetan lamas and Tibetan Buddhism by Chinese literati of the Yuan dynasty must have been mainly motivated by other non-religious concerns.

5. *The Importance of an interdisciplinary and multilingual approach to reading the Khara Khoto texts*

To conclude, I would like to once again emphasize the importance of an interdisciplinary and multilingual approach to the Khara Khoto texts. As already discussed above, to conduct comparative studies of the Turfan *Uigurica* with corresponding Tangut, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian texts found in the Khara Khoto collection is essential for the reconstruction of the history of Buddhism in the Uigur kingdom. Likewise, a similar approach is essential for ensuring the success of linguistic and philological studies of the Turfan *Uigurica*. With the help of the Khara Khoto texts, especially in terms of identifying the real origin of these Uigur texts, future studies in the Turfan *Uigurica* will have a more solid foundation. The same is true for studies of Tangut, Tibetan, Chinese and Mongol texts among the Khara Khoto collection.

Recently, many new Buddhist texts in the Tangut language are being excavated in today's Ningxia Muslim Autonomous Region, the heart land of the former Tangut kingdom. Among them there is a text entitled in Chinese *Jixiang bianzhi kouhe benxu* 吉祥遍至口和本續 *(The Tantra of All over Merging of Mouth)*. This text is extraordinarily valuable in many aspects. Firstly, it is an exceptionally long and complete Buddhist text, rarely seen among all existing Tangut texts. Secondly, it is reportedly recognized to be the earliest printed text using the technique of wooden movable type 木活字印刷 in world history. Many scholars of Tangut studies have showed great enthusiasm for this text, but due to the lack of cooperative endeavors and inter-textual reading among scholars of Tangut studies and those of Ti-

betan and Buddhist studies, the Tibetan original of the text could not be identified.[40] Thus, its true identity remains puzzling. Many scholars of Tangut studies have claimed that the Tibetan original has been lost. Also, the deciphering and translating of the text remains a very difficult mission. As a Tibetan scholar, I am reluctant to believe that the Tibetan original of a long and complete Tangut text was simply lost. In summer 2005, I had the opportunity to work together with Dr. Sun Changsheng, a Chinese scholar of Tangut studies in Yinchuan. Based on the part of his Chinese translation of the Tangut text, I finally succeeded in identifying the Tibetan original of the text after a long and painstaking journey. It is actually the *Yang dag par sbyor ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud chen po (Saṃpuṭa-nāma-mahātantra)* available in the Tibetan canon (D. 381; P. 26).[41] This text, well known as the *Saṃpuṭa tantra* or *Saṃpuṭi tantra*, is an extremely important text for the yogic practice of both the *Hevajra* and *Cakrasaṃvara tantra*. It was especially favored by Sa skya pa masters. In several texts included in the *Dacheng yaodao miji* the *Saṃpuṭa tantra* is often quoted. It was transcribed or translated as *San puti* 三菩提 *(Saṃpuṭi)* or *Sanmoda benxu* 三莫怛本續 *(Saṃpuṭa tantra)*.[42] The revelation of the true identity of the Tangut text again clearly elucidates the historical context of the tantric practice of Hevajra and Cakrasaṃvara which contain the practice of tantric sex from the Tangut kingdom to the Mongol Yuan dynasty. Furthermore, since not only the Tibetan translation of the *Saṃpuṭa tantra* is available in the existing edition of Tibetan canon, but also several Sanskrit editions are still existent,[43] the deciphering and translating of the Tangut version of the *Saṃpuṭa tantra* is no longer an impossible mission.

The importance of interdisciplinary and multilingual approach to the Khara Khoto texts can be demonstrated through an additional case. So far not enough attention has been paid to the Khara Khoto Tibetan texts. Only one Tibetan text, i.e. XT 67, has been the subject of several scholarly works worldwide. Very recently Shi Jinbo has claimed that the XT 67 is the earliest printed text using the technology of wooden movable type.[44] However, nei-

[40] See Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, ed. (2005: 18–143, 345–363, 425–435).

[41] Shen Weirong (2007f).

[42] In *the Guru Yoga* authored by Sa skya *paṇḍita* mentioned above and other texts, for instance, the *Dacheng mizang xianzheng benxu monishu juan* 大乘密藏現證本續摩尼樹卷 authored by the great Sa skya pa Master Zhizongba 大薩思嘉知宗巴上師, very likely the third Sa skya patriarch rJe btsun pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan, there are numerous citations from the *Saṃpuṭa tantra*. Xiao Tianshi ed. (1962: *juan* 1: 6; *juan* 2: 16; *juan* 3: 4, 12, 15, 23–25).

[43] Noguchi Keiya 野口圭也 (1984: 168–169); Elder (1978); Skorupski (1996).

[44] Shi Jinbo (2005).

ther Shi Jinbo nor Lev Savitsky and Shirai Satoko 白井聰子 identified XT 67 with the Chinese text TK164 and TK165 of the Khara Khoto collection. Indeed, XT 67 is the Tibetan original of the Chinese texts TK 164 and TK 165, namely *Sheng guanzizai dabeixin zongchi gongneng yijing lu* 聖觀自在大悲心惣持功能依經錄 and *Shengxiang dingzun zongchi gongneng yijinglu* 勝相頂尊惣持功能依經錄. This identification does not only clarify the origin of the Chinese texts, but also provides the exact date when the XT 67 was printed. In case Shi Jinbo's claim that XT 67 was the earliest print of wooden movable type in the world history, then it is quite certain that this technology appeared in the reign of Renzong of the Tangut kingdom. Furthermore, the Tangut translation of both *Sheng guanzizai dabeixin zongchi gongneng yijing lu* and *Shengxiang dingzun zongchi gongneng yijinglu* is not only seen in the Khara Khoto collection, but also seen among the Tangut texts which were newly uncovered in Lücheng of Edzina of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in 1991.[45] Obviously, a comparative study of *Sheng guanzizai dabeixin zongchi gongneng yijing lu* and *Shengxiang dingzun zongchi gongneng yijinglu* in three languages will be a very meaningful undertaking. Especially, since the Tibetan original of *Shengxiang dingzun zongchi gongneng yijinglu* is not available in the Tibetan canon, the fragmentary version in XT 67 might be the only recension of the text, we can reconstruct it only based on its Chinese and Tangut translations.

6. Conclusion

The attempt to reconstruct the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century by comparing the Khara Khoto texts and the Turfan *Uigurica* has demonstrated the significance of interdisciplinary and multilingual studies. Clearly, the full historical value of the Khara Khoto texts can only be exploited and recognized through interdisciplinary and multilingual approaches. If we do not confine ourselves to only one single discipline, but instead take an interdisciplinary and multilingual approach to decipher and translate texts, it will allow us to integrate research achievements of different disciplines such as Uigur, Tangut, Mongol, Tibetan and Buddhist studies. Consequently, the history of Buddhism in Central Eurasia from the 11th to 14th century can be reconstructed in a more fruitful way. That is the beauty of philological studies. This beauty, however, can only be fully appreciated through an interdisciplinary and multilingual approach to the texts.

[45] Shi Jinbo and Weng Shanzhen 翁善珍 (1996).

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RÉSUMÉ

Reconstitution de l'histoire du bouddhisme en Eurasie centrale (11–14e siècles) : Approche pluridisciplinaire et multilingue des textes de Khara Khoto

L'Eurasie centrale a été un carrefour de peuples et de religions. Du 11[e] au 14[e] siècle, trois groupes ethniques y jouèrent un rôle important : les Ouigours du royaume de Qoco (850–1227), le royaume tangoute de Xia (1038–1227), la dynastie mongole des Yuan (1206–1368). En 1908 et 1909, l'expédition russe de Kozlov découvrit à Khara Khoto un grand nombre de textes en chinois, tangoute, tibétain, mongol, ouigour et autres langues, ainsi que des œuvres d'art datant du 11[e] au 14[e] siècle. L'étude de ces textes est loin d'être achevée, mais les ouvrages bouddhiques qui s'y trouvent sont de la plus grande importance pour reconstituer l'histoire du bouddhisme en Eurasie centrale du 11[e] au 14[e] siècle. Le moyen d'y parvenir est d'étudier les textes chinois liés au bouddhisme tantrique tibétain en les comparant à des textes tangoutes de Khara Khoto, ainsi qu'à des textes ouigours de Turfan, et en les replaçant dans le contexte bouddhique chinois, tibétain et centre-asiatique.

Le fonds de Khara Khoto comporte notamment 283 textes chinois bouddhiques, *sūtra*, commentaires, hagiographies et apocryphes. Les plus importants pour l'histoire du bouddhisme sont les textes tantriques, manuscrits et xylographes. Six sont inconnus du Canon chinois : ils furent traduits du sanskrit et largement diffusés sous le règne de Renzong de Xia (1139–1193), et on les retrouve, à l'exception d'un seul, dans le Canon tibétain. Le fonds de manuscrits chinois de Khara Khoto contient les plus anciennes traductions chinoises de textes tantriques tibétains connues à ce jour. Ce sont essentiellement des textes de pratique : *sādhana*, *man ngag*, et *dhāraṇī.*

La comparaison entre les textes de Khara Khoto, chinois, tangoutes et tibétains, et les documents bouddhiques ouigours anciens trouvés à Turfan, montre dans la plupart des cas et en dehors de la langue, un réel parallélisme, qui permet de situer les documents de Turfan entre le 11[e] et le 14[e] siècles. A Turfan, la plupart des textes traduits sont d'origine chinoise, dont des apocryphes, mais il y a également de nombreux textes d'origine tibétaine, probablement traduits à l'époque du royaume tangoute. Si l'influence du bouddhisme chinois a été considérable en Eurasie centrale, elle n'a pas été unique; de fait, nombre d'influences s'y croisèrent, avant que le bouddhisme tantrique tibétain y devint prédominant. La nature des textes de Khara Khoto prouve des liens réels entre bouddhisme ouigour, tangoute et mongol pendant la période considérée. Leur analyse montre par exemple que le culte de Mahākāla développé chez les Mongols eut une origine tangoute. La pratique du bouddhisme tantrique tibétain ne cessa pas avec la chute des Yuan, et les textes prouvent que bien des Chinois vivant en Eurasie centrale le pratiquèrent.

Seule l'étude interdisciplinaire et multilingue permettra de résoudre les problèmes posés par ces textes, d'en reconstituer l'histoire et à travers celle-ci, celle du bouddhisme en Eurasie centrale. Un exemple le montre : parmi des textes tangoutes récemment découverts au Ningxia, un texte semble être le plus ancien imprimé à l'aide de caractères mobiles en bois qui soit connu à ce jour, mais l'original tibétain n'en avait pas été identifié, certains le pensaient même disparu. L'auteur du présent article, en collaboration avec un spécialiste des études tangoutes, a pu le reconnaître comme une version tangoute du *Yang dag par sbyor pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud chen po*, texte de pratique en grand usage chez les Sa skya pa.

Stitched Books from the Tibetan World

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A number of examples of books in stitched format originating within the context of Tibetan civilization have come to light. About twenty volumes, divided into six groups are brought together here. With the exception of the two latter groups they are all datable to the period between the Tibetan empire of sPu rgyal, and the early Second Diffusion of Buddhism (ca 8th–12th c.). However, since the author has not had the opportunity of examining several of the original documents, this remains an introductory note to shed light on the phenomenon of stitched books in the context of Tibet and the written word.

The four known locations from where the majority of the above-mentioned Tibetan stitched books originated are at a great distance from each other: Dunhuang and Kharakhoto (in Central Asia); Baima[1] (Tibetan name unknown), south of Songpan and the region of Shar khog in Southern Amdo (present day Sichuan, rNga pa prefecture); and gTam gzhung dGa' thang, near sMra bo lcog, in Lho brag, Southern Tibet - thus suggesting a wide distribution of this 'Western-style' format for books. The six groups will be described briefly before going on to make a few general observations.

1. Kharakhoto:

A Small Stitched Prayer Book Kept in the Oriental Institute, St Petersburg (XT 67), Renzong Reign Period (1150–1179 / 1139–1193) (?)

This modest prayer book (XT 67) from the northern Tangut city of Kharakhoto[2] is the first stitched Tibetan book in Western-style format that the

[1] This is in the neighbouring Qiang territory.

[2] See Piotrovsky (1993: 48–58) for a short history of the «State of Great Xia» by the eminent Russian Tangutologist, E. I. Kychanov. He provides a table of the 12 Tangut or Minia emperors, based upon Tangut-Minia sources. Minia is the indigenous name, reflecting the origins of the people and the dynasty, for according to Kychanov, the Minia people migrated northwards in the mid-7th century, under threat of war from *btsan po* Srong btsan sgam po, from their homeland in Khams Mi nyag in south-eastern Tibet, to the Eastern Silk Route region, settling there and later founding the Minia State (Chin. Xixia, Russian Tangut). The name Tangut, used by the Russians, also reflects the early Tibetan lineage or clan name—lDong (found in Chinese as Dangxiang), and referred to

author saw—to her astonishment—on display in the Oriental Institute, St Petersburg, in the early 1990s, while preparing an exhibition on Buddhist art and artifacts from seven «Soviet collections» in Russia and Buryatia, organised and funded by the Thyssen-Bornesmisza Foundation in Lugano. The prayer book was to be included in the exhibition as the earliest known example of a Tibetan stitched book, but unfortunately the show never took place due to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992, immediately following the completion of the inventory. Ultimately only the paintings from the 'Illustrious suburgan',[3] or 'Great stūpa' of Kharakhoto on the northern periphery of the Tangut Empire were exhibited. This ancient fortified city by the Edsin Gol River is situated some 500 km northeast of Dunhuang. The stitched prayer book came from the same collection, having been found together with an important Tangut imperial library, and numerous paintings and stucco images in the 'Illustrious suburgan'[4] in the early 20th century, by Colonel P. Z. Kozlov, leader of the 1907–1909 Russian expedition to Central Asia.

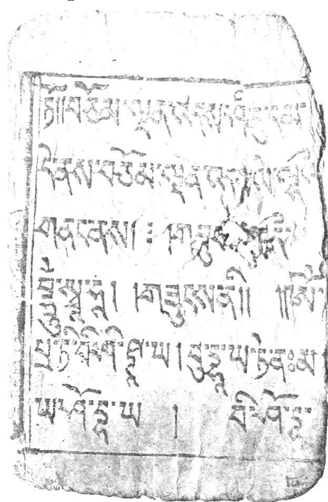


Fig. 1 A lost page from one of the Kharakhoto xylograph prayer books in Tibetan (recto), Oriental Institute, St Petersburg; similar in format to X 67 (perhaps the page comes from X 64) width ca 8 cm, height ca 12 cm ; printing area (frame): width ca 7 cm, height ca 9 cm. Photocopy courtesy Vladimir Uspensky, 2009.

Apart from the Russian scholars in Tangut studies, working *in situ* in St Petersburg, this little book has been examined by at least four Tibetologists from around the globe, and a consensus is yet to be made concerning its proper description. According to my own observation in 1990–91, it is printed in Tibetan *dbu can* script from xylographic blocks in rectangular format (one block per page), similar to that of a Western book, and not at all in 'wooden movable type' as proposed by Shi Jinbo.[5] Professors Kychanov and Marshak, renowned specialists of Tangut language and civilization, considered, at the time of my two visits, that the prayer

in Tibetan sources as lDong Mi nyag. We shall base our dating on Tangut chronology, noting that the indigenous dates for the dynasty do not coincide with those given by Chinese historians.

[3] This is the name given to the *stūpa* excavated by Kozlov (see below). *Suburgan* means *stūpa* in Mongolian.

[4] Piotrovsky (1993: 60).

[5] Shi Jinbo (2005) as referred to by Shen Weirong on p. 356, n. 44, in the article above.

book was made to be carried in a small pouch hung from the belt, most probably by a lay person. The text was said to include a popular evocation to Avalokiteśvara, but beyond a brief examination of the original, I was unable to go further into a detailed study, and we were only allowed to make one rather fuzzy polaroid photo of the object, in preparation for the exhibition.

My friend and colleague, Vladimir Uspensky, former curator of the Tibetan Collection in the Oriental Institute until 2005, kindly provided a photocopy of the recto-verso of one page from a similar prayer book, from the same group of Kharakhoto texts, possibly XT 64, but without precisions as to the exact dimensions or identification (fig. 1). Thus I am grateful for the following notes, taken on XT 67, by Prof. Takeuchi and his student, Maho Iuchi, during a mission to the Oriental Institute in St Petersburg in 1995:

> «XT 67 is a complete block print of a Buddhist text, 12.7 x 8.7 cm; 13 folios in either unbound codex, or concertina format,[6] each folio containing two pages, recto-verso; with 6 lines of Tibetan per page, thus making a total of 52 pp.»

Iuchi adds that «the numbering—in Chinese script—is to be found on pages 2–6, 9–13, 23–27, 34, 35, 37, 38, 49–54, 56–61», thus making a higher total number of pages—belonging to what would have been the complete original book.

Professor Shen Weirong also visited St Petersburg not long before the conference in Paris, and presents XT 67 briefly at the end of his final paper for publication. The following remarks are subject to caution, since they come from notes taken down by the author during Shen's presentation.[7] However, since they appear to be useful from an historical point of view they are included here. Shen proposed a mid-12th century date for the book, based on readings of the Tangut, Tibetan and Chinese colophons, which contain information on the text itself, providing the name of the Tangut state preceptor, a monk called Kazi Jāyanānda, «expert in the five sciences»; as well as that of the Tangut monk translator, Bao Yuan. The Chinese and/or Tibetan colophon gives the Renzong reign period (Tangut dating: 1139–1193; Chinese dating: 1150–1179),[8] i.e. that of the seventh Tan-

[6] According to Professor Takeuchi's notes taken in 1995, XT 67 is made up of 13 leaves piled on top of each other and sewn down the centre, forming an 'unbound codex' or butterfly book format. Iuchi noted, however, that it is in concertina format like a Chinese book. So there is still some verification to be done.

[7] Shen Weirong refers to two articles by Shi Jinbo & Wang Shenzhen (1996) & Shi Jinbo (2005), with regard to this book.

[8] See Piotrovsky (1993: 48–58) for a short history of the «State of Great Xia» by the eminent Russian Tangutologist, E.I. Kychanov. He provides a table of the 12 emperors of Xixia, based upon Tangut sources.

Tangut emperor. It mentions the printing of a large number of copies—17 000—made in memory of Renzong's father, Chongzong (Tangut dating: r. 1086–1139).

Indeed, the Tangut Empire—with its close Tibetan ties and origins—lasted for almost two and a half centuries. As mentioned above, the dates given in the Tangut sources differ from those given by the Chinese historians. Thus for the Tanguts, the empire with its lineage of rulers was founded in 982 and ended with its destruction by Genghis Khan in 1227.[9] However, the destruction was not as massive and definitive as was previously thought, especially when the historic fact of the carving of the wood blocks and the printing of the «complete Tangut *Tripiṭaka*», in Hangzhou, in Southern China, in the early 14th century (completed in 1302) is taken into account.[10] This late flourishing of Tangut written culture is important in attempting to date the entire collection of texts and paintings from Kharakhoto. Ms. Kira Samosyuk of the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, mentions that the town of Kharakhoto survived through to the late 14th century, with the last reign period being that of the short-lived Mongol «Northern Yuan» dynasty (1378–1387), founded after the Mongols were routed from Beijing at the end of the Yuan dynasty. Indeed Samosyuk affirms that the Mongol conquest in 1227, «did not cause the instant disappearance of Tangut language and culture».[11]

Thus the paintings and books from the 'Illustrious suburgan' may date from the late 10th century, through to the late 14th century (982–1387), and within this period, Samosyuk estimates that the Tibetan-style thangka paintings are from the mid-12th century, through to the second half of the 14th century, based on what is known of Tibetan-Tangut historical links.[12]

The Tibetan-style thangkas include one group that was certainly painted in the middle or during the second half of the 13th century as is clear from the portrait of Karma Pakśi (1204–1283), in the bottom left corner of the painting of the Medicine Buddha from Kharakhoto (X2332).[13] Karma Pakśi was the first officially recognised reincarnate lama of Tibet, and second in line of the Black Hat Karma pa of mTshur phu. The *Blue Annals* and the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* record that he visited the Tangut Empire in the mid-13th century, after being invited to the Mongol court by prince Kubilai (1215–1294). Karma Pakśi was then 52 years of age (1255). However, due

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[9] Piotrovsky (1993: 58), cf. Chinese historians dates for the Tangut empire, 1032–1227.

[10] Stoddard (2008: 16, 33–42).

[11] Piotrovsky (1993: 64, 81).

[12] See below, n.14.

[13] Stoddard (2008: 16, cover; 17, fig.7).

to 'jealousy' and no doubt rivalry with 'Gro mgon 'Phags pa (1235–1280), who had arrived earlier on, in 1247, at Godan Khan's court in Liangzhou, with his uncle Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251), Karma Pakśi soon left and went to Mi nyag Gha (i.e. the Tangut empire, or Xixia), where he built the 'Phrul snang sprul pa'i lha khang temple in 1256, in '101 days'.[14]

When Samosyuk gives 1225 for his visit,[15] this is not possible in view of his *rnam thar*. He would have been only twenty-one years of age at that time, and Kubilai was only ten.[16] As proposed in the second edition of *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, a certain number of the other Kharakhoto paintings are also datable to the period of Karma Pakśi, amongst which the most well executed of those that are in «Tibetan style».[17] Thus if Shen Weirong's reading of the colophons is correct, this is confirmation of ongoing and long term contact and exchange between the Tibetans and the Tanguts, beginning at least half a century before the rise of Genghis and the Mongols, in 1206. It would suggest that Tibetan Buddhism and/or Tibetan monks or lay people were already present, and that Tibetan texts were known and read in the Tangut empire, in the late 11th or early to mid-12th century, during the lifetime of Renzong's father.[18] In the light of the above information, some of which needs double-checking, it would be most useful to re-examine this little book, to determine, once and for all, its technical description, its historic features, as well as its complete textual content.

2. Dunhuang:

Ten Stitched Tibetan Books from the Mogaoku Library, Kept in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (ca 8th–10th c.). Fonds Pelliot tibétain 0013, 0049, 0070, 0103, 0245, 0253, 0282, 0700, 0780, 1266.[19]

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[14] Roerich (1976: 485–487), dPa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba (1986: II, 888). Unfortunately the references given by Samosyuk (1993: 64) and Rhie, in Rhie & Thurman (1991: 49) concerning the early contacts between Tibetan lamas, Mongols and Tanguts are hard to verify.

[15] Piotrovsky (1993: 64).

[16] In Roerich (1976: 485–487), and Douglas & White (1979: 39–43), confirmation is given of the date of his invitation to the court of Prince Kubilai in 1255. From that date he spent altogether six years in China and the surrounding regions of Mongolia and Tangutia.

[17] Stoddard (2008: 16).

[18] This is one century earlier than the first attested expedition to the Tangut realm (known to this author from Tibetan sources), made by a group of monks from the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud school in 1222, Stoddard (2008: 40).

[19] During my visit to the Bibliothèque nationale I was not able to consult manuscript PT.0044, which is of a similar format, and there are other examples.

A number of Tibetan booklets from Dunhuang dating to the late sPu rgyal empire (ca 9th–10th c.) are found among the Pelliot Tibetan manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, and the Stein manuscripts kept in the British Library in London. There are twenty-five in Tibetan script alone, according to Jean-Pierre Drège, in his technical article, «Les Cahiers des manuscrits de Touen-houang», plus six in which Tibetan and Chinese are mixed).[20] Some have separate folded and stitched pages, while others are glued, and yet others are made using the Chinese concertina technique. The author inspected ten of them at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, in May 2008. Several have a format similar to the Kharakhoto prayer book, being small and rectangular, with the pages often folded in two, and sewn on the left side, as in Western format. Others are stitched at the top. The stitching points vary from two to eight, and the contents are essentially Buddhist, including prayers, rituals and guidelines for practice. All are in manuscript writing, both in *dbu can* and *dbu med*, and they are written «with a reed pen, as is customary in Dunhuang from the period of Tibetan occupation onwards».[21]

According to Drège, none of the Chinese stitched or glued booklets are much earlier than the end of the 9th century, i.e. *after* the end of the Tibetan empire. He mentions twenty-five Chinese examples, dating to between 899–982, thus following the period of Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang, when Tibetan language, writing and culture were still widely used, as has been shown by Demiéville and Takeuchi.[22] Drège imputes the increased use of glue and the recuperation of used paper to make up new cahiers to the Tibetan period, mentioning the relative lack of paper at that time. As already mentioned, some cahiers contain writing in both Tibetan and Chinese. A couple of examples are given below.

PT 253 is one of the above-mentioned Tibetan cahiers published by Drège, pl. V. It is similar in size to the Kharakhoto prayer book, but the proportions are different, in that the pages are broader than their height. The text is written by hand in Tibetan *dbu can,* in a style typical of that earlier time and place and the contents appear to present a *sādhana* practice, or a *maṇḍala* of Tantric deities.

PT 47 includes three cahiers. They are folded and stitched manuscripts also in Western format (15.5 H x 7 cm), totaling 28 pages, of which half are

[20] Drège (1985: 18).

[21] Drège (1985: 18) quoting Fujieda (1966: 25–26). In his article, Fujieda refers to the pen or stylet used by Tibetans during the sPu rgyal empire, saying that it was similar in style and cut to that used by the Arabs, who still make their pens from reed. However, contemporary Tibetans use bamboo.

[22] Demiéville (1952); Takeuchi (1995).

in Tibetan and half in Chinese. The Chinese reads, like the Tibetan, from left to right.

Numerous other observations remain to be made on these Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript books. Drège affirms that scrolls were for general or library use, while the cahiers were for private individuals, and although stitched ones are found, the majority were glued. Furthermore, he notes that when books are stitched, this was done using thread, cord, or leather thongs. This matches perfectly the other examples presented below in this article. Another interesting detail is noted by Drège, since he considers that it was the introduction of xylography that brought an end to the widespread use of scrolls in the Chinese world.

3. gTam shul dGa' thang: Four Stitched Bon Manuscripts (ca 9th–12th c. CE) (figs. 2–3).

The third geographically localised group of documents are those discussed in Samten Karmay's paper, from the point of view of content and dating.[23] They form a batch of four Bon manuscripts written on paper, in archaic



Fig. 2 sMan dbyad (Medical Diagnosis) text, back cover with leather thong stitching, 236.

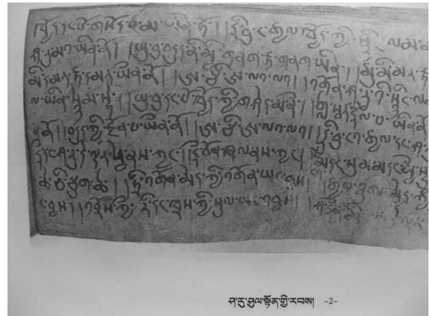


Fig. 3 Sha ru shul ston gyi rabs, with visible stitch points, f.2, 181.

cursive script. They were discovered recently at gTam shul dGa' thang, near the seat of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124/36–1192/1204), at sMra bo lcog, Lho kha, in southern Tibet, during the restoration of the *stūpa* «between 2005 and 7.8.2007».[24] Unfortunately the circumstances of the discovery of the manuscripts, the proper archeological observations and research that should have accompanied such an important find have not been provided in the publication. Furthermore, since the present author has not seen the originals, the remarks presented here are provisional.

[23] Samten Karmay's paper was presented at the conference, but is not published here.

[24] Wangdu & Langru (2007).

The published book of photo facsimiles of the texts, bearing the title *gTam shul dGa' thang 'Bum pa che nas gsar rnyed byung ba'i Bon gyi gna' dpe bdams bsgrigs*, provides only tenuous information concerning the manufacture and the state of conservation of these four books. However, it is clear from the photos that the manuscripts are stitched with leather thongs, in what appears similar to the «Western format», with from 3 to 5, or perhaps 7 stitching points. The photos were not intended to present this technical aspect, so the details remain to be confirmed.

However, in contrast to the Kharakhoto prayer book, and like Dunhuang manuscript PT 253, the width of the pages in this group is larger than their height. Thus they appear to be similar to some ancient texts in broad Tibetan *pothi* format, in which the width is approximately double the height of the page. The author saw pages from a similarly proportioned *pothi* manuscript in Kho mthing, in the same region of Southern Tibet, in 2000. However, in this latter case, the original manuscript was of much more refined manufacture, and the pages were loose-leaf.

The cursive *dbu med* script used in the Bonpo manuscripts from dGa' thang is similar to that found in various texts from Dunhuang. However, the date is yet to be established by the researchers who have carried out the preliminary analyses of this important corpus of texts, notably Pa tshab Pa sangs dBang 'dus (Lhasa, TASS), Samten Karmay (Paris), and Henk Blezer (Leiden). There appears to have been more than one scribe, and a largish square section has been cut out of the last page of the first of the four books, entitled *gNag rabs* (p. 129–130), suggesting that a C14 test sample has been taken by the TAR team. While waiting for further clarification, both Pa sangs dBang 'dus and Samten Karmay consider that the texts probably date back to the sPu rgyal empire, and are thus of great importance.

4. A Stitched and Leather-bound Birchbark Book in Sanskrit (ca 1028–1063 CE)

A beautiful manuscript written in Sanskrit on birch bark, protected by a leather cover, and kept in the Tibet Museum, Lhasa, was published in *Baozang*, in 2000.[25] It is datable, according to the notice in Chinese, to the imperial period of the sPu rgyal empire, or Great Tibet (Tib. Bod chen po, Chin. Tufan), i.e. ca 7th–9th century. No geographic origin is given for the manuscript, nor even the place of conservation (although it is known from another source to be kept in the Tibet Museum, Lhasa, see below). The only dimension provided is 16.1 cm long (Chin. *zhang*), but it is not stated

[25] *Baozang* (2000: I, No 74: 113-116).

whether this «length» is the size of one page, or a double-page spread. In the latter case, the book would in fact be rather small.

Quite a number of early Tibetan texts written on birch bark are to be found in museums and collections around the world, and during the IATS conference held in Munich in 1985, a small exhibition was on display, showing strips or squares of single page documents and fragments written on birch bark, in fine Tibetan *dbu med* script. Since the question has been asked as to whether birch trees grow on the high Tibetan plateau, it can be confirmed that the author visited a swathe of silver and red birch trees with broad trunks on a mountain side in northern Amdo, in the relatively low-lying region between gNam rdzong and Khri ka (in mTsho sngon or Qinghai), in 2006. The strips of bark hanging naturally from the trunks of the trees suggested that it would be quite possible to immediately produce small size but thick and good quality pages for writing on.

According to the photos in *Baozang*, the thick protective leather cover of the Sanskrit manuscript has incised geometric patterns, and a flap with a knotted cord to keep the book safe when not in use. Thus, when closed, the cover forms a solid, open-sided case, suitable for travel. The leather would have provided considerable protection for the precious texts inside.

The book is made up of quite a large number of pages, perhaps 40–50, sewn together. The back of the book where the pages are attached to the leather cover, is to the left, in Western fashion. The format is square, and the pages are in excellent condition, even though the book has clearly been used, if one may judge from the state of the cover. The notice given in *Baozang* (p. 113) remarks that the presentation of this manuscript is very different from the usual Tibetan book, being ‘close to the European model’, and that this technique ‘would have arrived in Tibet via India’. The date proposed is «Tufan», i.e. the Tibetan empire of sPu rgyal (early 7th c. through to mid 9th c.), but no justification is given.

However, a short article published in 2004 by Kazuhiro Kawasaki refers directly to this book: «On a Birch-bark Sanskrit Manuscript Preserved in the Tibet Museum».[26] The author gives precise and detailed information on the book, demonstrating that the sPu rgyal empire date given in the Chinese publication is untenable.

According to Kawasaki’s estimation, the book measures 15.6 L x 15.3 cm W, referring thus to the almost square dimensions of a single page. When open it would measure a little over 30 cm wide, thus being of rather large dimensions considering the high quality of the birch bark, and the number of pages. Kawasaki affirms that this material was used in India, as an alterna-

[26] Kawasaki (2004: 52).

tive to or alongside palm-leaf, before the introduction of paper. He identifies the style of writing as Sarada script, and notes that the page numbers are to be found on the lower left of each double page. The colophon records that the manuscript was copied out during the reign of King Anantadeva of Kashmir, who reigned from 1028 to 1063 CE. This follows immediately the life and reign of Lha Bla ma Ye shes 'od (947–1024), the monk-king who ruled over the Western Tibetan kingdom of Gu ge, and who was the main benefactor of the Great Translator, Lo chen Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), whose school of translation, in mTho ling monastery, flourished for over half a century, with the aid of numerous learned pandits from Kashmir. Furthermore, the great Bengali pandit, Atīśa Dīpaṃkara, went to Tibet from Vikramaśīla, arriving first in mTho ling, right in the middle of King Anantadeva's reign, in 1042.[27]

Quoting Kawasaki, the table of contents to the book is written on a single sheet stuck on the reverse side of the front cover. It includes 27 items, relating to esoteric rituals and manuals, as well as commentaries. Many texts are from the tradition of Jñānapāda, who founded one of the two major Indian schools in the interpretation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. Jñānapāda's name appears in 3 items in the contents, and one of his four main disciples, Padmavajra, is the author of item 18. The author of item 6, Ratnavajra, was one of the «six sages of Vikramaśīla monastery», as well as being a follower of the Jñānapāda school. Item 25 is another commentary closely associated with the Jñānapāda tradition. No. 10, written by Jñānapāda himself, is included in the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* (Toh Na 1860), and no. 11 may also be identifiable with another text in the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* (Toh Na 1851). In conclusion, Kawasaki affirms that several of the Sanskrit texts found in its pages are extant nowhere else, making the book even more precious and useful for researchers today. However, he remarks that unfortunately this precious treasure text is not available for scholars to work on.

It might be remarked that in view of the Buddhist content, the leather cover appears to be somewhat out of place, especially if the book were made in a *vihāra* on Indian territory, since this would be offensive to Indian religious custom and sentiment, as well as to the *Vinaya* regulations. Though the colophon says it was copied out during the reign of King Anantadeva of Kashmir, neither the place of origin, nor the name of the scribe is given. These omissions suggest that the original location was within the realms of Greater Kashmir, as it was known at the time, mainly occupying mountainous territory in the western Himalayas, due West of the Tibetan kingdom of Gu ge.

[27] Based on Stein (1900: I: 278–288).

Since the manuscript is kept in the Tibet Museum in Lhasa, we may perhaps allow a little speculation concerning its presence on Tibetan soil, almost one thousand years after its making. Might the text have been brought from Kashmir to Western Tibet by a pandit, or by a Tibetan lotsawa on his way home after intensive study in one of the Vajrayāna *vihāra*s in Kashmir? There was much to-ing and fro-ing between the two regions from the mid-10th through to the end of the 11th century, and since at that time Sanskrit was a living language for both Buddhist communities, the book might have belonged to either party. Perhaps the owner was a Tibetan scholar from Rin chen bzang po's school in mTho ling? Someone who had been studying Sanskrit in Kashmir, and who brought the book back with him, after copying the texts *in situ*. Being a Tibetan he would not have minded the leather cover, and he would have been modest enough not to note down his own name. Perhaps the texts were the very ones he had been assigned to translate into Tibetan? On the other hand, it is also possible that the book was made for or by an Indian pandit who was on his way up to the high plateau. He would have needed it for his own travelling and teaching purposes, or perhaps he had the corpus copied out in view of a joint translation project with the Tibetan *lo tsa ba*s in the Land of Snows?

5. Two Stitched Bonpo Manuscripts from Baima (fig. 4)

Like the dGa' thang manuscripts, groups 5 & 6 also belong to the Bon tradition, but it is unlikely that they are as old as the other texts discussed above. They are more 'provincial', recalling manuals used by local village or community priests to dispel sickness and misfortune. Furthermore, the site Baima, where they were photographed, is within the territory of the neighbouring Qiang people with whom the proto-Tibetans and the Tibetans entertained friendly relations over the last two millenia. Indeed according to early Chinese sources, the Qiang are one of the original ethnic groups that went to make up the Tibetan nation and there are many shared cultural traits between the two peoples.



Fig. 4 Bonpo stitched manuscript from Baima, rNga ba.

Henk Blezer of Leiden University kindly provided information and images of this small group of two Bonpo texts from «Baima», south of Zung chu (Chin. Songpan) in rNga ba (Sichuan). They appear to contain collec-

tions of Bonpo *dhāraṇī*, written in Tibetan *dbu med* script on thick paper. They are stitched using cord (at least one of them), and both are similar to the Western format, being narrower in width than in height, although one does appear to be sewn along the top. Though they are not as old as the other examples mentioned above, it is interesting to note that they too are Bonpo, originating from another peripheral region of the Tibetan world.[28]

6. One of «Several» Stitched Bonpo Manuscripts Kept in the Johan van Manen Tibetan Collection, Library of Kern Institute, Leiden University, I.KERN 2740/ B9. title: Khro bo spyi 'dul gyi cha lag 'khor lo bcas bzhugs so*, 62 fols, size 11 x 23 cm; Microfilm nr. MM05I-93-41559-41624.*

According to the description of this manuscript given to the author by the Bonpo scholar, Kalsang Norbu Gurung, a large part of this text is written in *dbu med* script while a few mantras are written in *dbu can*, and the pages are stitched together, although this last technical aspect is not obvious from the photos that he kindly provided.[29]

Conclusion

Three of the four earlier groups of stitched manuscripts & xylographs (1–4), are Buddhist in content, with only one, the dGa' thang manuscripts, being Bonpo. On the other hand, the remaining two groups (5–6) are also Bonpo, of undetermined date, and they may be quite recent. As manuals for practice, they appear to have been well used for community ritual purposes, with the wear-and-tear factor probably indicating their re-making on a regular basis.

The so-called «Western-style» stitched format is a question that needs better research into antecedents to the West of the Tibetan plateau. In this regard, it is important to note that the Holy Land of the Bon religion is precisely to the West, from where the stitched format appears to have arrived. However, from where and precisely when is a matter of speculation at present. According to one of the dominant arguments, sTag gzig, or Ta zig (cf.

[28] Thanks to H. Blezer of Leiden University, who kindly provided the author with pdf photos of the pages of both books photographed in Baima, by Katia Chirkova, coordinator of the 2008 CNRS linguistic project *What defines Qiang-ness? Towards a Phylogenetic Assessment of the Southern Qiangic Languages of Muli.* The project has produced *A grammar of Baima & Shixing, 2 Tibeto-Birman languages*. The photo references are Vol. I. HP2424–2462 and Vol. II. HP2463–2490 (= fig. 4 reproduced on the previous page).

[29] Kalsang Norbu Gurung, 18.9.08. He suggested contacting Dory Heilijgers, librarian of the Kern Library, to obtain further information about the number of manuscripts, their description etc.

Tajikistan) i.e. the centre of the Bonpo holy land of Olmo Lungring, is identifiable with the Iranian world.[30] The fact that Drège mentions the use of reed pens in Dunhuang during and after the Tibetan period of rule is also striking, since this indicates a Western provenance or borrowing. Indeed, the Arabs use reed pens right down to the present day, very similar to the Tibetan bamboo pens, with the nib cut out of the reed or bamboo shaft, rather like feather pens in late medieval Europe.

It is quite likely that the marginalisation of the stitched book format for Tibetan books—sometime in the early Phyi dar, alongside other optional formats—is an indication of the return to the source of Buddhism in the Holy Land, that had been launched already in the second half of the 10th century,[31] and which intensified right through to the end of 11th century, following Indian pandits such as Atīśa Dīpaṃkara (982–1054) who arrived in Western Tibet in 1042, and in Central Tibet in 1045, remaining there till his death in 1054, leaving a powerful imprint on the Tibetan religious scene. Indeed, there are strong indications that the loose-leaf *pothi* was adopted as the dominant type of book in all regions of Tibetan culture and religion from that time onwards, and according to oral tradition, it was Atīśa who specifically advised the use of the *pothi* as being the most convenient book form for Buddhist teaching and practice.

This would have been part of a drive towards the re-establishment of an authentic Buddhist tradition, after the period of Me ro 'bar, «Rekindling the Flame» in Tibet,[32] when increased attention was paid to the correct practice of the *Vinaya*, accompanied by a strong desire to draw closer to the roots of Buddhism in the Holy Land. Furthermore, it was becoming clear that the Muslim invaders from the north-west were intent on destroying all evidence of Vajrayāna Buddhism in the land of its birth. Thus, this period is also marked as the ultimate stage in the transfer of Buddhism into the Land of Snows, the last wave of intensive activity in the translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan by teams of scholars from both sides of the Himalayas. Thus it would have been an obvious choice for the Tibetan *lo tsa ba*s to use the Indian *pothi* rather than any other book format.

The geographic distribution of the known examples of stitched Tibetan book shows that the technique was familiar and widely used in earlier times in the larger zone of Tibetan influence, far beyond the high plateau, in Central Asia and on the margins of historic Tibet. Evidence that stitching (to-

[30] Martin (2007).

[31] Stoddard (2004).

[32] Stoddard (2004).

gether with glueing) was considered to be just one option amongst several in the production of books during the sPu rgyal empire is found in the corpus of Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, in which the various formats include the Chinese scroll, glued and stitched books, a large sheet format (still used by Tibetans until the mid-20th c.), as well as the Indian loose-leaf *pothi*. This eclecticism may be interpreted as yet one more facet of the multicultural ethos of the Tibetan empire, and the broad range of techniques, cultural, intellectual and philosophical orientations adopted from the neighbouring lands around the high plateau—i.e. the various cultural options that the Tibetans were playing with during the formative period of their own civilization.

Following that initial creative momentum, there came about a slow and relative normalisation with regard to both the translation of texts and the techniques needed to reproduce the three physical «supports» of the Buddhist teachings, the *sku gsung thugs rten*. As already mentioned, there was a strong tendency, launched in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, to align with contemporary Indian norms and practices. Books of all kinds belong to the *gsung rten* category, and from that time onwards, numerous fine illuminated palm leaf manuscripts in Sanskrit were brought to the Land of Snows, while many new Tibetan texts, translations and commentaries, began to be made in the newly founded Dharma Centres *(chos sde)* and monasteries all over the Tibetan plateau. Fortunately quite a number of texts from the early Phyi dar have survived in their original *pothi* format, sometimes with two holes in each page, showing that strings were used to maintain the loose-leaf pages in place, especially for the large and extra-large Tibetan paper formats that were appearing, as the corpus of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon came into being. The practice of using strings also disappeared gradually during the early centuries of the Phyi dar, as from that time onwards, essentially two means for protecting the standard loose-leaf books were used, both inherited from India. Firstly, wooden book covers placed top and bottom to keep the pages together, the top cover often being richly carved and painted. Secondly, the whole volume, with its wooden covers placed either inside or out, was enveloped in a square cloth called *po ril,* and secured by a flat cord or tape attached to one corner of the cloth. In the early centuries the tape was fixed tightly with a finely ornamented metal buckle, as could still be seen in the late 1980s, on the hundreds, if not thousands, of large ancient manuscript volumes that formed a veritable wall of books all along the back of the Great Lha khang Chen mo Temple of the sGrol ma Pho brang or South Monastery, at Sa skya.

In the case of stitched books, especially those of lesser importance like those from Kharakhoto, such precautions were not so imperative, since the pages would not get scattered. However, as suggested above, personal prayer

books of the like may have been protected in special cloth pouches and slung from the belts of laymen or laywomen. On the other hand, as seen in the birchbark manuscript of Jñānapāda's teachings on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, written in Sanskrit, significant stitched books may also have been bound in leather in «Western format», showing that this option had not completely gone out of fashion, even amongst highly educated Buddhist scholars and practitioners during the 11th century.

One last word. The Bonpo texts from the Bum pa che in dGa' thang may provide the most intriguing and convincing archeological evidence on the reasons for the disappearance of stitched books in Tibet in the early Phyi dar. If this format was especially associated with the Bon religion, and therefore with pre-Buddhist cult activities and beliefs, it might also have been linked up with the anti-Buddhist persecutions. This would help to explain why the books were buried beneath a large Buddhist *mchod rten* in the early Phyi dar. It might even suggest that the 'foreign-style' formatting, so different from the classical Indian *pothi*, was condemned to oblivion alongside pre-Buddhist beliefs—except in the context of marginalised Bonpo rituals—that is, until the arrival of the *Phi ling* foreigners from the West, in the late 19th or early 20th century, when they re-instated the stitched rectangular format along with their own renewed techniques and systems of knowledge?

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RÉSUMÉ

Livres "cousus" du monde tibétain

On connaît un certain nombre de livres tibétains anciens, en cahiers, au format appelé "occidental". Ils sont dans l'ensemble datables de la période comprise entre le 8e et le 12e siècles, mais les remarques présentées ici ne sont que les premiers éléments d'une étude en cours et doivent être considérées comme provisoires. Un premier examen de ces ouvrages permet de les diviser en six groupes :

1 – Kharakhoto (St Petersburg, Oriental Institute, XT 67). Petit livre de prière découvert par l'expédition russe en Asie centrale (1907–1909), dirigée par Kozlov. Les opinions divergent sur cet ouvrage, imprimé en *dbu can* d'après des blocs xylographiques

rectangulaires (un par page). Les dates de l'empire tangoute varient selon les sources tangoutes et les sources chinoises, et si Gengis Khan y mit un terme en 1227, la destruction ne fut pas totale, comme le prouve l'édition du *Tripiṭaka* tangoute achevée à Hangzhou en 1302, et le fait que la ville de Kharakhoto aurait existé jusqu'à la fin du 14e siècle. Les livres et œuvres d'art qui y furent trouvés peuvent donc dater de la fin du 10e siècle à celle du 14e siècle.

2 – Dunhuang (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, PTib. 0013, 0049, 0070, 0103, 0245, 0253, 0282, 0700, 0780, 1266). De petits opuscules au format "occidental", provenant de Dunhuang, sont conservés à Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale) et à Londres (British Library). Il y en aurait 25 en tibétain et 6 comportant les deux écritures chinoise et tibétaine. Certains sont cousus, d'autres collés, d'autres relèvent de la technique chinoise des "concertina". Tous sont des manuscrits, en *dbu can* ou *dbu med*, et d'après J. P. Drège, ils ne sont pas antérieurs à la période 899–982, donc postérieurs à l'occupation tibétaine.

3 – gTam shul dGa' thang (quatre cahiers manuscrits bon po, ca. 9e–12e s.). Ces ouvrages sur papier, cousus de liens de cuir, et écrits dans une cursive archaïque , ont été récemment découverts au lHo kha (Tibet méridional). Contrairement au petit livre de Kharakhoto, les pages sont plus larges que hautes, plus proche du format des *pothi*. La cursive *dbu med* de ces manuscrits est analogue aux exemples trouvés à Dunhuang. La datation est en cours d'étude.

4 – Lhasa (manuscrit sanskrit sur écorce de bouleau, ca 1028–1063). Ce beau manuscrit sur écorce de bouleau, protégé par une couverture en cuir, est conservé au musée de Lhasa, mais ni le lieu de découverte, ni les dimensions précises ne sont indiqués par la publication qui en a été faite dans *Baozang*, où la date donnée est la période du 7e au 9e siècle. Kawasaki précise les dimensions (15,6 x 15,3 cm), identifie l'écriture comme de l'écriture Sarada. Le colophon indique que le manuscrit fut copié sous le règne d'Anantadeva du Cachemire (1028–1063), mais ne comporte ni le lieu de la copie, ni le nom du scribe.

5 – Baima (rNga ba; deux cahiers manuscrits bon po). Ces manuscrit bon po ne sont sans doute pas aussi anciens que ceux de gTan shul dGa' thang. Ils ont pu être marqués par l'influence des voisins Qiang. Ces deux cahiers sont écrits en *dbu med* sur papier épais, plus hauts que larges, mais l'un d'eux semble être cousu en haut.

6 – Leiden University (Kern Institute; un des cahiers bon po de la collection de Johan van Manen, I.Kern 2740/B9). Selon la description de Kalsang Norbu Gurung, le texte, dont le titre est *Khro bo spyi 'dul gyi cha lag 'khor lo bcas* est écrit en grande partie en *dbu med*, avec quelques *mantra* en *dbu can*. Il comporte 62 folios, de 11 x 23 cm, cousus.

La répartition géographique des livres et opuscules tibétains au format occidental montre que le format était d'usage relativement courant à époque ancienne, mais parmi d'autres formats, dans un moment de grande créativité au Tibet. Plus tard, après une certaine normalisation des formats au cours de la Seconde Diffusion, l'usage des cahiers, surtout en petit format, fut conservé pour des notes ou des prières.

Cyberspace Revelations: Tibetan Treasures, Information Technology, and the Transnational Reader[1]

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The presence of religion on the Internet is a growing phenomenon and only in America more than 82 million people surf the Web to further their faith.[2] The global nature of Tibetan Buddhism too in its various manifestations is well represented on several Internet Websites not only in America and Europe, but also in Tibet and China as well.[3] The number of Tibetan Buddhist communities in the People's Republic of China (PRC) that employ Internet technology to disseminate their activities and interconnect their members is increasing.[4] In the recent years a number of charismatic Buddhist leaders such as Tibetan Treasure revealers *(gter ston)* and independent nonmonastic religious figures currently living in Tibetan areas of the (PRC) such as noncelibate Tantric professionals *(sngags pa)* have appeared on the Internet with their own Websites.[5] Taking advantage of the

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Sarah Jacoby for her support during various phases of this research and for her patience and expertise in reading and proofreading various versions of this essay.

[2] According to a 2004 report published by the Pew Internet & American Life Project, "64 percent of Web users reported going online to further their faith." See "Millions of 'online faithful' use Internet for religious info, e-mail" and "Faith Online" at http://www.pewinternet.org/Media-Mentions/2004/Millions-of-online-faithful-use-Internet-for-religious-info-email.aspx. For studies on the presence of religion on the Internet see Dawson (2004), Campbell (2005), Cowan (2005), Højsgaard (2005), Karaflogka (2006), Helland (2006), Jakobsh (2006), among many others.

[3] Due to its sheer size, a detailed account of the presence of Buddhism on the Internet cannot be incorporated as part of this study as it should rather be a study in its own right. The presence of Buddhist Websites on the Internet is overwhelming and the amount of academic studies of religion on the Internet is a field of magnificent proportions. As for Buddhism, however, as a starting point I would suggest beginning with a reading of Charles Prebish's study "The Cybersangha: Buddhism on the Internet" in Dawson (2004), pp. 135–147.

[4] For example, in 2001 O rgyan sku gsum gling pa's www.hungkar.com (recently removed from the Web and replaced by www.longensi.com) was the only Chinese language Buddhist Website of an active Treasure revealer. By 2008 the presence of Treasure revealers online had already grown, as five other Treasure revealers opted for the use of the Internet to establish a presence in the cyberspace.

[5] Although Treasure revealers are key figures in the history of both the rNying ma school

new information and communication technology, their Websites not only publicize their religious activities in a number of ways including the uploading of photos, videos, and hyperlinks, but in most cases offer links to their writings, esoteric practices, and liturgical materials including Treasure revelations. Although these Buddhist figures are Tibetan and live and operate in Tibetan areas of the PRC, their Websites are uniquely in Chinese script. It is my sense, therefore, that these Websites are meant to reach an audience predominantly representing Chinese Buddhist devotees and Internet browsers, and probably Tibetans who can read Chinese language.

The primary concern of this essay is to contribute to the ongoing academic research on the presence of religion and religious congregations and practice on the Internet. Specifically, I am concerned with the presence of Tibetan Buddhist Tantric masters and their religious communities online, or to use a more *ad hoc* phrase "Tibetan Buddhism in cyberspace." The present article, therefore, looks at the new phenomenon of the presence of Tibetan Treasure revealers on the Internet and seeks to identify the major features of their Websites and what services they offer to their viewers. The purpose is thus to understand if the Websites selected for this study would fall in the category of "religion online" or "online religion" that so much characterizes the discourse on religion on the Internet in the academic world.[6] This essay also attempts to argue that as the newest form of mass media, Internet technology seems to be particularly suited to representing new or "virtual" forms of community gathering and interaction motivated and fuelled by the internationalization of Buddhism in the present era.

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of Tibetan Buddhism and the Bon religion alike, this study focuses on Buddhist Treasure revealers. According to the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, in the eighth century the Indian mystic and Tantric master Padmasambhava concealed an undisclosed series of Buddhist Tantric teachings, in the form of inspired compositions and material artifacts collectively called *gter ma* or "Treasures," helped by his closest disciples for the specific purpose of preserving those teachings for future generations of Buddhist devotees. The individuals who in the following generations are recognized as authentic emanations of those early figures are considered Treasure revealers *(gter ston)* and are the only ones who are authorized to decipher and disseminate the content of those teachings that they reveal and to employ the material Treasure items they retrieve. For a more exhaustive definition of the *gter ston* refer to Smith (1969), Thondup (1986), and Gyatso (1998). Among the most famous Treasure revealers are Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer (1136–1204), Gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug (1212–1270), Ratna gling pa (1403–1478), Mi 'gyur rdo rje (1645–1667), and 'Jigs med gling pa (1730–1798). As for the Tibetan term *sngags pa*, this is a collective idiom that largely refers to Buddhist specialists (lit. *mantrika* or specialist of *mantra*) who perform ascetic, esoteric exercises, and often maintain householder lifestyles. Although *sngags pa*s, just like *gter ston*s, mostly belong to the rNying ma tradition, they can also be found in other schools like the bKa' brgyud and the Sa skya.

[6] See below for my discussion on these two notions.

Cybernaut Buddhas? Tibetan Treasure Revealers on the Web

There are many Tibetan Buddhist Websites administered by Chinese servers that nowadays are predominantly managed by monasteries and other major religious institutions. Among the Websites associated with Buddhist figures in Tibet, only a few are currently centered on individual visionary masters. The presence on the Internet of Chinese language Websites focused on Tibetan Buddhist visionaries is growing since 2000 when I first visited a Chinese language Treasure revealer's homepage. According to my own counting there are at least six homepages of Treasure revealers who live in Tibetan areas of China. These are the Website of Ya chen o rgyan bsam gtan gling (Ch. *yaqing wujin chanlin*) headquarter of the Buddhist master Grub dbang lung rtogs rgyal mtshan (www.yqwjcl.com/index.asp); the Website of Bla rung sgar (Ch. *seda larong wuming foxueyuan*), the large religious encampment founded by the late mKhan po 'Jigs med phun tshogs (1934–2003, http://www.zhihui.dreamhosters.com); the Website of Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs, head of the Buddhist encampment sNyan lung sgar (Ch. *nianlongsi*) in sNyan lung near gSer rta (http://nianlongsi.net/index.htm);[7] the website of the late master and Treasure revealer O rgyan sku gsum gling pa (1933–2009), founder of the large Buddhist encampment Lung sngon sgar (Ch. *long'ensi*) located near the town of dGa' bde approximately 20 km east of Dar lag town (Ch. Dari) in mGo log (http://www.longensi.com/index.html);[8] the website dedicated to the study of the *rDzogs chen* tradition, rDzogs chen snying thig Center (Ch. *dayuanmang xinsui zhongxin/rDzogs chen snying thig chos tshogs*) as propagated by the teachings and activities of the Buddhist teacher A 'dzoms rgyal sras padma dbang rgyal, who leads a religious community at Re khe monastery in dPal yul county of Sichuan (www.dymxs.net); and the Website of the Treasure revealer O rgyan rin

[7] Most of the religious places linked to these masters used to be called *sgar* or *chos sgar*, that is "encampments" or "religious/Buddhist encampments" referring to loosely formated and administratively speaking unregulated religious communities that included both monastic and nonmonastic members of all sectarian affiliations. Recently, however, as these centers expand by accepting more and more people, build more and more buildings, and enlarge their assembly halls, some tend to change their name from *chos sgar* to *dgon pa*, or monastery, as in the case of Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs's and O rgyan sku gsum gling pa's Buddhist centers. When I first visited them in September 2000, these were known as sNyan lung sgar and Lung sngon sgar. Since a few years ago, as a consequence of their demographic and architectural expansion, people refer to them as sNyan lung dgon (Ch. *nianlongsi*) and Lung sngon dgon (Ch. *long'ensi*) respectively.

[8] The current leader of Lung sngon sgar in dGa' bde is Venerable mDo mkhyen brtse rig 'dzin hūm dkar rdo rje rin po che, son of O rgyan sku gsum gling pa and himself holder of his tradition.

chen gling pa (Ch. *jiumei ciwang renboqie guangfang wangzhan,* http://www.jmcw88.com/index.html).[9]

The presence of Tibetan Buddhist Treasure revealers and other Tantric noncelibate professionals on the Internet reflects various trends. One relates to the *national* situation of religion in the PRC. The other relates to the *global and cosmopolitan* situation of Tibetan Buddhism and the fascination that it generates among Han Chinese devotees. The current state of religion in Tibetan areas of China is significantly affected by the major political, economic, and social transformations that have occurred across the country since the closing stages of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976).[10] The massive economic investments and socio-political repercussions launched by the economic reforms of the late 1970s triggered various maneuvers by leading Tibetan religious figures to reach financial sustainability and to successfully invest in the preservation of religious and cultural traditions. Since the PRC took over Tibetan areas in the 1950s, the predominant central authority claimed by the monastery as a political, economic, and educational entity has been significantly weakened. Once the traditional Tibetan monasteries' dependence on taxes, corveé labor, and human investment, such as mass monasticism had been abolished, other channels involving private and public sectors had to be explored in order to support their activities and to respond to their pressing economic needs.[11]

Such a transformation, of course, has also effected other aspects of the state of religion in Tibet such as that of diversifying the demography of devotees of Tibetan Buddhism. While I discuss this at length elsewhere, suffice it to say here, however, that the economic opening China embraced in the past four decades, its enthusiastic entrance into the world market economy, and the consequential tolerance expressed domestically in terms of individual wealth, freedom of movement, and personal cultural and spiritual choices have created major changes among the Chinese population. The reason behind the growing presence of Chinese Websites dedicated to individual Buddhist figures in Tibet must be ascribed to the new revival of interest in Tibetan Buddhism and Tibet expressed by many Chinese people especially in the last decade as the result of interactions between Tibetan Buddhist masters and Han Chinese people. Of course, Tibetans are not new to the discovery of Chinese people's interest in their Buddhist tradition.

[9] These Websites and homepages were accessed originally in various occasions between March and May 2008. As of January and February 2009, they were still operational.

[10] I have discussed this subject elsewhere. Please refer to Terrone (2008). Also, for more on the topic of religion in China see Miller (2006) and Overmyer (2003). For the situation of Buddhism in contemporary Tibet, see Goldstein and Kapstein (1998).

[11] Jing (2006: 86–90).

From the eighth-century Tang dynasty up to today, China has experience several waves of interest in Tibetan Buddhism. Gray Tuttle has convincingly argued that significant contacts and mutual understanding of Buddhism between Tibetans and Chinese along the lines of a modern Buddhist discourse was already operating in the 1920s.[12] Therefore, this fascination and revived attraction for Tibetan Buddhism among Chinese people is only a continuation and an updating of older spiritual ties rather than a new phenomenon all together. The last two decades have seen a major flow of Chinese people into Tibetan areas of Western China largely driven by promises of financial gain, but also lured by the tourist industry that underscores the Chinese government's interest in developing the economy and the social life in those areas.[13] An increasing number of Chinese travelers visit Tibetan areas, however, because they are also attracted to the possibilities that Tibetan Buddhism offers to those interested in spiritual advancement. Until recently, Chinese Buddhist devotees could be seen in a growing number of Tibetan Buddhist centers.[14] Although I am not aware of existing statistical figures in this regard, the presence of Chinese monastics choosing Tibetan Vajrayāna Buddhism as their preferred spiritual path has visibly increased in the past decade in many Eastern Tibetan areas of Qinghai and Sichuan. Large groups of Chinese Buddhist devotees regularly travel to Eastern Tibet over the spring and summer seasons to visit their Tibetan teacher's monasteries and religious communities. Likewise, Tibetan Buddhist teachers often travel to mainland China during Tibet's cold winters on teaching tours in which they offer Buddhist lectures, lead meditation sessions, preside over popular urban rituals such as life-release rituals (*tshe thar*, Ch. *fangsheng*), consecrations of local Buddhist centers, and conduct fund raising. Some Chinese Buddhist practitioners are even starting to appoint themselves as Buddhist teachers and to create their own communities of (Chinese) followers inside Tibetan areas, challenging not only the monopoly of Tibetan teachers within their religious tradition, but also the management of religious spaces and communities in their own land.[15] Although the phenomenon of Chinese Bud-

[12] See for instance Tuttle (2005: 4) and Kapstein (2009).

[13] Birnbaum (2003), Terrone (2008: 774–77).

[14] Many changes have taken place regarding Chinese attitudes towards Tibet after the dramatic events of the March 14 2008 anti-Chinese turmoil and incidents that affected several Tibetan communities across central and eastern Tibet. Although the situation has been under control for a while, it is not certain to what extent the relationship between the two communities of Tibetan and Han Chinese Tibetan Buddhists has been damaged. Despite the reopening of most Tibetan regions to tourism, few scholars have traveled through those areas recently. Therefore, so far we lack first-hand and reliable material to understand the state of the communities under the renewed political control.

[15] Terrone, "The New Journey to the West: The Role of Chinese Devotees in the Devel-

dhist devotees entering Tibet, practicing Tibetan Buddhism, and even living in Tibetan communities is not new, a particularly prominent feature of this renewed trend is the major role that Chinese devotees often play as major donors of, and assistants to Tibetan Buddhist teachers. This service and the perspective of economic gain often encourage Tibetan masters to open their doors to large Chinese groups of enthusiastic Buddhist devotees, accepting them as disciples and donors. Without understating the dramatic changes that have occurred in Sino-Tibetan relations since the Tibetan protests of March 2008, it is nevertheless important to remember that Chinese devotees' (as well as foreign devotees') donations and services including the opening and management of Internet Websites on Tibetan lamas' behalf have been crucial contributors to the successes of the present-day rebuilding and restoration of many Tibetan monasteries, temples, and religious communities across Tibet.

Hyperlinks, Hypertexts, and Intertextuality: The New Scriptures Online

The Internet is becoming a significant part of a large number of Tibetan Buddhist communities in the PRC. Cyberspace represents a new forum for Tibetan Buddhist publications that draws upon traditional notions of Tibetan Buddhist religious lineage and devotional practices and integrates them with the new possibilities afforded by Internet technology such as hyperlinks. Hyperlinks have a significant effect on the Internet surfer, given that they allow the surfer to access and leave any Webpage at any moment according to his own desire. The hyperlink technology also, however, "changes the flow, structure, and consequently the meaning of the reading."[16]

In connection with hyperlinks, an important element in cyberspace is the generation of traffic, and therefore, a homepage has to be connected to other influential sites. This gives the visitor the opportunity to open Websites and homepages representing teachers and communities related to their own tradition. As in the case of many other religious Websites, the impact of the message in cyberspace is predominantly associated with the effectiveness of the Web design.[17] This includes proper graphics, the display of a variety of photos and pictures, and the exhibition of multiple Tibetan Buddhist symbols and images.

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opment of Tibetan Buddhism in Eastern Tibet." Paper offered at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, San Diego, CA., November 17–20, 2007. A written version of this paper is currently in preparation.

[16] Karaflogka (2006: 153).

[17] Bunt (2000: 129).

One major type of religious information conveyed by the Internet can be termed "scriptural." Among various texts, *Long'ensi* and *Nianlongsi* both offer a selection of Treasure scriptures from their own cycles. Besides supplication prayers (frequently hyperlinked with their phonetic rendering in Chinese), the most common texts featured on these Websites are preliminary practices *(sngon 'gro)* according to the Seminal Heart *(snying thig)* tradition of the Great Perfection *(rdzogs chen)*, recitations of supplication prayers of the preliminaries, *sādhana* practices (rDo rje sems dpa', Avalokiteśvara), Guru Yoga, Life-Release Rituals, and Refuge prayers.

On the Internet, "scripture" becomes a flexible and plastic notion that transcends paper, writing, and printed publication. To look at this "scripture" the viewer does not look at the text *per se*, but rather at the multiplicity of the virtual reproduction of the content/meaning of the text. Everything becomes text and every text becomes instantly accessible by everyone at any time virtually from anywhere. Most religious scriptures can be downloaded, cut and pasted in one's own file, and thus edited, reshaped, and adjusted to one's own needs for practice. On the Internet the text becomes an omni-comprehensive category that includes scriptures as well as photos, symbols, and audio/visual material. The devotee can create his own collage of texts made of scriptures, photos of his teacher, symbols, and links to recitations in just one document. The practitioner can therefore recreate, reproduce, and even reshape the biography of the lama by simply collating the information acquired from the Web.

The Internet offers the possibility to supersede human contact and to close the gap between the devotee and the object of his devotion such as the teacher (photo/video), his voice (audio material), and his teachings (downloadable scriptures). Additionally, it offers the possibility to abolish the barrier between the sacred and the secular; a Chinese Web browser can just as easily access a Treasure revealer's homepage as she can the *China Daily* Website. In the world of global information and communication promoted by the Internet, as soon as an image, a message, or a text is uploaded on the Web it enters the universal stream of the digital world and thus becomes uncontrollable.

As Apolito observes, outside the Web the logic of religious transmission is based on "textuality." Online what dominates is the mechanism of "intertextuality," which is flexible and difficult to order. He thus suggests that Websites and homepages can be read as "autobiographies" made of "hypertextual associations."[18] In this line of thought, I claim that these Treasure revealers' homepages can be read as "new generation biographies." These

[18] Apolito (2002: 223–25).

Web sites are new form of texts, a contemporary form of life stories of Tibetan Buddhist figures, a contemporary *rnam thar*. On the Internet the teachers' life story, his teachings, advice, and empowerments are collected and merged with portrait photos of the masters, photos of their residences, the activities they perform, Buddhist gatherings, and Treasure items they have revealed. The hypertextuality of the Internet creates a new generation of biographical productions that offer more information including written and hyperlinked visual and audio materials, that add dynamism to the circulation of the material among devotees and non-devotees alike, and that increase the fame of the master and participation among members of the community.

To a certain extent, this strategy also introduces a new dimension to and understanding of Buddhist liturgical practice, one in which practitioners recite text without fellow practitioners and other devotees and with computer-enhanced aesthetics. Used in conjunction with short videos and photographs that some Websites offer, the Buddhist devotee or just the simple Internet browser can have a virtual experience of Buddhist practice in the remote and enclosed space of a room. As in the case of the Internet Websites reporting on visions of Mary that Apolito studied, there is a sense of decentralization of religious practice or at least of the locus of the religious performance of the sacred. Similarly, on the Internet the characteristic and necessary personal interaction between teacher and disciple that is so paramount and vital to the esoteric tradition of Tibetan Buddhism is surpassed or dismissed by the more intimate (and solitary) practice of browsing the Web.

New Generation Biographies: Treasure Revealers Go Global?

My considerations and insights are largely based on observations of the homepages mentioned above. However, for the purpose of this essay, I will especially consider three Buddhist Treasure revealers's Websites, namely those of Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs, A 'dzoms rgyal sras Padma dbang rgyal, and the late O rgyan sku gsum gling pa.[19] These Websites provide interesting material in terms of services offered to the Web visitors peculiar to the typologies that most represent religious communities on the Internet including religious texts, digital photos, and images.[20]

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[19] Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs's sNyan lung sgar (Ch. *nianlongsi*) at http://nianlongsi.net/index.htm; A 'dzoms rgyal sras Padma dbang rgyal's rDzogs chen snying thig chos tshogs (Ch. *Dayuanman xinsui zhongxin*) at http://www. dymxs.net/; and O rgyan sku gsum gling pa's Lung sngon monastery (Ch. *long'ensi*) at http://www.longensi.com/index.html.

[20] Dawson (2000) and George (2006).

Although largely meant to serve a Chinese audience, or at least a Chinese reading audience, the Internet Websites I discuss in these pages including the biographical information of the masters, teachings, prayers, and descriptions of their centers are accessible by anyone without the intercession of the Buddhist master. In a few cases, a number of words or locutions are occasionally given in Tibetan script as well, such as the name of the master, the title of a prayer and so forth. However, my impression is that this serves aesthetics purposes, rather than utilitarian ones. The names of the webmasters of these Websites are not disclosed, but it is quite safe to say that in most cases these Websites are administered by Chinese devotees with excellent skills in computer Web design and competence in digital technologies. Nevertheless we cannot exclude the possibility that some webmasters could be proficient Chinese-speaking Tibetan devotees or monks as well. In any case, the Treasure revealers are not the actual webmasters of their Websites, nor are they directly involved in the organization and design of their Websites. In most cases, they do not access the Internet themselves, but they seem to accept the role of technology in disseminating their teachings and communicating with their devotees. Venerable Pannyavaro suggests that had the Buddha had the technology at his time he would have used the Internet to propagate his teachings.[21] Likewise, today's Treasure revealers, just like many other Buddhist teachers, seem to approve of this new means of spreading Buddhism, as a sort of "skillful means for communicating the Dharma, whether or not they themselves surf the Web."[22]

Anyone who visits Tibetan Treasure revealers' Websites would not fail to notice a strong component of devotionalism. Websites such as the ones considered in this essay immediately strike one for the prevalence of material culture that abounds next to the liturgical texts, supplication prayers dedicated to the master, prayers for the health and long life of the master, biographical descriptions, and chat rooms where devotees and followers can exchange messages, data, and information. This material culture includes photo files with various photographs of Treasure revealers, relics, Treasure items, and *thangka* scroll paintings. Images of the masters are on display on the Webpage or can be watched via hyperlink, offering collections of pictures that portray different moments of the master's life such as meeting other lamas, giving teachings, and so forth. Particular attention is also given

[21] Pannyavaro (2002), Karaflogka (2006: 127). Venerable Pannyavaro is the founder and webmaster of Buddhanet.net: Buddhist Education and Information Network, the Internet portal for the study and education of Buddhism online at http://www.buddhanet.net/mag_surf.htm.

[22] Victoria Hosei Cajipe as quoted in Zaleski (1997: 166–167) and Karaflogka (2006: 127).

to the Treasures the masters have retrieved, handprints and/or footprints they have left on rocks, and bodily relics they might have produced. Inspired by Apolito's work on Marian visionary movements online, I argue that through the Internet, new forms of literary productions are explored and created with the use of texts, images, and photography resulting in what I call "new generation biographies." If we consider devotionalism as a given group's expression of veneration, admiration, and faith for a religious personality, or in Robert Orsi's definition "people's direct engagement with sacred figures amid the quotidian circumstances of life" then good examples of devotion to Treasure revealers on the Internet can surely be found in the Websites that are dedicated to the life and activities of contemporary Buddhist Treasure revealers in Tibet.[23]

However, is visiting a religious Website considered religious practice? In the current discourse on religion and/on the Internet, some scholars are particularly attentive to the fundamental notion of "practice," or, as it is nowadays put in academic parlance the difference between "religion online"—the dissemination and propagation of religion on the Internet—and "online religion"—the practice of religion online.[24] Religion online refers to the circulation of information about a religion by providing information about religious figures and physical religious traditions and centers in material locations. The Web visitor can access the Internet site to read about religion, organization, polity, belief, books and articles, and even practices. Online religion, however, refers to the opportunity to perform religious acts in cyberspace by participating in religious activities that take place online through prayers, rituals, meditations, and liturgy. In this regard, the Internet becomes the context, the locus of religious practice, the religious dimension of one's life.[25]

Although the Websites under consideration in this essay are not meant to be places of religious practice in the sense discussed above, they nevertheless offer materials such as texts and reproductions of scriptures that the Web surfer can easily access. In Treasure revealer's Websites, religious texts are present in a variety of forms, shapes, and contents. In terms of information about the masters, these Websites offer Tibetan master's biographies in Chinese, Chinese translations of revealed scriptures, and hyperlinks to other pertinent religious literature mostly related to the Great Perfection *(rdzogs chen)*. The other "text," however, is the one composed of photos of major

[23] Orsi (2002: xiv).

[24] This distinction has been pointed out especially by Helland (2000; 2002) and Young (2004).

[25] Hadden and Cowan (2000:9), Young (2004: 93–95).

rituals, empowerments, public teachings and gatherings, and various buildings in the masters' religious centers. Particular attention is given to photos of religious colleges that show the Buddhist master's commitment to religious education and photos that record the master's participation in life-release rituals *(tshe thar)*, which are gaining in popularity among Tibetan and Chinese devotees alike.

As an example of the employment of the Internet as a platform for the distribution of Treasure revelation literature, Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs's homepage "Nianlongsi–The Great Perfection Retreat Center of Tibetan Buddhism" (henceforth *Nianlongsi*) offers a significant opportunity for such an analysis. Among all the other Websites centered on Treasure revealers, *Nianlongsi* is probably the least attractive in terms of Web design, images, photos, and hyperlinks.



The total number of pictures of the master Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs is limited to two or three and no videos or audio files are offered to the Internet visitors. Nevertheless, this Website displays a diverse selection of religious texts, namely Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs's biography, which is a combined life narrative that documents not only his religious formation and activities, but also those of his late consort Tāre lha mo, an assortment of practices selected from Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs and Tāre lha mo's revealed Treasure cycles *(gter chos)*, and his statements and advice for practitioners. Hence this Website is noteworthy for the diversity and depth

of its textual material related to Tibetan revelation. O rgyan sku gsum gling pa's Website, *longensi.com* (henceforth *Long'ensi*) too offers a variety of texts and practices including supplication prayers to bodhisattvas such as Tārā, and other liturgical rituals.[26]



Just like all the other Websites, Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs's biography and all the other texts are written in Chinese. The biography is divided into five chapters that are accessible by clicking on individual links, with each link producing a section of the biography. An appendix containing a number of supplication prayers *(gsol 'debs)* for the health and wellbeing of Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs is also accessible by clicking on a hyperlink titled "snyan lung master's supplication prayer" (Ch. *nianlong shangshi qiyuanwen*). The section "Dharma Essentials" (Ch. *kaixu fayao*) contains a collection of six texts in Chinese, all of them, with the exception of the last, of liturgical content. Additionally, a link accesses a short history of sNyan lung monastery, the Refuge Supplication Prayer, (Ch. *shagshi yujia*, Guruyoga practice), life-release ritual-"The Joy of Giving a Second Chance", Avalokiteśvara *sādhana* (Ch. *qianshou guanpu xiufa*), oral instructions in the form of *The Clear Lamp for the Path to Liberation*, seven line Prayer to Guru

[26] http://www.longensi.com/shangshiyanjiao.

Rinpoche (Ch. *lianshi qiju qiqing wenshi*), and a short introduction to the history of sNyan lung monastery.[27]

By looking at *Nianlongsi* and the services it offers, as well as the other five Treasure revealers' Websites, one can see that the majority of texts are supplication prayers to the teacher, prayers for his wellbeing, his biography, *guruyoga* practices, and essays on the lama's religious centers. My impression is that the figure of the teacher is the focus of these Websites and not the doctrine he represents. In other words, the homepages accentuate the most important facets of a visionary's persona including his autobiography, visions, and revelations that serve legitimate his role as a Treasure revealer and an authentic Buddhist teacher.

While *Nianlongsi*'s use of photographs is quite limited, other Websites, however, seem to capitalize more on imagery and digital photography as a major feature of their attraction, as in the case of *Long'ensi* and the Website of the rDzogs chen snying thig Center focused on the charismatic monk A 'dzoms rgyal sras padma dbang rgyal (henceforth *dymxs.net*).



These two Websites provide various tributes to the lama's altruistic and selfless nature including prayers and dedications for his wellbeing such as

[27] Please note that any recent attempts to open each individual page related to these texts on the *Nianlongsi* Website has failed. Last attempt: April 20, 2009.

supplications *(gsol 'debs)* and aspirations *(smon lam)* as well as biographies, descriptions of the teacher's spiritual achievements and religious lineage, reports of his activities such as building new religious structures and reliquary *stūpas*, performing communal rituals, life-release rituals, and so forth. An important addition to these compassionate acts is the inclusion of a vast array of digital photographs, some featuring portraits of the religious leaders, others depicting images of supernatural phenomena that manifested during the performance of rituals or that simply took place in the lama's presence or around his residence. These phenomena include atmospheric omens and miracles that enhance his charismatic status, his retrieved material Treasures, audio files with a selection of his teachings, advice, and/or instructions, and listserves, mailing lists and message boxes for the devotees' correspondence.

Audio and video recordings of recitations and prayers are features increasingly present in many of the Tibetan Buddhist Websites considered in this study. The commercial popularity of such recorded recitations in both Tibetan and Chinese, already noticeable in many areas of eastern and central Tibet, is another form of technology contributing to a new style of the dissemination of Tibetan scriptures. Some of the Websites I have visited offer lists of prayer recitations and by simply clicking on the title of the prayer the recitation will commence using RealPlayer technology. This is the case, for instance, of "Holy Signs in the Land of Snows" (Ch. *Xueyu shengji*), the Website of the noncelibate Tantric practitioner Bla ma Rol ba'i rdo rje, in which the Chinese devotee not only has access to a series of Tibetan Buddhist prayers, but these offer a Chinese phonetic version of the Tibetan words and the possibility of listening to the original Tibetan by clicking on the appropriate link.[28] The visitor thus has the opportunity, in some cases, to appreciate the experience of listening to chants online and reciting over the recorded voice. However, here it seems that because this form of activity lacks any communal sharing, it reflects more of a passive action rather than an active participation.[29]

Photography, however, is an increasingly fashionable tool that Treasure revealers and their biographers favor in representing themselves and their activities on the Web. The writer Susan Sontag once wrote that "photographs furnish evidence," and indeed a central feature of Treasure revealers' Websites is the display of photographs that support the miraculous nature of these masters' deeds and allegedly legitimize the supernatural and auspicious element of their activities.[30] Photos of Tibetan masters, religious deities de-

[28] Holy Signs in the Land of Snows at http://www.redj.com.cn/index_c.htm.

[29] See Young (2004: 104).

[30] Sontag (2001: 5).

picted on painted scrolls, and statues have always been popular among Tibetans who frequently carry them on their bodies in talismanic boxes. Equally appreciated are photos of supernatural apparitions that tend to be interpreted as good omens and auspicious events. Pictures and portraits of lamas sharing the frame with spectacular rainbows, lights, luminous circles, inexplicable lights, and obscure ethereal figures frequently explained as *bodhisattvas* are very popular in many Tibetan areas and are often distributed among devotees. The phenomenon of double exposure photography in Tibet that so much resembles the "spirit photography" or "occult photography" in vogue during the Victorian age in Europe, has found renewed popularity in the digital era as a mean to prove the divine nature and/or the realization of the religious person or structure portrayed therein.[31]

One of the most popular types of photos displayed on these Websites is that of atmospheric omens, various beams of light, sun rays, and rainbows. Images of rainbows arching over reliquary *stūpas* and other monastic structures and buildings can convey to the devotees the particular sacredness of the masters and the places they inhabit. Pictures of divine lights called in Chinese "Buddha halos" or "Buddha light" (Ch. *lingguang* or *foguang*, Tib. *'od skor*) are also a frequent visual feature of Treasure revealer's and Tantric masters' Web pages. The *foguang*, which typically is a ring or disk of light that surrounds a saintly person in religious iconography, is a popularly recognized symbol of realization, sainthood, and divine power in Tibetan Buddhism as well as in Chinese Mahāyāna.[32] The use of this iconographic strategy generated by a modern technology such as digital photography seems to be quite successful in emphasizing the magical and/or miraculous elements that surround a religious person and the sacredness of a religious place. The *foguang*, therefore, seems to be associated with the master's sainthood and the authenticity of his charismatic power.

The display of portrait photos of lamas on personal home altars is a widespread practice and a central feature of popular religious performances among many Tibetan Buddhist devotees. Devotionalism has always been an integral part of Tibetan culture, and Tibetans are familiar with the dissemination and collection of both lamas' relics and more recently their photos. The circulation of photos of reincarnate lamas *(sprul sku)*, realized masters *(sgrub thob)*, and other socially influential religious figures is thus not a novelty in Tibetan Buddhism. In the past decades, the circulation of varieties of photo portraits has gone hand in hand with the publication and circulation of propagandistic pamphlets printed by monasteries and other religious in-

[31] Leal (2009).

[32] For a study of lights, including *foguang* in Chinese Buddhism, see Birnbaum (2004).

stitutions. This material usually includes both Tibetan and Chinese, and not infrequently English versions of the same writings and largely aims at popularizing the individuals and publicizing their activities in order to attract the interest of new devotees and refoster faith in the old ones.

The current use of digital photography and the display of photos of lamas, their Treasure objects, and their on-line texts is, therefore, a new development of an older phenomenon of Tibetan devotionalism. Within the modern tools of digital technologies, the publication and display of photos of sacred Treasure objects, spiritual teachings, and atmospheric omens abolishes the classic tension between charisma and institution. To be in contact with the divine or the sacred through an image, a message, or an apparition, the devotee does not need face-to-face interaction with the charismatic person anymore, nor does s/he need on the spot contact with the religious institution or community. Until a few years ago, photos of masters and incarnate lamas were only available at the religious residence of these individuals themselves and/or privately sold at some local market. Nowadays, all the devotees need is the appropriate technology accessible from his home or at a local cybercafé.[33] Given the range of religious teachings available online, the Internet reinforces the relationship between technology and theology. The Internet can thus be seen as new forum for older religious practices such as Guru Yoga, Treasure revelations, and the cult of relics in which these phenomena are brought into the new reality of cyberspace.

If we return to the question we asked in the beginning of this section about online religion and religion online, we can conclude that these Websites belong to the first category of online religion. They are basically propagating Tibetan Buddhism by publicizing Treasure revealer's activities online, rather than offering the means, the materials, and the technology to actually "practice" religion while online.[34] The Websites analyzed in this essay are not virtual religious spaces or virtual temples for the visitor to access and pray. Instead, they introduce the Buddhist teacher, his life, his activities and his religious formation. They offer a way for the visitor to read about him and his religious organization, and even to read not only his biography, but also his compositions, revelations, and other texts related to his Buddhist tradition. These Websites are therefore meant to maintain cohesion and give a sense of identity to the devotees and members of the religious community, while at the same time aiming at attracting visitors and potential new disciples.

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[33] Apolito (2002: 105).

[34] Young (2004: 104–105).

Cybersanghas: Online Sacred Places?

One of the strongest elements of attraction for Chinese devotees interested in Tibetan Buddhism is its emphasis in Tibetan Buddhism on the role played by the teacher. The guru is an essential feature within Tibetan Vajrayāna Buddhism and many Chinese devotees are drawn to this practice particularly for this characteristic element. In many of my interviews with Han Chinese Buddhist devotees in Tibetan areas of Sichuan and Qinghai, I noticed a great number of them have told me that they are drawn to Tibetan Buddhism for two major reasons: the didactic role of the lama in a practitioner's spiritual development and the resulting close relationship between teacher and disciple, and the active role that the practitioner is called upon to perform in his/her own personal quest.

When looking at the Treasure revealers' Websites discussed here, it is not difficult to notice how they particularly capitalize on the uniqueness of the master's charismatic role and the extraordinary nature of his mandate. The charisma of the religious figure is emphasized by his revelations, activities, spiritual achievements, the presence of atmospheric happenings considered auspicious, and his claims to have performed various "miraculous" feats such as leaving hand and foot prints on rocks and so forth. Therefore, the Internet is employed as a tool to propagate their Treasure revelation doctrines and activities. Due to the open source nature of the Internet, the Websites can be visited by anyone with ease and effectiveness, therefore not only by their immediate Tibetan devotees, but above all by their Han Chinese followers and by extension an international and global audience.

Since one the most important elements of religion is its communal and social expression, the goal of the Internet Websites centered on Treasure revealers and their communities seems to be that of publicizing the activities of the Buddhist masters for the benefit of both devotees and curious browsers.[35] These Websites are conducive to the creation of cohesion among the members of a given master's community, offering prayers dedicated to the master, and opportunities to practice his teachings. However, these prayers are recited only in the intimacy of one's own private space since, at present, there is no technology in these Websites that would allow communal practice online. In his study of the virtual communities centered on Catholic visionaries, Apolito suggests that despite the global dimension of the Internet and its ability to reach everyone and to establish an immense network of links among people, the Web especially exalts the single browser and not the group.[36] It is the single browser who selects, chooses, and decides what to

[35] George (2006: 14).

[36] Apolito (2002: 22–23).

visit and in which order. Due to the seemingly democratic nature and horizontal level of the Internet, everyone can access everything online, anytime, and from anywhere. On the Internet, the hierarchical order collapses and the authority of the religious institution is largely lost. To see a lama or a photo of the master, no permission, authorization, or invitation is needed. By simply keyword searching the Web and clicking on a given link anyone has access to a religious Website and can read about a lama's life and activities and even his religious scriptures that traditionally were only transmitted personally. Treasure revealers' homepages angle heavily towards mystical experience and towards the representation of auspicious circumstances and miraculous events.

The networking possibilities provided by the Internet seem to be, therefore, in complete unison with visionary perspectives. The computer and the Internet can create their own new realities and, just like the visions experienced by the visionaries, the Web browsers too can enjoy sights of places, sacred texts, miraculous phenomena, and photo montages of their teachers. In a real scenario, the Tibetan teacher might not always directly authorize the appropriation of texts, notions, and even pictures as suitable for the devotee.

Cyberculture, therefore, and its environment are created by the Internet surfers, those who actually browse the Web, visit Websites, chat online, and contribute to the development of a common virtual knowledge. Similarly, in terms of religious presence on the Internet, individual devotees do effect the practice of religion, by contributing to changes in religious participation patterns. These changes do not necessarily threaten religious traditions, but nevertheless show that changes are happening and that they are quite innovative.[37] The new forums on the Internet have created new opportunities for ritual communication, religious advocacy, and virtual congregations.[38] However, although cyberspace transcends geography and national borders the religious landscape created on the Internet is a system of interconnected links, nodes, and channels that exist only thanks to the action of the surfer. In other words, although it is still early in the case of Tibetan Buddhism in Tibet/PRC to understand the purport of the presence of Treasure revealers online, the space these Websites create is more in line with information about and propagation of religious culture, rather than participation into communal rituals and worship practices. My sense, therefore, is that in terms of Tibetan Buddhist practice, the reality offline and the one online are still distant from each other, and that it is still too soon to understand if the

[37] See Helland (2004: 32).

[38] O'Leary (2004: 37).

existence of a "virtual community" or cybersangha linked to these specific Websites is sustainable or not.

A Buddhist Modernity in Tibet? Some Concluding Remarks

The above study would not be complete without an attempt to contextualize the issues so far discussed in the broader milieu of modernity and the socio-cultural effects of the developmental policies that characterize the Chinese government's approach to the management of nationalities such as the Tibetans in China. Studies in the field of the Buddhist encounter with modernity, especially in Theravāda societies, have produced a considerable body of literature over the past few decades.[39] Not the same, however, can be said of the Tibetan Buddhist case in China where modernity is still a relatively new object of academic investigation in both Chinese and Tibetan studies.[40] Nevertheless, I believe that such an important notion should not be neglected when discussing issues of religion and culture among Tibetans in the PRC.[41]

Even if we confine ourselves to thinking about modernity in Europe and American countries, it is a highly contested notion. For Anthony Giddens modernity blooms when a society has distinctive characteristics different from those of the past due to contemporary developments occurring as consequence of the political and institutional authority's change over time.[42] Bruno Latour proposes an analogous commentary on modernity in which he introduces the notion of the "expansion" and "mobilization" of ideas to justify the modification of scale in the separation between Nature and Society

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[39] Most of my insights and reflections on the issue of modernity in Buddhist societies and the relationship between Tibetan Buddhism and the "modern" have been triggered by my recent preparation of reading material for a course in "Buddhism and Politics in the Modern Era" (Spring Term 2009) taught at the Eugene Lang College of the New School for Liberal Arts in New York City. I am also grateful to stimulating conversations on the topic entertained with Christoph Emmerich and Sarah Jacoby. For some of the most influential writings on modernity in Theravāda Buddhist societies, see for instance Bechert (1973); Tambiah (1976); Gombrich (1988); Gombrich and Obeyesekere (1988); Suwanna (1990); Swearer (1991); Gosling (1992); Schober (1995); Seneviratne (1999); Katz (2003); and Borchert (2005, 2008) among others.

[40] See for instance Lopez (1999: 156–180).

[41] I am currently preparing a study of the topic of Buddhist modernity in Eastern Tibet focusing on the impact of Chinese devotees on Tibetan religious communities that is based on my paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion in San Diego, CA., 16–20 November 2007, titled "The New Chinese Journey to the West: The Influence of Chinese Buddhist Devotees in the Development of Tibetan Buddhism."

[42] Giddens (1990: 3), see Borchert (2008: 112).

that accompanied the elimination of divinity in the social order and the cultural sphere.[43] In contrast, Charles Taylor criticizes the classic notion of modernity conceived of as a set of transformations and changes that any culture goes through due to societal developments such as mobilization, industrialization, and so forth.[44] Taylor, in fact, suggests a slightly different interpretation of modernity, one according to which traditional beliefs, old loyalties, and seasoned faiths are not doomed to be "eroded" in the process of modernization and the triumph of scientific reason. Rather they might all be part of the modern process and actually even sustain its developments.[45] Shmuel Eisenstadt proposes a similar "critique" of past modernity theories in which he argues that the classic mid-twentieth-century universal and homogenizing theory of modernity and cultural programs proposed by thinkers such as Karl Marx and Max Weber were not universal but based on Western models. He supports, instead, the possibility of multiple, original modernities that reflect local needs and expectations in various societies.[46]

In the Tibetan case, some influential religious leaders have shown in the past decades a keen interest not only in reappropriating traditional elements of Tibetan culture and religion, but they have also demonstrated curiosity for a reevaluation and assessment of traditional values and ancient knowledge in a way typical of the modern era in that it is open to addressing issues of accommodating the laity, transnationalism and global outreach, and a renewed role of the individual. The renewed Tibetan Buddhism that has emerged from the devastating effects of Mao Zedong's era is significantly characterized by these three features and thanks to the ideas, innovations, and cultural exchange from the outside, this modern Tibetan Buddhism has developed a larger array of interests. Although Buddhism has been allowed different regional degrees of tolerance by governmental authorities in China, a few charismatic figures have succeeded in elaborating strategies to support their religious activities, disseminate the religion, and take advantage of the ideas brought about by decades of Chinese development.[47] Tibetan Buddhism's presence on the Internet is only part of its outreach and, as I argue in this article, it represents a further development that aims at 1. accepting the increasing demand to propagate Buddhist teachings among the Han Chinese, and 2. capitalizing on the marketization of religion as a viable way to access new forms of donations by exploiting various strategies particularly

[43] Latour (1993: 39–43).

[44] Taylor (1995: 24–25).

[45] Taylor (1995: 25–26).

[46] Eisenstadt (2000).

[47] Goldstein and Kapstein (1998), Makley (2008), Terrone (2008).

attractive to Chinese devotees. These strategies include the centrality of the guru and the cultivation of devotion to him as the central feature of these Websites, and an emphasis on magical and supernatural elements in the guru's life and teaching activities.

The use of the Internet, however, is not the only new or modern strategy that some Tibetan religious leaders have introduced into their community's curricula. Particular attention has been devoted to monastic education and liturgical instruction, elements of the traditional system of religious learning that was particularly damaged during the 1960s through the 1980s, not only due to the repressive religious campaigns constantly launched by the Chinese government, but also to the effects of the still ongoing mass exodus of Tibetan clergy and religious leadership towards the promised land of India. mKhan po 'Jigs med phun tshogs has spearheaded a contemporary movement of revitalization and adaptation of Buddhist education and the traditional liturgical instruction for monastics that has influenced similar experiments in many other areas of Eastern Tibet.[48] It is not a coincidence that all the Websites discussed in this essay are also connected to the presence and activities of the current large Buddhist encampments *(chos sgar)* that are at the heart of the Buddhist revivalist movement that started in the late 1980s.[49] These Buddhist quasi-monastic centers are not only ground breaking experiments in the reestablishment of a highly specialized ecumenical monastic education within a strong rNying ma framework, but they are also, and more importantly, attempts to provide a solid ground for both Tibetan and Chinese laity (and in some cases Chinese outside the PRC) interested in learning more about the theory and practice of Tibetan Buddhism.

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[48] Germano (1998), Terrone (2008). mKhan po 'Jigs med phun tshogs was also known for a his reevaluation of issues of morality and ethics within the Buddhist monastic community, the corruption of a materialistic lifestyle often associated with noncelibate Tantric professionals, and the authentication of Treasure revealers. I am particularly referring to mKhan po 'Jigs med phun tshogs's reaffirmation of the centrality of the Vinaya vows for monastics and the relevance of ethical behavior for any Tibetan interested in being consider a proper Buddhist. His ideas and comments on these issues were mostly announced in a series of writings and public talks falling under the Tibetan literary rubric of "advice" *(zhal gdams)* that were later collected in two pamphlets now quite popular among his followers in Eastern Tibet. These are namely the *Dus rabs nyer gcig pa'i gangs can pa rnams la phul ba'i snying gtam sprin gyi rol mo*. (1996) and the *Chos rje dam pa 'jigs med phun tshogs 'byung gnas dpal bzang po mchog gi mjug mtha'i zhal gdams rang tshugs ma shor/ gzhan sems ma dkrugs zhes pa'i 'grel ba lugs gnyis blang dor gsal ba'i sgron me* (2005). Some of these topics have been dealt with elsewhere, see above and Terrone (Forthcoming).

[49] For a discussion on the *chos sgar* and their role in contemporary Eastern Tibet see Germano (1998) and Terrone (2008).

For instance, the Websites that I have presented in this article seem to be predominantly, if not uniquely, targeting the laity living in the mainland urban areas of the PRC. As in other instances of religious revivalism within the PRC, within the context of lay Buddhists, both male and female Chinese people have gained new access to forms, techniques, and practices that enable them to seek spiritual liberation without necessarily being ordained in a monastery. In a certain way, the changes that have occurred within Tibetan Buddhism in the last few decades are imposed by the Chinese state and reflect a Chinese political agenda aiming at a complete assimilation of Tibetans and cultural and social control of the population. This is done in many different ways, but certainly the promotion of mass tourism together with a skilful campaign aimed at portraying various areas of Tibet as a Shangri-La on earth in support of a tourist and economic agenda are among the most successful ones in creating a constant flux of Chinese travelers interested in exploring the exotic Tibet portrayed in the Chinese media. Thus, the recent economic reforms and the relaxation of religious policies have created fertile ground for a Tibetan modernity characterized in part by a re-growth of lay Buddhism among Han Chinese.

No doubt these economic and socio-political agendas are contributing to Chinese people's interests in Tibetan Buddhism and hence their creation and maintenance of Chinese language Websites. In his study of the Dai-lue people's Theravāda Buddhism of Sipsongpannā in Southwest China, Borchert has demonstrated that the new conditions of the Dai-lue's religious practice have been imposed in three major ways: the incorporation of the Dai-lue people in the PRC and their classification as nationalities (Ch. *shaoshu minzu*), the devastating effects of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), and the creation of national borders.[50] Methodologically speaking, he also asks himself how Theravāda can maintain its relevance in South Asia in a constantly and rapidly changing world after decades of colonialism and modernization.[51] Likewise, I suggest that the same can be said of Tibet with the important difference that the Tibetan people are less resilient in accepting their fate within the PRC.[52] In addition, I would say that some of the major changes occurred in Tibetan Buddhism inside the PRC represent an increased presence of the Chinese laity in monastic and quasi-monastic congregations, a major income of donations coming predominantly from Chinese devotees and donors, an increase in women's participation, especially

[50] Borchert (2008: 135).

[51] Borchert (2008: 109).

[52] The other ethnic group currently challenging the Chinese government in terms of independence from the state is the Uyghurs of East Turkestan, or today's Xinjiang in northwestern China. See Gladney (1991).

Chinese women's access to Buddhist knowledge, a decentralization of religious authority from monasteries to individual religious figures (these are predominantly characterized by a charismatic type of leadership), a large attention to issues of religious education and instruction for the clergy, and the production of liturgical material in Chinese such as books, pamphlets, and VCD/DVDs, but also Websites.

The transnational role of many religious centers in Eastern Tibet is a striking feature of the new Tibetan Buddhism. Already in the fall of 2000 during my first visit of Bla rung sgar the large religious encampment *(chos sgar)* near gSer rta in mGo log (mGo log Autonomous Prefecture) the presence of non-Chinese citizens within the monastic community was overwhelming. Not only hundreds of Han Chinese both monastics and lay people lived inside the perimeter of the citadel including groups from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and even Macao, but also citizens of Singapore and Malaysia were among them, many in disguise wearing monastic robes to avoid the attention of the local authorities. I observed a similar situation in two other large Buddhist encampments in Eastern Tibet, Ya chen sgar led by Grub dbang lung rtogs rgyal mtshan (also and more popularly known as mKhan po a chos) in the area called Khrom thar in dKar mdzes (dKar mdzes Autonomous Prefecture), and Lung sngon sgar the religious encampment founded by the late O rgyan sku gsum gling pa in the town of dGa' bde in Dar lag in the mGo log (mGo log Autonomous Prefecture).[53]

The final point that I would like to discuss here is the new concept of the "individual" shaped by the use of the Internet and the radically expanded yet often bypassed relation of the individual religious seeker to the community. The individualism promoted by the Internet epitomizes the classic axiom at the heart of themes discussed by scholars of modernity including Taylor.[54] It involves self-scrutiny and reflexivity. It has an impulse towards interiority, and it maintains a strong and aware locus of its existence in this very life, the everyday life lived in its full meaning.[55] The subjectivism of this new kind of selfhood is the important and radical novelty of the modern.[56] The power of the Web visit, the decision to enter a Website, to browse its Web pages, links, and to open its hypertexts its uniquely the browser's. The subjective self is in control of the relation between the visitor and the object of his visit. The traditional role of the master and his community in accepting, authorizing, determining, and even selecting or screening a potential visitor has col-

[53] I have visited all the three religious encampments several times during fieldwork trips between 1998 and 2007.

[54] Taylor (1989).

[55] McMahan (2008: 13).

[56] McMahan (2008: 188–189).

lapsed. Tamed by the global and absolute power of the Internet, the door to the traditional physical religious community with its rules and regulations, with its hierarchy of authority and control, and the solemnity of master/disciple exchange is now open to the personal computer and the key is a simple "click." Likewise, by clicking the same Website, the very same interaction with the "community" can be closed, shut down, bypassed. The interested browser, be this a Buddhist devotee or simply a curious person can have access to Treasure writings and photos of the Treasure revealer, learn about his activities and life, and admire and experience reverence for his sacred Treasure items, hand-prints, and images of other supernatural acts by simply clicking on a link. The gravity of the physical institution has been replaced by the lightness of individual choice and in so doing the notion of the individual has expanded. Anyone can now read and learn about Treasure revealers, without the need to actually join the community of these religious figures and without even traveling to Tibet. In addition, as Apolito observes, even the notion and the nature of "community" has expanded on the Internet as its very existence now depends on the "voluntary option of the individual."[57]

In China, the new generation has grown up in an environment different than that of their parents. With more economic independence, broader knowledge and higher education, more professionally ambitious, and often disenchanted by family household authority, the Chinese Web surfers and Tibetan Buddhist devotees online are less familiar with or even oblivious of traditional ethical norms that regulate religious interaction in Tibet, and are moved more by what Apolito calls "netiquette," the norms that regulate the Internet.[58] When the religious master is face-to-face with a devotee a series of norms and social behaviors are in action and determine the results of a meeting. Once on the Internet, however, everything becomes accessible via the electronic mechanism of the Web. On a Treasure revealer's homepage, his life is portrayed in ways accessible to everyone from everywhere, thus nullifying barriers of time and space. The Internet, therefore, allows anyone to read and comment on the visionary's life and activities and thus goes beyond the traditional channels of face-to-face teacher-disciple relationship. The text becomes available digitally and can be received by a virtual hand instead of a physical one.

In conclusion, the ability of the Internet to make a cohesive assemblage of granular information accessible enables the Web surfer to find materials and data on the Internet that is difficult to locate quickly elsewhere. Such an

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[57] Apolito (2002: 234).

[58] Apolito (2002: 234).

approach creates the opportunity for many devotees—in this case Han Chinese Buddhists—to participate in Tibetan Buddhist cybersanghas. The Tibetan example is in a very beginning phase, but like many other religious communities technologically more advanced, the reality of digital Tibetan Buddhist communities is a growing possibility.

Outside the Web, religious institutions are well defined, distinguished, and separable by history, tradition, and geo-cultural characteristics.[59] From these elements derive devotional behaviors and forms of expression. On the Web, instead, history, geo-cultural context, time, and space are not evident in the same way that they exist outside of it. Before having access to practice and texts any aspiring Buddhist practitioner needs to meet the master, become his disciple, and receive empowerments, transmissions, and eventually instructions. With the publication of religious material on the Internet this phase collapses, leaving the disciple or browser with the power to manage his/her own understanding and appropriation of Tibetan Buddhist knowledge. While the new possibilities that the Internet technology offers for the modern disciple of a Tibetan Buddhist master allow for a radically altered relationship between devotee and master, as well as individual disciple and religious community, with the Internet, a master can perform his duty of spreading the Dharma best: he can bring these materials to new disciples whom he never could have reached otherwise.

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RÉSUMÉ

Révélations du cyberespace :
Trésors tibétains, technologie de l'information et lecteur transnational

L'usage des technologies de l'information et de la communication, à commencer par Internet, constitue-t-il une nouvelle forme de diffusion pour le bouddhisme dans le Tibet contemporain ? Les maîtres et surtout les *gter ston* (découvreurs de textes trésors) du Tibet de l'est en font un usage croissant. Ils utilisent des serveurs chinois et s'adressent surtout à des internautes et dévots chinois. Les exemple présentés ici ont été pris sur les sites de Nam sprul 'Jigs med phun tshogs, A 'dzoms rgyal sras Padma dbang rgyal rin po che et O rgyan sKu gsum gling pa.

Les sites diffusent des photographies des maîtres, des prières, en phonétique chinoise, parfois accompagnées d'une lecture tibétaine, des informations pratiques et des textes. Mais sur Internet, l'écriture devient une notion flexible et plastique qui transcende le support et le texte. L'internaute ne regarde plus le texte en tant que tel, mais plutôt la multiplicité des reproductions virtuelles de son contenu. Le texte peut être téléchargé, coupé, mis en forme et édité selon les besoins de l'internaute; il entre désormais dans une catégorie qui comprend aussi bien des symboles, des photographies, des documents audiovisuels. La distance entre le sacré et le séculier est abolie. Cet ensemble (informations, portraits, prières, textes, images des reliques) constitue une "nouvelle génération" de biographies. Mais si l'accent est nettement mis sur la dévotion, qu'en est-il de la pratique ? L'auteur oppose les couples "religion online" (diffusion de la doctrine sur Internet) et "online religion" (pratique issue de cette diffusion). Les sites existants ne permettent pas la pratique traditionnelle, ils en offrent cependant certains matériaux comme des textes de prières, et des enregistrements (audio et vidéo) de récitations et de prières. Les photographies des maîtres entourés d'un nimbe, preuve traditionnelle de leur sainteté, sont largement diffusées et accentuent le caractère dévotionnel de ces sites. Lieux d'information pour les curieux et d'un certain approfondissement pour les dévots, ils ne sont cependant pas encore le "lieu" d'une communauté virtuelle cohérente. Faut-il considérer qu'ils sont la marque d'une modernité bouddhique au Tibet ? Ils sont liés au mouvement des *chos sgar*, centres du renouveau bouddhique de la fin des années 1980, et attirent vers le bouddhisme tibétain un nombre considérable de laïcs chinois, parmi lesquels un nombre croissant de femmes, qui s'adressent à des figures charismatiques plus qu'à la hiérarchie monastique traditionnelle. La diffusion de la doctrine bouddhique tibétaine par Internet détermine un nouveau concept de l'individu, mais le rôle déterminant du maître s'en trouve d'autant diminué.

Notes on the Palaeography of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions: Zhol and bSam yas

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The Old Tibetan inscriptions dating from the second half of the eighth to the first half of the ninth century are written in Tibetan capital letters *(dbu can)* cut into stele or the face of rocks. Already in 1880 a rubbing of the Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of 821/823 had been published by Bushell. The majority of the inscriptions, however, only became known much later and were first published, each separately, by H. Richardson from 1949 onward. A corpus of 15 inscriptions has been published by Richardson only in 1985 and thereafter by Li and Coblin (1987).

The inscriptions are a mine of information and have been researched in many respects. However, hitherto little attention has been paid to palaeographic aspects.[1] Meanwhile more inscriptions dating from the time of the Tibetan empire have been discovered in different parts of the country (Iwao *et al.* 2009). The authenticity of the inscription on a slab of rock integrated into a wall of the temple at 'Bis rnam snang has been doubted (Imaeda 2007 and 2007a) because of orthographical evidence.[2]

In epigraphy there are—apart from the content of an inscription—only a few instruments that enable one to decide on authenticity and date of an inscription, namely orthography, lexicography and palaeography, whereas in the research of manuscripts there is a wider range of instruments available for dating (Scherrer-Schaub 1999, Scherrer-Schaub & Bonani 2002). This fact among other results from the medium, the stone which is not man-made like paper etc., but natural, and from the indirect way the calligrapher's handwriting is transmitted by the stone-carver.

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[1] The script of the Zhol inscription has been investigated in a paper by Khu byug (1996). The author discussed the *dbu khyud* or *yig mgo*, the intersyllabic punctuation and the *shad*. Further he listed all occurrences of Old Tibetan orthography, like the additional single *'a chung*, *ya btags* etc. and letter contraction. It was Francke (1912) who first included at least a table of the *dbu can* alphabet drawn from Old Tibetan manuscripts into his tables of the Tibetan script.

[2] It may be added here, that palaeographic investigation, too, does not show the specific features of Old Tibetan *dbu can* script.

The stone, the calligrapher and the stone-carver

The stone is the material support of the inscriptions. Though there is no analysis of it, it is presumably granite-stone which was used in case of stele. In both the inscriptions on rock and stele, the surface of the stone has been prepared. Some cracks in the stone obviously already existed when the inscription was carved.

The calligrapher wrote the given text of the inscription. In case of a stele he did so by splitting the text into lines, taking into account the given width and length of the stele. The calligrapher's name remains unknown, because the Old Tibetan inscriptions usually do not include colophons. There seems to be an exception in the inscription of lDan ma brag (Heller 1994: 13), however, so far a documentation of the inscription has not been published. The original inscription of 'Bis khog perhaps also may have a colophon (but compare Imaeda 2007). It goes without saying that the calligrapher is the artist. It is his style of writing which transpires in the inscription.[3]

The stone-carvers, skilled in their craft, are the executants of the inscription. As to the technique used in applying the text written by the calligrapher onto the stone for carving, no information is available in Tibetan literature. One may assume that it was done in the same way as in the early rock inscriptions of Buddhist texts in China (Harrist 2008: 25–26).[4] The calligrapher either personally wrote the text on the stele or the face of rock or he wrote a model copy on paper which was fixed onto the stone for carving.

Anyway, there is no doubt that the stone-carver—whether he was literate or illiterate is immaterial—did faithfully and expertly carve the letters according to the model provided by the calligrapher.[5] It is understood that only the most skilled stone-carvers had been engaged to execute the inscriptions commissioned by the Tibetan emperors or by high ranking officials and noblemen.

[3] There are no indications for an officially laid down type of *dbu can* script. There is not even any reference of *scriptoria* though surely there must have been some to serve the needs of the *btsan po*'s chancellery. It is worth noting that in excerpts of the Old Tibetan Annals found at Dunhuang a type of *dbu can* script similar to the one found in the inscriptions is used.

[4] I gratefully acknowledge the information and explanations kindly provided by Dr. Claudia Wenzel, Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Heidelberg, who is engaged in the project of research and documentation of the Early Chinese Buddhist rock inscriptions.

[5] Douche's statement regarding the development of "a square variant" of the Tibetan script (2006, 73: "It is typically found on monuments, such as the pillar of Lhasa Zhol, which dates to 763 ACE, because it is easier to carve straight lines on stone") can hardly be accepted in view of the fine curved lines and rounded forms of epigraphic *dbu can* script.

It seems worth noting here that, unlike scribes who write on paper, parchment, bark etc., and who sometimes do make errors which they erase or delete, stone-carvers, as a rule, do not make wrong strokes which could disfigure a letter.[6] It is only when the texture of the stone requires it, which is seldom the case, that the stone-carver is free to decide how to overcome the problem.[7]

However, despite faithful reproduction of the calligrapher's model, when carving the stone, the *ductus,* the order of the strokes made by the scribe, naturally gets blurred. Thus only the outline of a letter is left for investigation.

Palaeographic Aspects in Epigraphy

In view of the above facts one might ask what palaeographic research in the inscriptions may contribute to. First, it is a documentation by alphabetical tables of the *dbu can* script as transmitted in Old Tibetan official documents. Provided that orthography and vocabulary are Old Tibetan, and if palaeography by comparison shows general Old Tibetan features, it is a complementary tool showing authenticity. Second, if comparative investigation into the palaeographic aspects reveals irregularities in the main features, palaeography may become a decisive factor as to the date of an inscription, even if vocabulary and orthography are authentic Old Tibetan.

In epigraphy the *ductus*, which is an important feature in palaeography, is no longer discernible. Therefore the main features of investigation in Tibetan *dbu can* script are reduced to:

- the outline of the letter
- the way of joining the vowels on the head *(dbu)* of the letter or above it, and also their joining below the letters
- the ligatures
- the letters without head *(dbu)* stroke: *nya, tha, zha, 'a, sha*
- the proportions of horizontal and vertical strokes in a letter and
- the proportions of the letter within the alphabet

Further, here also the design of the auspicious opening mark *(yig mgo)*, the

[6] I should like to thank Mrs. Owsky Kobalt, academic sculptor, Basel, who kindly shared her deep insight in working the stone and, taking great interest in the inscriptions, answered my many detailed questions without fatigue.

[7] An example is found in the quadrilingual inscriptions of Peking dated 1753 and 1761 (v. Franz 1984: 44 and pl. 18, l.2; 81, l.1 and pl. 21). There, the stone-carver took the license to change the spelling of *rdo rings* into *rdo rengs* in order to avoid a collision of the vowel 'i' with the preceding vowel 'o' which could have resulted in the splitting of the stone.

position of the intersyllabic punctuation *(tsheg)* and the punctuation mark *(shad)* will be taken into consideration.

As a first step in establishing comparative alphabetical tables of the Old Tibetan inscriptions the following investigation into the palaeographic aspects in the Old Tibetan inscriptions concentrates on the Zhol and bSam yas inscriptions which both date from the second half of the eighth century.

General Description of the Zhol and the bSam yas Inscriptions on Stele

The so-called Zhol inscription had originally been set up in 'Phan yul (Hazod 2009: 181–2, no. 9) and was moved to the village of Zhol situated at the foot of the Potala hill only in the seventeenth century. Again, in the last decades it has been removed at least twice because of road construction works. The stele presents an edict of the Tibetan emperor Khri Srong lde brtsan in favour of councillor sTag sgra klu khong.

The Zhol inscription is the tallest stele hitherto known. It is inscribed on three faces, the east, the south and the north ones. Natural cracks in the stone can be observed. On all faces the script looks worn by weather, especially the north face inscription looks so worn that it could not be used in the present study. The lower parts of the inscription on the north and south faces are badly damaged in some parts. The text on the south face is almost lost from line 64 downward.

The inscribed text is set within a frame line at the right and left sides. The lines in the script are strictly horizontal. Each line starts and, apart from a few exceptions, also ends with a colon viz. double *tsheg*. The initial colon is dropped in lines beginning with *yig mgo*. Letter contractions at the end of lines to fit the margin are comparatively scarce. The occurrence of *da drag* and *ya btags* representing old orthography is attested.

The inscription at bSam yas is found on a stele inscribed on the side facing south. The text inscribed is an excerpt from an edict of Khri Srong lde brtsan in favor of Buddhism as state religion, transmitted by the 16th century historian dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba (Tucci 1950: 95–97).

The script is very well preserved. Richardson's photograph (Richardson 1985: pl. IV) shows that the stone in the last line is fragmentary at the right side. The missing fragment seems to have been repaired recently. Now the base of the stele is more level. However, the lines in the script are not horizontal but slanted from left to right.

Unfortunately, from the investigators' point of view, but doubtless in an act of pious devotion, the stele has been treated in 1994 with a coating of dark reddish brown paint and the inscription has been highlighted in gold colour. In a photograph of the fresh painted stele prior to the highlighting of

the letters[8] it can be observed that in highlighting with gold colour sometimes the *tsheg* or the additional tick in the *'a chung* has been overlooked. Moreover, the highlighting in gold helped to even out some of the irregularities described below. Compared with the early photographs they are less obvious now.

There is no frame line. Letter contractions to fit the margin at the end of lines are scarce. The occurrence of *da drag* and *ya btags* is attested.

Comparative description of the main features in the alphabet

Zhol: The general impression is of a very regular outline of the letters with equal spaces in between the letters and big interlinear space. A distinction between thin and thick strokes can be observed. The double *tsheg* is placed slightly below the head stroke of a letter and serves as intersyllabic punctuation mark with a few exceptions already noted by Richardson (1985: 3, l.47). The outline of the *yig mgo* (east face, first line) is hardly visible. It is followed by a *shad*, a colon, and a *shad*. South face: First line, no documentation available, third line: outline like the vowel sign *u*, followed by *shad*, colon, and *shad*.

bSam yas: The outline of the letters is less regular. The strokes in the letters are thick and are reminiscent of bold script. The space between the letters in general is narrow and in the last few lines it is even more so. The intersyllabic punctuation mark varies. The use of double *tsheg* and dot can be observed side by side. Sometimes these are found placed into the letter, especially in the case of *nga*. The *yig mgo* (of the first line), has an outline similar to that of the Zhol stele, but narrow with its tail elongated upward to the headline.

Outline of the letters

The joining of vowels and semi-vowels

i: Zhol: The vowel sign *i* is not joined to the respective letter but floats horizontally above it in a way that its hook is placed exactly above the middle of the letter. In case of letters with a partial head stroke at the left *(pa, pha, ma, sa)*, it is placed carefully on it. The tail of the vowel sign is elongated and stretches beyond the letter covering almost half of the space above the following letter.

bSam yas: The joining is like in Zhol, but the tail of the vowel sign is shorter and distinctly points down to the head line.

[8] Photograph by Jampa L. Panglung.

I: Zhol and bSam yas: Reversed design of the above *i* is frequently attested.

u: Zhol: The vowel sign *u* is joined below the letter, directly at the base of letters with vertical stroke at the right side, which results in the loss of part of its hook. It is joined on *ra* at the end of the diagonal stroke. On *ya* it is joined by lengthening the right side stroke. In joining on *ta, da*, *zha* the letters lose part of their tails. If joined on *ca*, *cha*, *tha*, *pha*, *tsa, tsha, 'a, ya btags* and *ra btags* it is done with the help of a small additional stroke.

bSam yas: It is joined on *tsa* and *ya btags* with a short additional stroke, on *nya* with partial loss of the letter's tail.

e: Zhol: The vowel sign *e* is joined on top of the letter in the middle of the head stroke or in case of letters without head stroke *(nya)* on the middle of the rounded head. In letters showing partial head strokes at the left *(pa, pha, ma, sa)* and in case of *la* at the right, it is joined on it.

bSam yas: Attested only on head-stroke.

o: Zhol: The vowel sign *o* which frequently stretches beyond the letter on the right side, is joined on top of the letter like in *e*. In case of *ya* it is joined on its middle stroke.

bSam yas: As Zhol. Exception: Superposed on *'a chung,* it takes the position of the little additional tick which is deleted.

ya: Zhol: The tip of the subjoined *ya (ya btags)* ends with a distinctly drawing upward and parallels the lower right side in a letter.

bSam yas: Some as Zhol, some without being drawn upward.

ra: Zhol: Subjoined *ra (ra btags)* is attached to the lower right end of vertical strokes or any curved stroke. In case of *kha* it is joined by an additional small stroke at the right side of the dent.

bSam yas: As Zhol.

Ligatures

The ligatures in the Zhol and bSam yas inscriptions are vertical, with the following exceptions:

Zhol: The letter *sa* is superposed to the left of the letters *nya*, *pa, tsa* by way of joining the letter, or its partial head stroke, to the vertical stroke in *sa.*

bSam yas: The letter *la* is superposed to the left of the letter *ha.* The letter *sa* is superposed to the left of the letters *ka, ga*, *nya*, *ba* by way of joining the letter, or its partial head stroke, to the vertical stroke in *sa.*

To distinguish these ligatures from horizontal and vertical ligatures they may be denoted as semi-horizontal or else semi-vertical.

Letters without a head (dbu) stroke

In the Zhol and bSam yas inscriptions the outline of the letters *nya, tha, zha, 'a, sha* shows rounded heads without a head *(dbu)* stroke.

Proportions

The Old Tibetan *dbu can* script as represented in the Zhol inscription is extremely regular and follows strict rules of proportion. These rules of proportion observed in the Zhol inscriptions are:

ka, kha, ga	head stroke 1 : vertical stroke 1 : dented part 0,5.
nga	head stroke 1 : vertical stroke 0,5
ca, ja, tsa, dza	head stroke 1: vertical size 0,5–0,6 : horizontal size 1,1
cha, tsha	head stroke 1 : vertical size 0,5–0,6 : horizontal size 1,4
nya	width 0,6 : length 1,2
ta, da, na	head stroke 1 : vertical stroke/circle 0,5 : vertical size 1
tha	width 0,6 : vertical/round part 0,4 : vertical size 1
pa, pha	partial head stroke 0,45 : total width 1 : vertical stroke 0,5
ba	head stroke 1 : vertical stroke 0,5
ma	partial head stroke 0,6 : total width 1 : vertical stroke 1
wa	width 0,8 : length 1,2
zha	width 0,8 : length 1
za	head stroke 1 : vertical size 0,5–0,6
'a	width 0,8 : vertical size 0,5
ya	width 1 : vertical size 0,5
ra	head stroke 1 : vertical size 1
la	partial head stroke 0,4 : total width 1 : vertical 0,5–0,6
sha	width 1 : length 1
sa	partial head stroke 0,6 : total width 1,2 : vertical size 0,8
ha	head stroke 0,6 : total width 1,2 : vertical size 1,4

ligatures:

semi-horizontal ligatures:	width 1,3 : vertical size 1,3
vertical ligatures:	head stroke 1 : vertical size up to 2

This detailed review, showing a great variety in the size of the letters, should not be misinterpreted as reflecting disproportion, but rather as reflecting the fact that letters in the Tibetan alphabet indeed differ in size. The size today is generally defined by four horizontal lines. However, some letters are seen extending slightly beyond them (Gega Lama 1986: 329). Taking the first letter of the Tibetan alphabet to define proportion in the alphabet of the Zhol inscription, it can be stated that its proportions are 1 : 1 : 0,5.

As to the bSam yas inscription these proportions on the whole are valid, too. However, a close investigation into the palaeographic aspects of the bSam yas inscription reveals a number of irregularities, such as:

- slanted lines
- frequent occurrence of letters or syllables which are out of position regarding the headline, e.g. *-s – g-* (in: *rgyas gyI*, l. 5), *zhig* (l. 6), *yo – by-* (in: *yo byad*, l. 7), *myi dbrI myi* (l. 8), *-g – y-* (in: *zhing yang*, l. 10), *de las* (l. 12), *-g – gy-* (in: *dag gyang*, l. 13), *'jIg* (l. 14), *-l – te* (in: *gsol te*, l. 18), *gtsigs gyI yi ge* (l. 20).[9]
- head strokes in the letters are not horizontal, viz. the letter itself being slanted to the left, is out of position, e.g. *ma, sa, gyi.*
- the letter *nga* in many occurrences is often oversized, e.g. *khang* (l. 2), *sangs* (l. 4), *yang* (l. 6).
- the outline of the subjoined *ya btags* varies considerably

Slight variance in the outline of letters may be observed in all the inscriptions. This is how the handwriting of the calligrapher transpires in the inscription. Irregularities in palaeographic evidence, such as observed in the bSam yas inscription, are conspicuous in a stele which presents excerpts of an edict of the Tibetan emperor in favour of Buddhism which, moreover is generally taken to date from the founding of Tibet's first monastery. Considering that vocabulary and orthography are doubtless Old Tibetan, it is hard to reconcile this fact with the palaeographic evidence. From the point of view of palaeography, I have my doubts about the bSam yas inscription representing the original late eighth century's state of script, unless it is assumed that it results from a less skilled scribe and stone-carver. However, this seems unlikely. The bSam yas inscription may therefore possibly be taken as :

a) a careful reproduction of a worn or destroyed original inscription, perhaps made in course of one of the great restoration works known to have been executed in different periods in bSam yas (Chayet 1987), which in part fails to present the respective palaeographic features; or

b) an inscription which had been made at a later date,[10] trying to imitate Old Tibetan script. Any date within the second spread of Buddhism but perhaps prior to the mid 16th century when the scholar dPa' bo gTsug lag

[9] Especially in the last lines, it looks as if the script has been applied syllable by syllable or even letter by letter separately onto the stone. If the stele had been already in an upright position the script would have to have been applied from a squatted position at the foot of the stele. However, this often was the case without having negative effects on the script.

[10] With regard to the vocabulary, Tucci (1950: 68–9) had expressed the opinion that the sKar cung inscription could have been made at a later date.

phreng ba had mentioned the stele and transmitted the inscribed text,[11] may be taken into consideration.

Both hypotheses might also explain the extraordinarily well preserved state of the inscription. If the inscription proves to be a reproduction, the original stele, being materially and spiritually precious, might have been re-used. However, when I had the opportunity to check its backside in July 2010, I found its surface smooth and without any traces of an earlier inscription.

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[11] Cf. *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, fol. 111b 3–111b5. dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba of course does not refer to its palaeographic features. The existence of the bSam yas stele is also mentioned in the sBa bzhed (Stein 1961: 38, 1–2) and the dBa' bzhed (Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 17b9), but neither of the two latter texts is dated. A different textual version of part of the inscription seems to be transmitted in the *Bod yig dang bod yig yig gzugs kyi lo rgyus ngo mtshar gter mdzod*, a text which unfortunately I could not find. It is quoted by Bstan go (2008: 75) in his article on Tibetan calligraphy, which Françoise Robin, Paris, kindly sent me. The text excerpted as a specimen for the script called *mu tig bstar la brgyus 'dra* "Like pearls arranged on a string" is unintelligible. However, Bstan go (2008: 76) is right in tracing it back to the bSam yas inscription. To show this, it is however necessary to restore, like in a puzzle, the passages of the inscription which for unknown reasons had been omitted. The excerpt consists of three lines of Tibetan script which correspond in part to ll. 8-13 of the bSam yas inscription.

(1) [l. 8 om.: *pa': yang·* | *de· las:*] *myi: dbrI: myi:* [l. 9] *bskyung· bar·* [r.:] *bgyi· 'o:* | *da':phyin:*

(2) [l. 10 om.: *cad·* |] *gdung: rabs:* [om: *re· re· zhing: yan·* [l.11] *btsan: po: yab:*] *sras: gyis: 'di:* | [l. 12] *bzhin·* [om.: y]*i·* [om.: *dam:*]

(3) *bca'o:* | *de· las:* [l.13] *mna': kha: dbud:* [om. : *pa:*] *dag*

The Tibetan script presented does not reflect the actual outline of the letters in the inscription but rather serves the ideal. For example, the letter *nga* in *bskyung* is undersized and the *tsheg* which in *bskyung* and in *gdung* is written within the letter *nga*, is deliberately put outside the letter, perhaps in order to underline the "pearl-like arrangement". Further, Bstan go (2008: 74) provides an interesting new information in stating that the *mu tig bstar la brgyus 'dra* script had been invented by the calligrapher Bhe sho khram, also called 'Bre'o khrom during the reign of the *btsan po* Khri Srong lde btsan.

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A note on the table:

The comparative alphabetical table reproduced below had been established with the help of photographs taken by Jampa L. Panglung in 1983, 1994 and by myself in 2006. The photographs published by Richardson (1985) have frequently been consulted.

Initially it had been my intention to present the outline of the letters in a strictly computer-based way. By using this technique, however, the results were not satisfactory because the contours in the letters instead of being marked were blurred and any detail in the texture of the stone was showing in the outline of the letter. Therefore I chose to blow up the letters each separately and paint over their outline. It is a very time consuming way and admittedly not entirely free of individual view. Therefore any fault in the interpretation of the letter's outline is mine.

I should like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Monika Zin, University of Munich. I could not have undertaken this computer-aided table without her help and expertise. She spent at lot of time in instructing me how to use the relevant programs in detail, gave online support whenever I got stuck and finally also found a way to place the letters into the tables according to their proportions.

Abbreviations:

yig = *yig mgo*
n.d. = no appropriate photographic documentation available
– = no occurrence in the inscription

Comparative Alphabetical Table

I	Zhol	bSam-yas	II	Zhol	bSam-yas
yig	༄	༄	ga	ག	ག
ka	ཀ	—	gi	གི	—
ko	n.d.	ཀོ	gI	གྀ	—
kyo	ཀྱོ	—	gu	གུ	གུ
klu	ཀླུ	—	ge	n.d.	གེ
sku	སྐུ	—	go	གོ	—
skyu	n.d.	སྐྱུ	gya	གྱ	གྱ
skra	སྐྲ	—	gyi	གྱི	གྱི
kha	ཁ	ཁ	gyI	གྱྀ	གྱྀ
kho	ཁོ	—	gyu	གྱུ	—
khrI	ཁྲྀ	—	gro	གྲོ	—
khru	ཁྲུ	—	glo	གློ	—

III	Zhol	bSam-yas	**IV**	Zhol	bSam-yas
rgya			chu		—
sga		—	che		—
sgyu	n.d.		cho	—	
nga			ja		—
lnga	*	—	jI	—	
ca			rje		
ci		—	nya		—
cI			nyi		—
cu		—	nyI		—
co			nye		—
cha		—	snya		—
chI	n.d.		snyu	—	

* This ligature is slightly damaged on the stele. The missing part has been reconstructed.

V	Zhol	bSam-yas	**VI**	Zhol	bSam-yas
snyo	སྙོ	——	da	ད	ད
ta	ཏ	ཏ	dI	——	དྀ
tu	ཏུ	——	du	དུ	དུ
te	ཏེ	ཏེ	de	དེ	དེ
to	ཏོ	——	dra	དྲ	——
rta	རྟ	——	dro	དྲོ	——
rte	——	རྟེ	lde	ལྡེ	——
rto	རྟོ	——	ldo	ལྡོ	——
ste	སྟེ	——	sdu	སྡུ	——
tha	ཐ	ཐ	na	ན	ན
thu	ཐུ	——	ni	ནི	ནི
tho	ཐོ	——	nI	ནྀ	——

VII	Zhol	bSam-yas	**VIII**	Zhol	bSam-yas
pa	པ	པ	bo	བོ	བོ
pe	པེ	—	bya	བྱ	བྱ
po	པོ	པོ	bye	བྱེ	—
pya	པྱ	—	bra	—	བྲ
spa	སྤ	—	brI	n.d.	བྲྀ
pha	ཕ	ཕ	bro	—	བྲོ
phu	ཕུ	—	bla	བླ	—
pho	ཕོ	—	blo	བློ	བློ
phyi	ཕྱི	ཕྱི	sbya	—	སྦྱ
phyo	ཕྱོ	—	ma	མ	མ
ba	བ	བ	mo	མོ	མོ
bu	—	བུ	myi	—	མྱི

IX	Zhol	bSam-yas	**X**	Zhol	bSam-yas
myI	—	མྱྀ	zhi	ཞི	ཞི
mye	མྱེ	—	zhI	—	ཞྀ
tsa	ཙ	ཙ	zhu	ཞུ	—
tsi	ཙི	ཙི	zlo	ཟློ	—
tsu	n.d.	ཙུ	’a	འ	འ
tso	ཙོ	—	’i	འི	—
rtsa	རྩ	—	’I	འྀ	—
stsa	སྩ	—	’u	འུ	—
stso	སྩོ	སྩོ	’o	འོ	འོ
tshe	ཚེ	—	ya	ཡ	ཡ
dza	ཛ	ཛ	yi	—	ཡི
wa	ཝ	—	yI	—	ཡྀ

XI	Zhol	bSam-yas	**XII**	Zhol	bSam-yas
yu	ཡུ	—	sa	ས	ས
yo	ཡོ	ཡོ	su	སུ	སུ
ra	ར	ར	so	སོ	སོ
ri	རི	—	sra	སྲ	སྲ
rI	རྀ	—	sri	སྲི	—
re	—	རེ	srI	སྲྀ	—
ro	—	རོ	sro	སྲོ	—
la	ལ	ལ	he	ཧེ	—
lu	ལུ	—	lha	—	ལྷ
le	ལེ	—			
lo	ལོ	—			
she	ཤེ	—			

RÉSUMÉ

Notes sur la paléographie des inscriptions tibétaines anciennes : le Zhol et bSam yas

Les inscriptions tibétaines anciennes (mi VIIIe – mi IXe siècle) ont été peu étudiées d'un point de vue paléographique. Des calligraphes préparaient ces inscriptions, et leur donnaient donc leur style, soit en les écrivant sur du papier, ensuite fixé au support (stèle ou rocher), soit en écrivant directement sur le roc. Leurs noms n'ont pas été conservés, car ces inscriptions n'ont en général pas de colophon et les textes anciens ne font pas allusion à la méthode suivie. Les graveurs travaillaient selon le modèle reçu, mais les techniques de la gravure ne permettaient pa une reproduction absolument parfaite de l'original calligraphié.

Certains éléments paléographiques peuvent être comparés entre ces inscriptions, notamment le contour des lettres, la jonction des voyelles avec la lettre, les ligatures, la proportions des trait horizontaux dans une lettre ou la place et la nature de la ponctuation.
La stèle du Zhol a été érigée initialement au 'Phan yul, puis installée au XVIIe siècle au pied du Potala. Inscrite sur trois de ses faces, elle a souffert de l'usure du temps. Le texte est inscrit entre deux lignes verticales de marge. La stèle de bSam yas est inscrite sur un seul côté, face au sud. Le texte, inscrit sans lignes de marge, est très bien conservé, bien qu'un fragment manquant en bas du côté droit semble avoir été restitué récemment, et qu'une couche de peinture gène désormais la lecture.

De la comparaison systématique et détaillée des éléments paléographiques de ces deux inscriptions, il ressort notamment que, dans l'inscription de bSam yas, le contour des lettres est moins régulier, les traits sont épais, l'espace entre les lettres est plus réduit, en particulier dans les dernières lignes. La ponctuation présente plusieurs variantes. Mais le vocabulaire et l'orthographe des deux inscriptions relève manifestement du tibétain ancien. Les variantes paléographiques de l'inscription de bSam yas signifient-elles qu'elle n'est pas dans son état original, ou bien qu'elle est due à un calligraphe et un graveur moins habiles que ceux de l'inscription du Zhol ? Deux hypothèses sont proposées : l'inscription visible de nos jours à bSam yas est la reproduction attentive d'un original usé ou détruit, faite lors d'une des campagnes de restauration du monastère ; ou bien il s'agit d'une inscription faite plus tard que l'époque proposée jusqu'à présent, lors de la Seconde Diffusion, mais en tout cas avant la mention qu'en fit dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba au XVIe siècle.

Printing Tibetan Books in Russia in the 19th to Early 20th Centuries

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(St. Petersburg)

Many hundreds of Tibetan books, big and small, were printed in Russia for religious and scholarly purposes from traditional woodblocks or metal types. This was the result of a unique coincidence of events in the history of Russia which made Tibetan Buddhism an important and inseparable part of Russia's spiritual heritage.

In 1237–1240 Russia was subject to a major Mongol invasion. At this time the Mongols led by Batu, a grandson of Genghis Khan, conquered the whole of Russia. As centuries passed, Russia became stronger and started to expand eastwards. In the 17th century Russia again met the Mongols on her new eastern borders. Such peoples of Mongol stock as the Kalmucks in southern European Russia and the Buriats in Eastern Siberia became Russian subjects. By that time Tibetan Buddhism had become widespread among the Mongols.

As no efficient control on the border between Russia and China existed until 1727, Buddhist clerics came to Russia quite freely. In 1741 Siberian authorities made a statistical survey of the area. It showed that there existed eleven Buddhist temples with 150 monks. This information was sent to St. Petersburg, and the Empress Elizabeth signed a decree acknowledging this Buddhist community. That year is regarded as the founding date of Buddhism in Russia.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed rapid growth in the number of Buddhist monks and in the building of new monasteries (*datsan*s < Tib. *grwa-tshang*). In 1822 there were already 2,502 monks, and nine years later there were already 4,637.[1] The growth of the Buddhist clergy caused anxiety to the local authorities. A special commission sent from St. Petersburg in 1831 was headed by Baron Schilling von Canstadt (1786–1837) who was himself very much interested in Tibetan Buddhism. Having arrived in Siberia, Baron Schilling established a sort of a "copy centre" where local monks copied books and compiled catalogues of different editions of the Buddhist Canon. Having arrived in Eastern Siberia he met there the founder of the Mongol studies in Russia Josef Kowalewski, who

[1] Galdanova *et al.* (1983: 12–33).

was himself collecting Mongolian and Tibetan books, and the British missionaries who had established a school for the Buriat Mongols.[2] Kowalewski wrote in his diary:

> "For a long time Baron Schilling has been tirelessly searching for the books relating to Central Asia and achieved an astonishing success. His present-day library of Tibetan and Mongolian works is a rare scholarly treasure. The Baron being himself an amateur of the Eastern scriptures, offers the collected materials to scholars for studying. His private library is always open to everyone. In my opinion, his stay in this area influenced the Buriats immensely. There appeared experts in the Tibetan and even in Sanskrit languages, painters, *engravers*; the monks began to inquire more deeply into the foundations of their faith and to read books; there were discovered many books which had been before claimed as being non-extant […] I examined the printing blocks carved by the Buriat monks for the theological dictionary which was printed in China in five languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian. However, the Baron ordered to engrave only words in three languages which are most-needed by our Buriat monks: Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian. The engraving is noteworthy for its distinctiveness and correctness."[3]

The wooden blocks of this dictionary (fig. 1) were brought by Baron Schilling to St. Petersburg.[4] However, the dictionary itself was printed long after his death with an introduction in German and the German title *Buddhistische Triglotte*.[5]

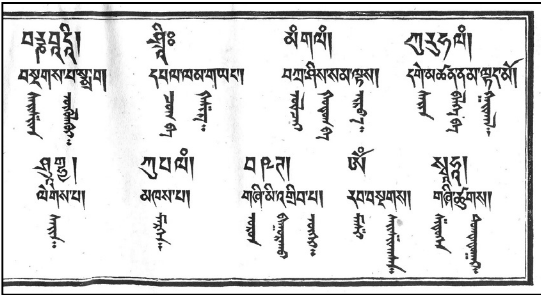


Fig. 1 Fragment of a page of the Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary engraved in 1831 in Eastern Siberia at the initiative of Baron Schilling von Canstadt. Printed in St. Petersburg, 1859.

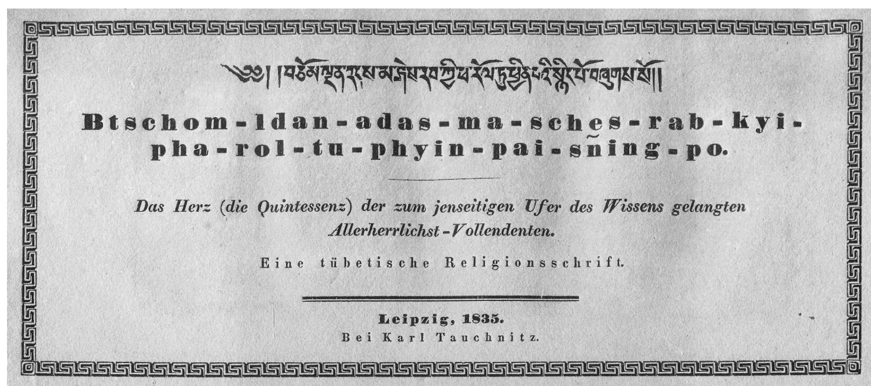
[2] Kowalewski collected a number of Tibetan books printed on Russian paper at Siberian *datsan*s by Buriat monks. At present they are kept at the St. Petersburg University Library. See Uspensky (2004).

[3] Kowalewski (1831: ff. 113a, 116b–117a). Emphasis added. The dictionary mentioned is well-known under its Chinese title 五譯合璧集要 *Wu yi he bi ji yao*.

[4] At present they are kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies (St. Petersburg Branch). I have no information as to whether their set is a complete one.

[5] Schiefner (1859).

Besides being a statesman Baron Schilling was also an inventor, and he made experiments in lithography printing of the texts in Oriental languages. In 1835 during his trip to Western Europe he brought with him some books collected in Eastern Siberia which he later presented to the Bibliothèque de l'Institut in Paris.[6] It seems that he also brought with him the wooden printed blocks of two small Tibetan texts which were copied and printed in Leipzig: the *Heart Sūtra* (figs. 2a/b) and a prayer text entitled *sMon lam bcu tham 'byor ba'i lhag smon bsngo ba bzhugs so*.



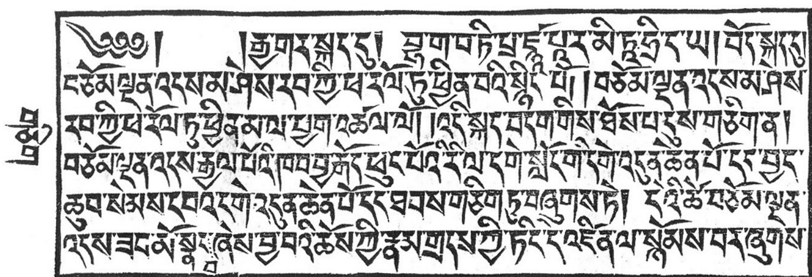
Btschom-ldan-adas-ma-sches-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pai-sñing-po.

Das Herz (die Quintessenz) der zum jenseitigen Ufer des Wissens gelangten Allerherrlichst-Vollendenten.

Eine tübetische Religionsschrift.

Leipzig, 1835.

Bei Karl Tauchnitz.



Figs. 2a/b Cover and first page of the *Heart Sūtra* printed in Leipzig in 1835. The wood blocks that served as a model for this edition are likely to have been brought from Eastern Siberia by Baron Schilling von Canstadt.

The movable metal Tibetan type was made for the printing house of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in the late 1830s.[7] The first Tibetan book printed in 1843 with this type (fig. 3) was the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Fool ('Dzangs blun dpe sna tshogs bstan pa'i mdo bzhugs so)* with

[6] About these Tibetan books see Bacot (1924).

[7] The British missionaries in Selenginsk (Eastern Siberia) had produced Tibetan movable letters around the same time. Robert Yuille used this font in 1839 on the cover page of a Mongolian textbook (fig. 4). However, it does not seem to have been used elsewhere.

the preface in German by the academician Isaak Jacob Schmidt (1779–1847). This type had also been used in Schmidt's Tibetan-Russian dictionary printed the same year. Prior to that it is found in his Tibetan Grammar of 1839 and his Tibetan-German dictionary of 1841.

Fig. 3 A page of the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Fool ('Dzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo)*. St. Petersburg, 1843.

These movable Tibetan letters were in continual use in Russian scholarly publications since 1843 until the early 1960s. It was with this type that numerous Tibetan texts were printed within the famous series *Bibliotheca Buddhica* which was published by the Russian Academy of Sciences under the supervision of Th. Stcherbatsky (1866–1942).

Meanwhile in the second half of the 19th century traditional woodblock printing in the *datsan*s of Eastern Siberia received a new impetus. By 1887 twenty-nine of the then existing thirty-four *datsan*s had established their own printing houses (Tib. *par-khang*) which had already printed by this time about 600 separate works.[8] The most prolific printers were the following monasteries: Gusinoozerskiy datsan (dGa'-ldan dar-rgyas gling), Aninskiy datsan (dGa'-ldan bshad-sgrub-gling), Atsagatskiy datsan (dGa'-ldan dar-rgyas-gling), Aginskiy datsan (bDe-chen lhun-grub-gling), Tsugolskiy da-

Fig. 4 Mongolian Grammar by Robert Yuille with a Tibetan title. Selenginsk, 1839.

[8] Galdanova *et al.* (1983: 75).

tsan (bKra-shis chos-'phel-gling), Egetuyevskiy datsan (Dam-chos rab-rgyas-gling), Tsongolskiy datsan (dPal-ldan 'Bras-spungs-gling) and Chitsanovskiy datsan (dGa'-ldan chos-'phel-gling). In many cases Tibetan books printed in Beijing, Amdo and other places served as originals for Buriat printers who often reproduced the original colophons (fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Two different editions of the *Bhadracaryā-praṇidhāna-rāja* printed in Eastern Siberia.

The *datsan*s printed books on different subjects. However, no collections in many volumes such as the Buddhist Canon (*bKa'-'gyur* and *bsTan-'gyur*) or Collected Works *(gsung-'bum)* by Tibetan authors were printed there. This also refers to separate but voluminous canonical texts (like some of the *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras).[9] Only one-volume texts, big and small were printed,

[9] The sets of Buddhist Canons as well as numerous Collected Works were imported by

mostly on white Russian-made paper. In a few cases these one-volume books contained many smaller separate works forming a collection of texts for a daily use or a ritual cycle.[10] Texts relating to Buddhist rituals and traditional monk education comprise the majority of publications; many protective charms and pictures of the deities were also printed. The books in the Tibetan language largely outnumbered the books in Mongolian, the native language of the local population (fig. 6).

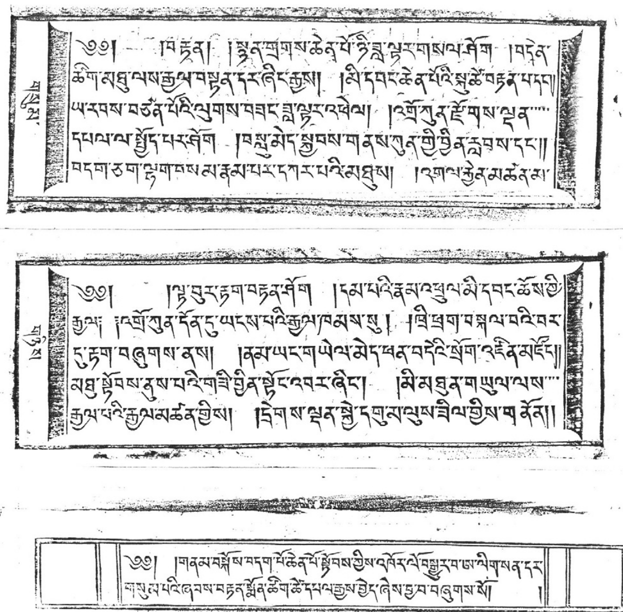


Fig. 6 A prayer for the longevity of the Russian tsar Alexandre III (reigned 1881–1894).

Books in Mongolian were also Buddhist texts, for the most part—canonical sutras, prayers, didactic tales, images, amulets, etc. (fig. 7). As with the case of Tibetan books their originals for the most part were texts that had been previously printed outside Russia. However, some new translations

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the *datsan*s. During his inspection in 1831 Baron Schilling discovered eleven sets of the *bKa'-'gyur* (four of them printed ones) and one set of the *bsTan-'gyur*. See Kowalewski (1831: f. 117a–b).

[10] E.g., such a collection of texts on Hayagrīva (rTa-mgrin) worship was printed at the Aginskiy datsan Monastery. It was accompanied by a catalogue entitled *Chos sde chen po bde chen lhun grub gling mchog tu dpar du bsgrub pa'i thu bkwan rin po che'i rta mgrin chos skor kyi pa pa'i kar* [sic] *chags*.

from Tibetan into Mongolian were made by the Buriat monks and printed in local *datsan*s.[11] A considerable number of Tibetan-Mongolian bilingual texts as well as dictionaries were also printed. Some of the *datsan*s regularly published catalogues of their editions both in Tibetan and in Mongolian.[12]



Fig. 7 Printed protective amulet.

The large amount of printing activities of Buddhist monasteries caused anxiety among the Russian Christian clergy and the local civil and military administration.[13] From time to time Russian administration checked the printing houses of the *datsan*s and hindered their activities. In June 1889 the Governor-General of the Amur Province forbade book printing in all *datsan*s. Though the printing activity continued in the following years it had to be reconciled with the demands of local administration for more efficient official control. As, in pre-revolutionary Russia, every printed book had to

[11] E.g., the biography of Marpa-lotsawa, about which see Uspensky (2001: 271, No. 219).

[12] Garmayeva (2004: 441).

[13] In pre-1917 Russia every book had to be granted a preliminary permission from the official censorship.

be granted a preliminary approval from the censorship, printing without such an approval in the Siberian monasteries was thus considered as illegal if it was discovered. So the local Russian authorities demanded that the Head Lama acted as the censor because he was a person officially appointed by the Russian Czar. The Head Lama of Eastern Siberia[14] several times affirmed the faithfulness of the books printed at the *datsan*s before Russian authorities with his personal signature and official seal. The Head Lama Gonboyev who maintained this position in 1878–1896, inscribed and approved books printed in the local *datsan*s both in Tibetan and Mongolian at least three times: in 1881, 1883, 1885. The inscription of approval was a standard one (fig. 8): "Upon my consideration this book is a correct one. This is certified with my signature and my official seal."[15]

Fig. 8 A Tibetan printed book with a written endorsement by the Head Lama of Eastern Siberia confirmed with his official seal.

In 1911 the Office of the Head Lama compiled a catalogue of books printed in 31 *datsan*s. It contains 1,696 entries of Tibetan and Mongolian titles. Though it is the most complete of the existing lists of the monastic woodblock printing it is not an exhaustive one.[16]

Agvan Dorjiyev (1853–1938), the famous "debate partner" *(mtshan-zhabs mkhan-po)* of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, also contributed to Tibetan book printing in Russia. He founded in St. Petersburg a Buriat Mongol publishing house named "Naran" ("Sun" in Mongolian) which printed books in standard Mongolian and in a new font created by himself. However, only a small book on Tibetan script (fig. 9) was printed in St. Petersburg by this publishing house. Also he acquired in St. Petersburg movable Tibetan and Mongolian metal

Fig. 9 Short manual of Tibetan writing printed by the publishing house established by Agvan Dorjiyev. St. Petersburg, 1908.

[14] His official Russian-Tibetan-Sanskrit title was "Glavnyi Lama Bandida Khambo" *(bla-ma pandita mkhan-po)*, the word "glavnyi" being Russian for "head."

[15] Galdanova *et al.* (1983: 74–79), Garmayeva (2004: 435–437).

[16] Rinchen (1959: 79–121).

letters, which were later used for printing books at the Atsagatskiy datsan, his residence in Eastern Siberia.[17]

After the 1917 Russian Revolution printing activities of the *datsan*s continued. In 1923 the Soviet administration undertook a checking of the monastic printing houses. It revealed that the Aginskiy datsan possessed woodblocks for printing 34,864 pages, and the Tsugolskiy datsan, 11,189 pages.[18] In 1925 the Aginskiy datsan Monastery carved new woodblocks of the famous Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary of Buddhist terminology *The Source of the Wise (mKhas pa'i 'byung gnas / Merged γarqu-yin oron)* and printed it for the newly established Learned Committee of the Mongolian People's Republic.[19] However, in early 1930s the Soviet domestic politics developed a strong anticlericalism and within a decade all the *datsan*s in Eastern Siberia were closed and their printing houses and libraries destroyed. Though some of the *datsan*s were reopened after the Second World War, their printing activities have never resumed (fig. 10). Despite this sad fact a considerable part of their book production escaped destruction and was moved as "cultural relics" to Soviet museums and institutes.[20]



Fig. 10 Ruins of the printing house *(par-khang)* at the Aninskiy datsan Monastery (dGa'-ldan bshad-sgrub-gling). August 2004.

[17] Garmayeva (2004: 450).

[18] Garmayeva (2004: 441).

[19] Uspensky (2001: 427–429, No. 827).

[20] E.g., a great number of books and icons were brought in the late 1930s to Leningrad from the destroyed Aninskiy datsan Monastery. Now they constitute the bulk of the Tibetan Collection at the Institute of Oriental Studies (Leningrad Branch; since 2007 the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts). Many of them bear original monastic seals.

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[21] While this work appears to have been printed in 1839 according to a note in the book, it also contains a censor's endorsement in Russian dated 1837.

RÉSUMÉ

L'impression de livres tibétains en Russie au XIXe siècle et au début du XXe siècle

Le bouddhisme tibétain reçut un statut officiel en Russie par décret impérial de 1741. Les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles virent la croissance rapide du nombre des moines bouddhistes et de la construction de nouveaux monastères *(datsan)*, en zone kalmouke et bouriate.

En 1831, une commission spéciale fut envoyée de St.Petersbourg, dirigée par Schilling von Canstadt, très intéressé par le bouddhisme tibétain. En Sibérie, il rencontra Kowalewski, le fondateur des études mongoles en Russie. Sa présence stimula l'activité des moines et leur intérêt pour les livres. Un dictionnaire trilingue (sanskrit, tibétain et mongol) fut gravé sur le modèle du dictionnaire pentaglotte imprimé à Beijing. Schilling von Canstadt en rapporta les planches à St.Petersbourg, où il ne fut publié qu'en 1859, par Schiefner, sous le titre *Buddhistische Triglotte*. Au début des années 1840, des caractères tibétains mobiles, en métal, furent fondus pour l'Académie des Sciences de St. Petersbourg : le premier ouvrage imprimé grâce à ces caractères, qui furent utilisés jusqu'au début des années 1960, fut le *Sūtra du Sage et du Fou*.

Durant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, l'impression xylographique traditionnelle connut un nouvel élan dans les monastères de Sibérie orientale. Vers 1887, vingt-neuf monastères, sur un total de trente-cinq, avaient leur propre imprimerie, et avaient déjà publié environ six cents livres. Le nombre des textes tibétains publiés dépassait largement celui des textes mongols, qui étaient également des textes bouddhiques. Les moines bouriates firent cependant quelques traductions du tibétain en mongol, et les publièrent dans leurs monastères. On publia aussi beaucoup d'ouvrages bilingues et des dictionnaires (tibétain-mongol). Certains monastères diffusaient régulièrement le catalogue de leurs publications.

Cette activité suscita l'inquiétude de l'Eglise orthodoxe et de l'administration locale. En 1889, le gouverneur de la province de l'Amour interdit toute activité d'impression dans les monastères. Cette activité fut néanmoins poursuivie, en tenant compte des exigences de l'administration. On trouve dès lors souvent sur les ouvrages l'Imprimatur et le sceau du Grand Lama de Sibérie orientale. En 1911 fut publié un catalogue de 1696 publications faites dans 31 monastères, la plus longue liste connue de ces ouvrages, mais elle est cependant incomplète.

L'activité des imprimeries monastiques de Sibérie se poursuivit après la Révolution de 1917, sous le contrôle de l'administration soviétique. En 1925, le monastère Aginskiy datsan publia encore le célèbre dictionnaire tibétain-mongol de terminologie bouddhique *mKhas pa'i 'byung gnas / Merged garqu-yin oron*, mais à partir du début des années 1930, tous les monastères de Sibérie orientale furent progressivement fermés et leur imprimeries et bibliothèques détruites. Nombre de publications échappèrent heureusement à la destruction et furent transférés dans divers musées et institutions soviétiques.

Faulty Transmissions: Some Notes on Tibetan Textual Criticism and the Impact of Xylography

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… yat svayam eva nītam ṛiṣiṇā sūtraṃ vicālyaṃ na
tat saddharma pratibādhanaṃ hi tad api syān nītibhedān muneḥ //

[… drang srong rang nyid kyis bzhag mdo sde gang yin de dkrug //
thub tshul bshig phyir de yang dam chos la ni gnod pa byed par 'gyur //]

*Ratnagotravibhāg*a, V: 20b

There is plenty of evidence that many Tibetan Buddhist intellectuals were very much aware of the fact that the ever-growing literary corpus that they were reading, studying, and interpreting had many serious text-historical and text-critical problems, not least of which were the undesirable consequences of "an interpolation" *(vicālya, dkrug)* that is addressed, albeit a trifle obliquely, in the above-cited line of verse from the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. This literary corpus, a huge repository of sacred literature, can be heuristically divided into two main parts. The first consists of what are allegedly Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts from primarily Sanskrit, Chinese, and Khotanese manuscripts, while the second comprises those treatises and smaller tracts that were written by Tibetan authors. The term "allegedly" for the first carries some weight, for the corpus of translated literature was beset with ambiguities of provenance, authorship, and doctrinal and text-historical integrity. An awareness of the pitfalls embodied by some of these texts first manifested itself in the eleventh century, when, beginning with Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), several scholars began casting aspersions on the integrity of a number of writings that purported to have definite Indic authorship and other issues that bore on their provenance, thereby raising the question whether they should be included in the incipient but ever growing Tibetan Buddhist canon.[1] The various factors that in combination made it at all possible for the process of the formation of Buddhist canons in Tibet to begin is of course a problem that awaits more detailed investigation, but suffice it here to point out something that is often overlooked

[1] See, for example, Karmay (1998); see also Martin (1996) and Davidson (2005: 148–51, 232–3, 245 ff.).

in the discussion. These eleventh century literati by no means singled out textual corpora of the Old school *(rnying ma)* as the sole objects of their criticism, as is sometimes maintained. To the contrary, they were equal opportunity critics of texts that were otherwise considered important, if not sacred, by contemporaries who were committed to both Rnying ma and New school *(gsar ma)* traditions. The catalog of translated scripture, and a few other items, by Dar ma rgyal mtshan (1227–1305), alias Bcom ldan ral gri, of Snar thang monastery and the catalogs for the large scale collections of the Buddhist canon by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), himself a wonderful Sanskrit scholar who was active at Zhwa lu monastery, on occasion discuss these important questions of the authorship and doctrinal integrity of a number of works as well.[2] Obviously, not all writers were able or even willing to voice their doubts about a given work's authorial attribution or doctrinal integrity with the result that not a few of these works were able to slip through the cracks that were left open because of what can only be described as a desultory and inconsistent scholarly scrutiny of their origins and history. The fact that these works then ultimately made their way into the handwritten and xylographed corpora of canonical, translated literature often wreaked havoc with the views they advanced concerning the doctrinal positions of several Indian Buddhist philosophers and sundry aspects of the development of Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent. But in all fairness to the "Indology" of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, it should go without saying that certainly not all of the curious positions that we believe to be purely Tibetan in origin were in fact so. Indeed, the Tibetans simply inherited not a few of these from late Indic and Kashmirian traditions, witness, for example, the quite varied corpus of treatises, non-tantric and tantric, that Atiśa (982–1054) ascribes to the Nāgārjuna (2nd c.) of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* in his *Madhyamakopadeśa* that is subtitled *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa*![3]

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[2] See, respectively, Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009: 256–62) and Bu ston Rin chen grub (1971: 917 ff.) and (1971a: 409 ff.). In this connection, using these and other sources, I engaged in a little textual weeding myself in van der Kuijp (2007: 1002–22).

[3] *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition* (1991) vol. 36, no. 3935 [#3930], 479/1–2 [Ki, 113a–b]; see also the edition and annotated Japanese translation in Miyazaki (2007: 59–60, 110–3). It has been supposed that Atiśa's teacher Ratnākaraśānti had held something similar in the sense that he already foreshadows a conflation of Candrakīrti the Mādhyamika with the author of the *Guhyasamājatantra*'s *Pradīpoddyotana* commentary in his *Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa*; for this see Vose (2009: 187, note 115), who cites Seyfort Ruegg (1981: 122) to this effect. Referring to the passage in *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition* (1991) vol. 41, no. 4090 [#4085], 66/6 [Ti, 231a], Seyfort Ruegg ambiguously uses a passive construction and does not explicitly say that this was Ratnākaraśānti's statement. It turns out that it is not, for it occurs in an anonymous afterword to the translation of the *Madhyamakālaṃkāropadeśa* that appears to be of Tibetan origin.

What is more not all the works that various Tibetan communities included in their canon only consisted of translated texts. Indeed, on occasion the presence of a Tibetan hand could definitely be discerned in several of these works, and thus not a few of these belonged to the category for which Ronald M. Davidson coined the handy term "gray text," that is[4]:

> [T]here is a category of esoteric works found in various compendia, including the *Bstan 'gyur*, which neither fit the classical paradigm …, nor are wholly the composition of a Tibetan.

To be sure, some of the text-critical problems the Tibetan intellectuals encountered when reading these works only became apparent to them when they were in the position and availed themselves of the opportunity to compare two or more different translations of a Buddhist text that by their time had already been firmly "enculturated" and entrenched in the Tibetan universe of canonical letters. Christian K. Wedemeyer recently described in some detail fine examples of this in the œuvre of Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa'i dpal (1357–1419).[5]

Right or wrong, the tradition was not averse to recognize that factors other than simple mistranslation or cumulative scribal error over the passage of time might have been causes of textual contamination. Interestingly, it did not rule out the possibility that less elevated emotions such as greed, malice, and spite could also play a role in the deterioration of the integrity of the original text. A fine example of this is a remark Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456) makes when he admits of the possibility of a translator willfully omitting a passage in a text he was translating because he had felt that he had not been sufficiently compensated for his labors. He writes the following about the two different Tibetan versions of the *Aparamitāyurjñānamahāyānasūtra*[6] in his 1420 study of the literature of the *kriyā-Action Tantras*[7]:

A cursory perusal of Ratnākaraśānti's very substantial oeuvre indicates that, at a minimum, we can say that he was not thoroughly familiar, if at all, with the writings of Candrakīrti, the Mādhyamika. This may very well have consequences for the arguments in Vose (2009: 34–5).

[4] Davidson (2002: 212).

[5] Wedemeyer (2006).

[6] See, respectively, *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, *Taipei Edition* (1991) vol. 18, nos. 671–2 [#674–5], 317/2–8/4, 318/4–9/6 [Ba, 211b–6a, 216a–20b]. Neither translation is attributed. The text in *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka*, *Taipei Edition* (1991) vol. 20 no. 852 [#849], 323/2–4/4 [E, 57a–62a], appears to be virtually identical to no. 671.

[7] Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1969: 274/1). This passage is quite indebted to what we read anent the sutra[s] in Bu ston's 1339 survey of tantric literature, for which see Bu ston Rin chen grub (1969: 183).

> *yang phal cher de dang 'dra ba la bar na puṇye yod pa'i oṃ gsum byas pa gcig dang / puṇye med pa'i oṃ gnyis byas pa gcig ste gnyis yod do // 'di gnyis la kha cig 'og min dang bde can gyi tshe dpag med ces zer ba ni 'khrul te / gnyis ka steng phyogs kyi tshe dpag med du gsungs pa'i phyir ro // de ltar dpe gnyis snang yang rang gi ngo bo gcig yin te / puṇye med pa'i oṃ gnyis ma ni / lo tstsha ba yon gyis ma mgu bas sngags la ser sna byas pas ma dag pa yin te / mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad ma tshang ba'i phyir ro // zhes bdag gi bla ma dag gsungs so //*
>
> Further, the two *Aparamitāyurjñāna* texts are for the most part similar to that work of Jitāri[8], but, in the middle, one has three *oṃ*-s with *puṇye* and the other has two *oṃ*-s without *puṇye*. Regarding these two, the allegation of some that they refer to Buddha Amitāyus of the Akaniṣṭha and Sukhāvati heavens is wrong, because the texts state both in the mantric formula *(gzungs)* of the Amitāyus of the upper region *(steng phyogs)*. So, although there appear to be two texts, they are identical in nature; the one that contains the passage with two *oṃ*-s without *puṇye* is a corruption on account of the translator who, displeased with his payment, acted stingily with respect to the mantra, because the one hundred and eight designations were incomplete.[9] My teachers related the aforesaid.

The idea is of course that the upset translator purposely sabotaged the spiritual efficacy of the text by this act of elision.

Aside from these larger and minor issues, a good many literati were also quite aware of the inherent instability and built-in variance of their manuscript culture. To be sure, this instability was as much the result of the fact that the corpus was transmitted by means of the unreliable medium of manuscripts and the ignorant scribes who created and re-created these texts from paper, pen and ink, as it was from the ambiguities that hold sway in the great divide that separates Tibetan orthography from phonology. This divide is no doubt one of the main reasons for the existence of the numerous *dag yig*-spellers, an as yet unstudied but an extremely important sub-genre of the Tibetan literature on linguistics. Much of Tibetan book and literary culture is local.[10] It remains to be seen whether such *dag yig* texts impacted the

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[8] Jitāri (11th c.) had written an exegesis on this work in terms of a mandala of nine deities *(lha dgu'i dkyil 'khor)*, the *Aparamitāyurjñānavidhi*, for which see *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition* (1991) vol. 31, no. 2706 [#2700], 293/1–4 [Nu, 67b–9a]. As stated in the colophon, this brief work was written at the behest of the son of the *brāhmaṇa* Nam mkha' dbyings [*?Akaṣadhātu].

[9] Truth be told, I am not quite sure at the moment what the latter phrase really implies.

[10] See now Schaeffer (2009) for a first study of "the book" in Tibetan culture; see also Kinnard (2002) more broadly for Buddhism in general,

spelling conventions of local literary productions. A fairly early text-critical problem in a manuscript of a treatise written by a Tibetan scholar is signaled by Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub (1456–1532). He notes in his 1482 study of Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's (1182–1251) autocommentary to his versified *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* that the fourteenth century *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* commentator Gnas drug pa Blo gros mtshungs med had drawn attention to a text-critical problem with a line of verse that occurs in the *rang don rjes dpag*, "inference for oneself" chapter which, according to most [later] editions, is the tenth chapter of Sa skya Paṇḍita's work.[11]

It may be thought that a measure of stability was introduced by the advent of block-printing and xylographs. However, this stability was often illusory and Tibetan scholarship not infrequently experienced these xylographs to derive from printing blocks whose texts were based on contaminated manuscripts and less than through editing. The text of a xylograph was of course not always based on the "best" manuscript witness or corpus of manuscripts of one work, and was always a function of the critical acumen, scholarly imagination, and the experience of the editor. An important example of less than satisfactory editing is afforded by the texts of the Sde dge xylographs of, once again, Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* and autocommentary. These derive from printing blocks that were prepared in 1735 under the supervision of Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697–1774), one of the very few post-ninth century Tibetan scholars to have been associated with the old title of "editor" *(zhu chen)*. A mere glance at them reveals that the text of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* proper and the one that lies embedded in the autocommentary have quite different filiations and present the reader with a host of text-critical problems. Striking is that there is no evidence that Zhu chen ever considered it incumbent upon him, let alone necessary, to

[11] Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub (1985: 352) and (1988: 223). Beginning with the 1283 "Mongol xylograph" *(hor par ma)* of the Tibetan text of the autocommentary, all the later editions of the basic text and the autocommentary known to me comprised eleven chapters; see now Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (2005). Strangely, the earliest commentators recognized different numbers of chapters. For example, Ldong ston Shes rab dpal and 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge, two disciples of Sa skya Paṇḍita, seem to have had available to them a text of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* that consisted of, respectively, thirteen and eight chapters; see van der Kuijp (1986: 51–64) and 'U yug pa's *Bstan bcos tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rgyan rigs pa grub pa*. Thus, for Ldong ston, the *rang don rjes dpag* chapter was the twelfth—there is one caveat here, since a manuscript of his commentary has not yet been located and the argument is founded on a seconday source—and for 'U yug pa it was the seventh chapter of their studies of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*! This means that already very early on there were significant problems with the very structure of this work.

address any of these not infrequent conflicting readings. Of course, the attendant risk of xylographic printing is that it can potentially introduce a proliferation of text-critical problems because of the relative ease with which a xylograph of a corrupt text can be reproduced from its printing blocks. This can and should be further documented and explored than has been done so far in the secondary literature.

It also goes without saying that when xylography became increasingly widespread in the large swath of territory that was dominated by Tibetan Buddhist culture, another variable entered into the text-critical equation, namely, the readings of the xylograph and, as a corollary, the readings of the manuscripts that descended from it. I should like to draw attention to an outstanding example of a fairly early author who with some consistency has repeatedly drawn attention to a xylograph that was probably newly minted and adjudicated with aplomb and conviction when and where he felt that the readings were victims of contamination *([yi ge, bris pa] ma dag pa)*. The author in question is Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524) and the work that I have in mind is his 1516 commentary on the *Dgongs gcig* precepts of the 'Bri gung sect of the Bka' brgyud pa. These precepts were handed down in the collections of summary statements of the salient views of 'Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217) that had been thematically arranged by his nephew Dbon Shes rab 'byung gnas (1187–1241), alias 'Bri gung gling pa. Zhwa dmar IV's commentary is replete with references to what he considered to be problematic readings in a xylograph from the recently carved printing blocks of these statements.[12]

To be sure, scholarly concerns of the kind briefly described above are found in every culture that is profoundly involved with writing and reading and interpretation, and these had already become part and parcel of, say, Indian and Chinese intellectual practices long before Indian and Chinese Buddhist texts were being translated into Tibetan.[13] Staying in the subcontinent, we may also mention in this connection that Abhayākaragupta (ca. 1050–1125) pointed out several different readings of manuscripts in his *Amnāyamañjarī*, the quite sublime commentary on the *Saṃpuṭatantra* which

[12] See Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes (1992: 20, 23, 26, etc.).

[13] See, for example in this connection, the recent works of Olivelle (1998, 1999), Colas (1999), Cherniak (1994), and, more recently, in Tian (2005), the deep case-study of the œuvre of Tuan Yuanming (?365–427), alias Tao Qian, and the text-critical efforts of Su Shi (1037–1101), his literary executor and editor, and the useful collection of essays in Idema (2007). Whether sitting in a lush mango grove somewhere in the Indian subcontinent or holding oneself up in a hermitage that is perched on a mountain top somewhere in the Tibetan plateau, we can only marvel at the kind of source material that is available to students of Chinese [and Japanese] literary and manuscript culture.

he completed in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of King Rāmapāla (r. ca. 1072–ca. 1126). Already at the very outset of his work, he observes that the omission of *snying po* in the phrase **sarvatathāgatakāyavākacittagarbhavajrayoṣidbhageṣu…* in some manuscript[s] *(glegs bam, *paṭṭa, pustaka, pothi)* of the tantra was simply owed to a scribal error *('bri mkhan gyi skyon nyid)*.[14]

1 On Some Early Tibetan Xylographs

Now almost forty years ago, the late Edward W. Said wrote the following in his influential essay "Beginning with a Text"[15]:

> Publication of a text, or at least the appearance of the text as an object to be diffused, is a ceremonious repetition of the parricidal deed by virtue of which copies proceed to supplant what Maas calls an inaccessible source.[16]

I take the phrase "[p]ublication of a text" to mean "the publication of a text in printed form[s]." Said partly embeds this statement in his discussion of what a text and textual criticism meant for Alfred E. Housman[17] and Maas in whose writings, he submits, albeit *sans* explicit substantiation, "the oedipal motif" lurks "behind many discussions of the text." Without wishing to wander about in the uneven land of Freudian psychoanalysis and the obviously profound matrix of interconnections of the human psyche with language and reading and writing, the notion of parricide in the discussion of "publishing" illustrates as much of the potentially interesting ethnopsychoanalytical dimension of such a discussion as well as its probable limitations. Any talk of an "oedipal motif" will have to be reevaluated in such a radically

[14] *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition* (1991) vol. 21, no. 1201 [#1198], 506/2 [Cha, 5a]. The phrase in question is simply given as **sarvatathāgatakāyavākacittavajrayoṣidbhageṣu…* in Skorupski (1996: 216). Of passing interest is that Abhayākaragupta cites his very own *Madhyamakamañjarī*, *Munimatālaṃkāra*, and the *Vajrāvalī* in his *Amnāyamañjarī*; see *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition* (1991) vol. 21, no. 1201 [#1198], 526/5–6, 532/4 [Cha, 76b–7a, 97a]. Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Amnāyamañjarī* as well as of the first two are respectively registered in *Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin shouzangde fanwen beiye jing (Suowei jiaojuan) mulu / Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas su nyar ba'i ta la'i lo ma'i bstan bcos (sbyin shog 'dril ma'i par) gyi dkar chag mdor gsal* (np, nd), 139, 91, 86. My thanks to V. Wallace for having so graciously given me a copy of this important resource. He also cites the *Amnāyamañjarī* in his *Vajrāvalī*—see *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition* (1991) vol. 31, no. 3144 [# 3140], 491/6 [Phu, 94b] —, so that he probably wrote these at the same time. He also obliquely refers to the *Vajrāvalī* in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, for which see Bhattacharyya (1972: 1, verse 3).

[15] Said (1985: 210); this book was first published by Beacon Press, Boston, in 1974.

[16] Maas (1958).

[17] Housman (1922).

different ethnopsychoanalytical context as the Tibetan one. Indeed, if anything at all can or should be made of such a Freudian take on writing and publishing, we may have to speak, in a Tibetan environment of publishing, of a "matricidal deed," but only if it eliminates the "mother text" *(ma dpe, ma yig)* and not the "grand-mother [text]" *(ma phyi)*![18] To be sure, both *ma dpe* and *ma phyi* are also used in the sense of an unedited manuscript of a text on which basis another manuscript or a critical edition may be prepared.

Several Tibetan scholars were well aware of the text-critical ramifications of the multiplication of one and the same work through various witnesses, handwritten as well as xylographed, and the levels of contamination to which the "inaccessible source," the "mother text," the autograph could potentially be subjected. We may mention here, for example, the Mongolian scholar Bstan dar sngags rams pa's (1835–1915) study of different readings found in the xylographs of several Kanjur editions, the large similar, anonymous work by a Mongolian scholar of 1918 on the different readings found in the xylograph editions of especially the Snar thang and Urga Kanjurs, and the large study by Pha bong kha pa Byams pa bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho (1878–1941), alias Bde chen snying po, anent the numerous variant readings he found in a large corpus of different xylograph editions of Tsong kha pa's celebrated *Lam rim chen mo*.[19] Needless to say, Pha bong kha pa's work potentially renders quite problematic all the available translations of this text that have appeared to date, none of which are founded on a thorough text-critical edition, whether these translations be in Mongol, Chinese, Japanese or in other languages.[20] In some Tibetological circles, the application of basic philological and text-critical principles to texts is critically wanting and often seems to be replaced by what is vaguely referred to as "theory." To be sure, predicated on a sizeable corpus of different witnesses of a corpora of work, truly superb editing has been done in the field of Tibetology as such [and not Indo-Tibetology], and particularly noteworthy ex-

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[18] For the *ma dpe* and its place in the process of the carving of printing blocks, see the remarks in Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (2004: 74 ff.). On Tibetan writing and its technological aspects in general, see now Dpal bsdus (2004).

[19] See, respectively, the incomplete xylograph in Bstan dar sngags rams pa (1982: 309–499), Anonymous (1982), and Pha bong kha pa Byams pa bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho (1972–74: 749–809). See also Schaeffer (2009: 201, n. 25).

[20] Pha bong kha pa's significant work appears to have remained unnoticed, let alone unconsulted, by the translators of the *Lam rim chen mo* into a modern language, the most recent one being to my knowledge Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa'i dpal (2000–2004). On p. 30, vol. 1, this work recognizes Pha bong kha pa's two studies of the *Lam rim* literature, but does not mention this critical work.

amples are Cathy Cantwell's and Robert Mayer's work on several treatises in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*.[21]

Let us now briefly turn to the early history of the xylographic printing of Tibetan texts.[22] Several years ago, I attempted to give a very rough account of the roles played by the esoteric *Kālacakra* teachings, and the corpus of texts on which these are based, by an examination of one aspect of the ongoing patronage relationships that existed between Tibetan Buddhist religious hierarchs and the Mongolian imperial court in Dadu and Shangdu during the Yuan dynasty.[23] These relationships continued, though in a much reduced intensity, and then for only a few decades, in Mongolia proper after the dynasty's fall in 1368. The hierarchs in question belonged to the Sa skya school[24] and the Karma Bka' brgyud sect. Part of this patronage involved the provision of funds and material for carving printing blocks of Tibetan texts on which basis multiple, uniform copies could at least in theory be more easily produced than would be afforded by having a pool of scribes write out copies by hand. In fact, the xylograph of Yaśas' *Laghukālacakratantra*—Yaśas wrote this work in the early eleventh century—in Shong ston Lo tsā ba Rdo rje rgyal mtshan's (ca. 1225–ca. 1280) *circa* 1270 rendition is among the earliest extant xylographs of a Tibetan text. It has Tibetan and Chinese page numbers. This feature plus the information provided by the printer's colophon *(par byang)* points to the likelihood that the blocks for this treatise were prepared in China proper, in around 1300, and most probably in one of the capital cities. Tibetan carvers do not need Chinese page numbers to keep track of the blocks, so that it is quite arguable that they were carved by Chinese craftsmen who, for the very reason that they were unable to read Tibetan, could keep track of the sequence of the blocks through this pagination. My earlier essay on the dissemination of the *Kālacakra* among the Mongols was mainly based on Sa skya sources. It now turns out that experts in this area who were Bka' brgyud pa rather than Sa skya pa intellectuals were also present at the court of Hülegü Qan (d. 1265). Indeed, one of the letters Rgyal ba Rin po che Grags pa brtson 'grus (1203–67), alias Thog rdungs pa or Thog thub pa, the abbot of Phag mo gru monastery, sent to the prince mentions a Slob dpon Dus 'khor ba, that is, one who was obviously a recognized expert in the *Kālacakra*![25]

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[21] See, lastly, Cantwell and Mayer (2007).

[22] Aside from what follows, see also the remarks in Ehrhard (2000: 23–66) anent the careers of Chos dbang rgyal mtshan (1484–1549) and Nam mkha' rdo rje (1486–1553) and the works for which they had printing blocks carved.

[23] van der Kuijp (2004).

[24] For this, see also recently Shen (2005, 2005a).

[25] Rgyal ba Rin po che Grags pa brtson 'grus (2006: 225). A letter addressed to this very

Some fifteen years earlier, the carving of the printing blocks for Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* autocommentary was completed at Nan Si (Southern Monastery) in Dadu, on December 16, 1284. The xylograph from these blocks likewise has Tibetan and Chinese page numbers. As a rule, Tibetan authors call such xylographs *hor par ma*, Mongol xylographs, because they derive from printing blocks that were carved in China proper during the Yuan dynasty when China was under Mongol rule. Furnished with both Tibetan *and* Chinese paginations, these *hor par ma* were generally thought to be the earliest Tibetan xylographs.[26] We will see that this is not the case.

Aside from Nan Si, the monastery of Dpal gyi sde chen in Shing kun, G.yar mo thang, in Amdo or Lintao, in Gansu Province, was another locus—and there were probably additional ones—where printing blocks for Tibetan texts were carved during the period of the Mongol occupation of Tibet. Located on the "Sino-Tibetan frontier" *(rgya bod kyi sa mtshams)*, as stated by 'Phags pa, Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew, the first Imperial Preceptor of the Yuan dynasty, it was founded by him in an unknown year. The very first time this structure is mentioned in his collected works is apparently in the literary pieces that he wrote in 1271.[27] It was there that, in 1285, a Ba'u gyang dzu (< *Bao *jiangzhu*, "chief-reciter")[28] prepared a Tibetan translation of the *Xin Tangshu* sections on Sino-Tibetan history that purportedly go back to Songqi (998–1061) *et al.* And it is there that later, in 1325, the National Preceptor Rin chen grags had the blocks carved for it.[29]

But there is incontrovertible evidence for an even earlier presence of printing blocks in Dpal gyi sde chen. Some time ago, my friend Kurtis R. Schaeffer drew my attention to the colophon of a word-processor generated

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Slob dpon Dus 'khor ba is found in Rgyal ba Rin po che Grags pa brtson 'grus (2006: 228–9).

[26] In his autobiography of 1470, the Sa skya pa scholar Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (1405–77) also speaks of some pages of a Mongol xylograph *(hor spar)* of a *Prajñāpāramitā* text; see Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (2007: 21). For a survey of such *hor par ma* texts, some already known, others newly discovered, see Shes rab bzang po (2009). My thanks to my friend Shen Weirong for drawing my attention to this rewarding article.

[27] Fukuda and Ishihama, tr. (1986: 56).

[28] van der Kuijp (2004: 45, n. 131).

[29] van der Kuijp (2004: 44–5). Chen Qingying writes in his masterful biography of 'Phags pa that Rin chen grags' efforts resulted in the earliest xylograph of a Tibetan text; see Chen (2007: 146). This is an oversight, as will be evident from what follows. This book is a slightly revised version of his earlier work by the same title that was published by the same house in 1992—the relevant passage may be found on p. 174 —, which was translated into Tibetan; see Chen (2006: 318–9).

reproduction [with all the drawbacks and potential misinformation such a form of reproduction entails] of possibly a xylograph—it is possible that the original manuscript was a copy, or a copy of a copy, etc., of the xylograph—containing the text of the eleventh century Tibetan translation of the *Hevajratantra* with 'Phags pa's annotations, a work that was not included in the 1736 printed Sde dge edition of his collected œuvre.[30] The xylograph that lies at its base clearly derives from Dpal gyi sde chen printing blocks; the printer's colophon says the following:

dpal mchog rdo rje 'chang ba'i gsung // [1a]
dpal ldan kye yi rdo rje'i rgyud //
dpal chen 'ji big de mur gyi //
dpal dang lhag bsam dag pa'i thugs //
tog shing grags pa bzang po yis //
bskul nas ye su bo ka dang //
ha yim du yis nyer byas te //
chu mo bya la shing kun du //
da rig[s] mkhas pa dpal 'byor gyis //
yi ge legs bkod thang rgyal dang //
ho shang ming sogs bod rgya yis //
par brkos stong phrag gcig btab te //

chos 'di spel phyir skal ldan la // [2a]
phul ba'i dge bas bdag gzhan kun //
gnas skabs dpal 'byor phun sum tshogs //
mthar thug sangs rgyas thob par shog / //

The author's colophon of the text states that 'Phags pa had written the annotations in Sa skya at the behest of Chos skyong srung ma, Mkha' 'gro 'bum, and a certain Dge ba. And there is an anonymous gloss to the effect that he had done so in *me glang rgyal*. I am initially inclined to interpret this phrase as the month *rgyal (pauṣa)* of the fire-ox *(me glang)* year, the equivalent of which would be around late December 1277 or early January 1278. Mkha' 'gro 'bum may perhaps be identified as the third wife of 'Phags pa's short-lived brother Phyag na rdo rje (1239–67) and the mother of the even more short-lived Imperial Preceptor Dharmapālarakṣita (1268–87). What all of this then *should* imply is that the year in which the blocks were carved, as noted in [1h], namely, the water-female-hen year *(chu mo bya)*, can therefore only refer to 1333. From the colophons of a number of writings, we know

[30] 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (?1999); see also the remarks in Schaeffer (2009: 10). Mainly collected from what is left of the libraries of Sa skya and Zhwa lu monasteries, the provenance and physical features of the manuscripts contained in vols. 1–3 of this ensemble are discussed in Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan (?1999: 780 ff.).

that ’Phags pa resided in Shing kun from 1271 to 1273.[31] Hence, this time frame might also indicate that the water-female-hen year in question should be pushed back by one sixty-year cycle, namely, to the year 1273, but only if we are able to provide fairly convincing additional evidence that this may indeed be the year in question and thus reject the veracity of the gloss *me glang rgyal*.

The three Tibetans mentioned in [1e, i, j] are Grags pa bzang po, Da rig Mkhas pa Dpal ’byor, and Thang rgyal. We learn that the first was one of the two individuals who had requested to have the text xylographed, that the second was the one who had designed the letters, and that the third had been involved in carving the actual printing blocks. While not exactly a rare name, ’Phags pa addressed at least two ephemeral messages to a certain Grags pa bzang po, the *Rig par smra ba grags bzang la spring ba* and the **Grags bzang la spring ba*.[32] Unfortunately, neither contain anything that is of particular relevance for this paper; both are undated and were sent from an unidentified place of origin. The Mongol noted in [1c] as the one who, together with Grags pa bzang po, had requested that printing blocks be carved for ’Phags pa’s work is Jibik Temür. A Jibik Temür (b. ca. 1248), the third son of prince Göden and grandson of emperor Möngke (d. 1259), played a very important role in ’Phags pa’s life, not least of which as one of his major patrons and friends.[33] What is more, one of his daughters had married Dharmapālarakṣita. In fact, there can be very little doubt indeed that they are one and the same, for an important work by ’Phags pa explicitly states that this prince *(rgyal bu)* and Da rig Dge slong Dpal ’byor dar—he must be the same as Da rig[s] mkhas pa Dpal ’byor dar of [1i]—were in Shing kun, in 1273.[34] And as befits his rank, he is mentioned anterior to Grags pa bzang po. The third Tibetan is Thang rgyal about whom I can report nothing. The two other Mongols noted in [1f, g] are Ye su bo ka and Ha yim du. They provided unspecified assistance, and I think it likely that they were part of Jibik Temür’s entourage. Were it not for the final /n/, the first would most probably reflect Mongolian Yesü Buqa and he might have

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[31] See here also Chen (2007: 143–6) and (2006: 310–9).

[32] ’Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (2007: 220–1, 342).

[33] For him, see also Hambis (1945: 74–6) and (1954: 109, 161). In 1266, while in Sa skya, ’Phags pa wrote a general instruction in Buddhism for him, for which see ’Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (2007a). This work shares some superficial similarities with Nāgārjuna’s *Ratnāvalī* and, in 1657, A mes zhabs completed a lengthy study of this rather ephemeral piece, for which see A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga’ bsod nams (2000: 567–790).

[34] See the official acknowledgment of the “publication” of the several sutras in ’Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (2007b).

been the son of Göden's first son Mergidei and thus Jibik Temür's nephew. On the other hand, it probably reflects Mongol Esen Buqa. I cannot at all identify Ha yim du. As far as I can tell, neither figure anywhere in 'Phags pa's writings, but the presence of Grags pa bzang po, Jibik Temür, and Dpal 'byor dar argues quite strongly for maintaining that the original xylograph dates from 1273. To be sure, this calls into question the veracity of the inserted gloss: *me glang rgyal*, and, frankly, I do not know what can be done with it. Finally, I am inclined to categorize it as a *hor par ma*, even if the way in which the text was reproduced only has a Tibetan pagination. What clinches it for me is that Tibetans such as Thang rgyal and Chinese such as the monk (*ho shang* < Ch. *heshang*) Ming, etc. are singled out as having carved the blocks *(par brkos)* for the text, after which some one thousand xylograph copies were produced.

It now turns out that the *Hevajratantra* with 'Phags pa's annotations was also not the very first Tibetan treatise ever to be committed to the printing block in the Tibetan cultural area. New evidence for this is found in the recently published biographies of two Smar pa Bka' brgyud hierarchs who were born in Smar khams, East Tibet. In the late 1500s or at least after the passing of Tsom mdo gnas gsar's fifteenth abbot Chos rje Byang chub seng ge dpal (b. 1520) in 1571, a certain Byang chub 'od zer wrote a brief history of what we may call the Tsom mdo gnas gsar branch of this sect that had its inception in the charismatic teachings of Grub thob Shes rab ye shes (1135–1203). Standard procedure in works of this genre, Byang chub 'od zer's treatise is actually a collection of summaries of longer, interlocking biographies of the abbots of Tsom mdo gnas gsar monastery in particular. Located in Smar khams and founded in 1200 by 'Gro mgon Rin chen dpal (1170–1249), a disciple of Grub thob, Tsom mdo gnas gsar was one of the two main centers of the Smar pa Bka' brgyud and came to be allied to Sa skya in the 1240s when Sa skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags pa first visited it. Byang chub 'od zer did not have access to the biographies of several of these abbots, so that the continuity of his narrative is unfortunately interrupted in some places.[35] We can only sympathize with him when he bemoans the fact that his work is incomplete. According to his sketch of Grub thob's life, the master founded the mother monastery of Dpal gyi sho dgon in *circa* 1167.[36]

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[35] Pursuant to Byang chub 'od zer (2006: 68–154), the abbatial succession of Tsom mdo gnas gsar subsequent to 'Gro mgon can be sketched as follows: [2] Chos rje Ston pa Tshul khrims gzhon nu (1197–1277) – [3] Chos rje Karma seng ge dpal (1248–1301) – xxx – [6] Chos rje Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1278–1354) – xxx – [9] Chos rje Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1364–1429) – xxx – [12] Chos rje Dkon mchog rdo rje (1437–99) – xxx – [15] Chos rje Byang chub seng ge dpal (1510–71).

[36] The year of its foundation is unambiguously noted in the sketch of his life in Byang

Twelve years earlier, in around 1155, Grub thob had left his native Smar khams for further education in Dbus. Studying there with such well known figures as Phya pa, Gtsang nag pa Brtson 'grus seng ge (?–after 1195), and others, his main teachers were Dwags po Sgom tshul (1116–69) and Phag mo gru pa. The editor of the printed Lhasa edition of Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal's 1446–7 large study of the Mar pa Bka' brgyud school [*sans* the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud][37] places the annotation *(mchan bu)* found in the manuscript on which his work was based, "he seems to have been thirty-three [= thirty-two] years old on this occasion," in the context of Grub thob's return journey from Dbus to Khams. We then learn that he stayed in a mountain retreat for one or two years, after which he founded Sho dgon—the text wrongly has *she* for *sho*. This would imply that the monastery was founded in around 1169. On the other hand, the manuscript of Rta tshag's work that is in my possession quite unambiguously has the annotation follow the sentence "Then, having gone to Upper 'Dam, he founded Sho dgon monastery." It is thus quite clear that this particular gloss dates its construction to *circa* 1167.[38] Both monasteries are located in Smar khams. Byang chub 'od zer's summary of the *Life* of 'Gro mgon by Chos rje Ston pa Tshul khrims gzhon nu records that the former had printing blocks carved *(spar shing brkos)* for the œuvre of his beloved master Grub thob and that in his turn the Chos rje Ston pa was to do the same for 'Gro mgon.[39] This study of his teacher's life was in part titled *Rnam thar gser gyi bum bzang* and Byang

chub 'od zer (2006: 80), where we learn that its construction began two years after his return to Smar khams from his studies under Phag mo gru Rdo rje rgyal po in 1165. In the interim, he stayed at Ru shod ri monastery.

[37] For what follows, see the biographical sketch of Grub thob contained in Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal (1994: 774–86) [= no date: 474a–84a]—for this treatise in general, see van der Kuijp (2001). Rta tshag's narrative is based on Grub thob's biography written by his disciple, for which see Chos kyi ye shes (2006: 1–52). The identity of the author of the shorter, versified biography in Anonymous (2006) is not known to me. It is striking that neither mentions the foundation of Dpal gyi sho dgon! A very short note on Grub thob's life and lineage of transmission is also found in Spyan snga ba Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's (1386–1434) 1418 chronicle of the Bka' brgyud school in general; see Spyan snga ba Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (2006: 84–5). He is there called Bla ma dmar pa, where *dmar* is homophonous with *smar*.

[38] The succession of its abbots is given in Anonymous (2006a 155 ff.): [2] Yang dgon Ye shes rgyal mtshan (1185–1245) – [3] Spyan snga ba Byang chub grags (1218–77) – [4] Dbu rtse ba Bsod nams ye shes (1249–1309) – [5] Rin chen gling Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1266–1341) – [6] Mkhan chen 'Od zer bla ma (1295–1376) – [7] Shing sgo ba Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1340–1417). Things fell apart after Shing sgo ba.

[39] Byang chub 'od zer (2006: 121). Byang chub 'od zer's sketch of Chos rje Ston pa Tshul khrims gzhon nu's biography is a summary of the longer one that was written by [?his disciple] Tshul khrims rin chen.

chub 'od zer summarizes it as well. Aside from the fact that Chos rje Ston pa briefly lists his accomplishments as an author and notes that blocks had been prepared for the printing of his œuvre, it also sheds precious light on the otherwise relatively unknown and undocumented activities of Sa skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags pa in the area.[40] But this is for another occasion.

That 'Gro mgon and Chos rje Ston pa had these blocks carved is an important datum and not merely because it pushes the first xylographs of Tibetan texts that were prepared in the Tibetan cultural area back by some eighty years from what had so far been in evidence! Previously, we only had records of various *hor par ma*. As stated, one of the important, perhaps even defining, features of these is that they have Tibetan and Chinese paginations. This suggests that these were carved by Chinese craftsmen. To be sure, witnesses of these Dpal gyi sho and Tsom mdo gnas gsar xylographs have yet to be sighted. But I very much suspect that these did *not* have a Chinese pagination and that the blocks were carved by native Tibetan craftsmen. This implies that a previously unattested technology of the preparation of xylographs was present in Khams at around 1200. It stands to reason that these Smar pa Bka' brgyud institutions were not the only ones in possession of this technology and that we can expect that evidence will turn up for equally old or perhaps even older traces of the existence of Tibetan blockprinting activity. For this, we may even have to go beyond the Tibetan cultural area *per se*, to a region where Tibetan Buddhism played a very important role as an imported religion. Shi Jinbo, one of the foremost specialists in Xixia-Tangut studies, recently published an article in which he argued that there is ample evidence that Tibetan texts were blockprinted in Xixia, the empire that fell into Mongol hands in 1227.[41]

2 *Xylograph versus Manuscript*

One of the great luminaries of his age and widely recognized as a virtuoso of the *Kālacakra* corpus and the guidelines it contains to perform calendrical computations, 'Gos Lo tsā ba wrote his *Rtsis la 'khrul pa sel ba*, *Elimination of Errors in Computation*, a polemical study of the dates of the Buddha and the Tibetan calendar in 1442–3. Its printing blocks were carved some twenty-six years later in the fire-male-dog year [1466] under the sponsorship of Ngag gi dbang phyug grags pa of the palace of Rgyal bzangs smon mkhar.

[40] The entire text is contained in Byang chub 'od zer (2006: 82–116); the references in question can be found respectively in Byang chub 'od zer (2006: 109 ff.); see also Byang chub 'od zer (2006: 118–21).

[41] Shi Jinbo (2007). In some respects, Shes rab bzang po (2009) can be considered a reply to Shi's assertion, on p. 77, that "early Tibetan woodcut copies (earlier than the Ming Dynasty) have not yet been found [?in the Tibetan cultural area, vdK]."

The latter must no doubt be identified as the Phag mo gru hierarch whose dates are 1439 to 1490 and he must therefore be distinguished from his celebrated namesake, the eleventh abbot of Stag lung monastery, with whom 'Gos Lo tsā ba was equally on extremely cordial terms. 'Gos Lo tsā ba offers the following passage which, he says, stems from the text of king Srong btsan sgam po's (d. 649) *Bka' chems*, that is, the famous *Bka' chems ka khol ma*[42]:

> *chos rgyal srong btsan sgam po'i bka' chems kyi yi ger grags pa mang po las / 'phrul snang gi jo bo 'di ston pa mya ngan las ma 'das pa'i snga rol du byams pas bzhengs nas byams pa mya ngan las 'das pa'i 'og tu lha'i yul dang klu'i yul dang u rgyan gyi yul dang srin po'i yul dang / rdo rje gdan dang nā lendra dang de rnams su lo lnga brgya phrag re bzhugs pa las / de'i tshe tu ruṣka'i dmag byung bas o tandra pū rir bzhugs shing / de nas rgya nag tu spyan drangs nas slar yang bod du kong jos spyan drangs par 'chad do // yi ge kha cig las ni rgya nag tu yang lo lnga brgya bzhugs shes bya ba yod de / de ltar na bod du phebs pa yan chod la rags par brtsis na lo sum stong lnga brgya las lhag pa dang bcas par song bar 'dod la / bod du phebs nas ding sang gi chu mo phag yan chad du lo brgyad brgya lhag pa dang bcas pa song ba'i phyir / ston pa mya ngan las 'das nas chu mo phag yan la lo sum stong brgyad brgya ka mi nyung ba zhig song bar 'dod do //*
>
> Many writings known as the *Bka' chems* text of the religious king Srong btsan sgam po explicate that: The Jo bo statue of the 'Phrul snang temple had been erected by Maitreya prior to the Teacher's nirvāṇa. Then subsequent to Maitreya's nirvāṇa, it sojourned for five hundred years each in the domain of the gods, the domain of the nāgas, the land of U rgyan [= ?Swāt, Kañci], the land of the *srin po*-demons, Vajrāsana and Nālandā. At that time, it sojourned in Otantapuri because of the appearance of a Turuṣka army. Then, after it was "invited" to China, Kong jo [= Princess Wencheng] "invited" it to Tibet. Some writing has the statement that the statue sojourned for five hundred years in China as well. If so, were one to make a rough calculation up to the time it went to Tibet, the claim is that more than three thousand and five hundred years have passed and, because more than eight hundred years have passed from having come to Tibet till to the present water-female-pig year [1443], the claim is that from the Teacher's nirvāṇa up to the present water-female-pig year not less than three thousand and eight hundred years have passed.

[42] 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1466: 11b). See also Anonymous (1989: 30 ff.).

He returns to this passage later on in his work where he affirms that the available manuscripts of the *Bka' chems*—it was indeed never block-printed—are shot through with contaminations, rendering them quite unreliable *(shin du yid brtan ma yin pa)* for, in this case, determining the chronology of the life of the Buddha.[43]

Now Grwa phug pa refers to the first passage in his large 1447 study of the *Kālacakra* corpus' calendrical computation in which this and many other passages from the *Elimination of Errors in Computation* are cited and severely criticized. Usually referred to by its subtitle *Pad[ma] dkar[po'i] zhal lung*, *Oral Instructions of Puṇḍarīka*, this work is so far only available in the xylograph from the 1681 printing blocks that were carved in Dga' ldan phun tshogs gling and thence in a modern edition. His reading of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's text is reasonably close to the xylograph.[44] Then, sometime between 1447 and 1468, a certain layman from Rmog lcog, that is, Rmog lcog pa, posed a series of twenty questions to Mkhas grub Nor bzang rgya mtsho (1423–1513) anent the *Oral Instructions of Puṇḍarīka*, the first of one of which had to do with a variant reading in a passage of a manuscript *(bris ma)* of the same work as compared with the xylograph. The passage in question reads[45]:

> *dang po ni / 'khrul sel bris ma zhig las / 'phrul snang gi jo bo 'di lha klu oan* [< *o rgyan = u rgyan*] *rdo rje gdan / nā lendra rnams su lo lnga brgya re bzhugs / de nas o tantra pur phebs / de nas rgya nag tu phebs shing der yang lo lnga brgya bzhugs zhes pa yod pas / phyir bod du ma phebs gong du / lo sum stong lnga brgya lhag dang bcas pa song bar 'dod do // zhes bris pa bkod 'dug pa 'di la 'dri ba pos lnga stong* [3a] *ma tshang ba 'dug pa 'di la dgag pa ma byas pa 'dug pa 'di ci yin zhes yi ger bris 'dug pa lnga stong dang lnga brgya bris nor yin tshod du snang zhing / phyis kyi 'khrul sel par mar / oan dang rdo rje gdan gyi bar du srin po'i yul zhes pa bsnan snang bas dri bar bya ba dang / dgag par bya ba ci yang mi snang snyam mo //*

There is no need to make too much of it. The stakes are low and the manuscript obviously omitted the five hundred year sojourn in the land of the demons. I do not quite understand the figure "500" as opposed to "5,000." But this hardly matters, since the passage is untrustworthy on other counts as well. The verdict is in favor of the xylograph of 'Gos Lo tsā ba's treatise and not on the handwritten witness. But it mattered little, for the *Bka' chems* texts were seen to be text-critically rife with serious problems.

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[43] 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1466: 18b).

[44] Grwa phug pa Lhun grub rgya mtsho (1681: 2a–b) and (2002: 2–3).

[45] Mkhas grub Nor bzang rgya mtsho (1681: 1b–2a) and (2002: 363–4).

Finally, what obviously distinguishes xylographs from manuscripts is greater, but not absolute, uniformity and a degree of public access. Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge (1429–89) wrote a penetrating critique of *inter alia* Tsong kha pa's views of Madhyamaka philosophy and Mahayana Buddhism in general in his polemical *Lta ba'i shan 'byed* of 1468. What is unusual is that he cites on three occasions Tsong kha pa's *Drang ba dang nges pa'i don rnam par phye ba ba'i bstan bcos legs bshad snying po* by folio number of what I suspect was a xylograph of this text.[46] A propos of the first—the same would hold for the other references as well—Cabezón and Dargyay point out that "it is difficult to imagine how the passage could occur on a folio 48 of *any* edition" of this work, given that it occurs on fol. 91a, of vol. Pha of the Lhasa Zhol xylograph of Tsong kha pa's collected writings.[47] It is. But we should consider the possibility that as it was handed down the tiny numbers in Go rams pa's text were reduced to virtual illegibility. The jury is still out on this one.

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[46] Cabezón and Dargyay (2007: 174–5, 182–3, 188–9).

[47] Cabezón and Dargyay (2007: 322, n. 310).

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RÉSUMÉ

Transmissions erronées : Notes sur la critique de texte tibétaine et l'impact de la xylographie

Bon nombre de savants tibétains avaient conscience que le corpus littéraire qu'ils étudiaient, immense et chaque jour augmenté, posait de sérieux problèmes d'histoire et de critique textuelle. Cependant, faute d'audace ou d'attention, bien des textes qui pouvaient précisément poser problème furent intégrés dans ce corpus. La tradition reconnaissait les contresens de traduction et les fautes de copie comme origines possibles de la corruption des textes, mais aussi la malveillance, dont Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456) donne un exemple. Les différences entre l'orthographe et la prononciation locale, cause fréquente d'erreurs pour les copistes, sont peut-être la raison de la multiplication des *dag yig*.

On pourrait penser que l'introduction de la xylographie fut un élément de stabilisation des textes, mais bien des xylographies furent faites d'après des manuscrits fautifs (comme le *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* et son commentaire de Sa skya paṇḍita, édité à sDe dge en 1735). Certains auteurs ont signalé très tôt de telles anomalies, comme Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524) dans son commentaire de 1516 aux préceptes du *dGongs gcig* des 'Bri gung pa. Certains savants étaient conscients de la corruption qui pouvait atteindre le "texte mère", à travers la multiplication incontrôlée des copies manuscrites ou imprimées. Tel bsTan dar sngags ram pa (1835–1915) à propos de diverses éditions du *Kanjur*, ou Pha bong kha pa Byams pa bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya mtsho (1878–1941) à propos de plusieurs éditions du *Lam rim chen mo*.

Les Hor par ma, xylographes de textes tibétains gravés en Chine sous le patronage de la dynastie Yuan, sont souvent considérés comme les plus anciens xylographes de textes tibétains. Cependant, ils furent légèrement précédés par les planches gravées au monastère dPal gyi sde de Shing kun (Gansu) fondé par 'Phags pa. Et il attesté qu'un peu plus tôt encore, l'œuvre de Grub thob Shes rab ye shes (1135–1203), fondateur de l'école sMar pa bKa' brgyud pa du sMar Khams, fut gravée sur l'ordre de son disciple 'Gro mgon rin chen dpal (1170–1249) et qu'il en fut fait de même pour l'œuvre de ce dernier.

Notes Apropos to the Oeuvre of Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi ’byung gnas (1699?–1774) (3): The “Editor” Si tu Paṇ chen[1]

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(1) Introduction: Status of the Translator

The importance of translations and translators in the traditional Tibetan culture is quite self-evident. Anyone who has ever delved in the cultural treasures of Tibet is well aware of the major role that translators have played in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. A charming and telling representation of the role of the translator in Tibetan culture comes to the fore in the so-called *Sdom brtson dam pa*, lit. the “Excellent beings exerting themselves for the vows” (also known as “Drawing of the attributes of Mañjughoṣa,” *’Jam dbyangs phyag mtshan ri mo*).[2] (See figs. 1 and 2 on p. 482 below)[3]

This symbolic mural (in fact a set of two virtually identical murals) which is said to have been the work of the famous Sa skya Paṇḍita, at Bsam yas, the earliest Buddhist monastery in Tibet, became a recurrent exemplar for Tibetan artists throughout later centuries. Without going into the details of the identification of all symbols in this emblem,[4] suffice it to speak of the

[1] In earlier publications I have dealt with part of the materials discussed in the present article, in particular in NOS 2 and SIBH 1 and, to a lesser degree in HSGLT 1 and HSGLT 2.

[2] Jackson (1996: 70, 71 fig. 13, 84–85 note 142).

[3] Cordial thanks are due to Dr. Iris Dijkstra (Utrecht, The Netherlands) for providing the photographs reproduced here, which she took at Bsam yas Dbu rtse Lha khang, October 2007.

[4] E.g. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *sdom brtson dam pa*: “A drawing symbolizing the *Rigs gsum mgon po* [i.e. Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi], the triad of master, disciple and *Dharma*, and the translators etc.; the sword symbolizes Mañjughoṣa and Khri srong lde’u btsan; the book symbolizes Vajrapāṇi; the lotus in the centre of the drawing symbolizes Avalokiteśvara and Padmasambhava; the two-headed goose symbolizes Śāntarakṣita; the two-headed parrot symbolizes the translators”, *Sdom brtson dam pa = rigs gsum mgon po dang / mkhan slob chos gsum / lo tsā ba sogs mtshon pa’i dpe ris shig ste / ral gri de ’jam pa’i dbyangs dang khri srong lde’u btsan mtshon byed dang / po ṭi de phyag na rdo rje mtshon byed / ri mo’i dkyil du yod pa’i padma de spyan ras gzigs dang slob dpon padma ’byung gnas mtshon byed / ngang pa mgo gnyis can de zhi ba’i ’tsho mtshon byed / ne tso mgo gnyis can de lo tsā ba mtshon byed bcas red.* It is noteworthy that the “book” is

set of two-headed birds we find there (see fig. 3). The two-headed goose (at the left-hand side in the illustrations) stands for Śāntarakṣita who was one of the major Indian Buddhist masters involved in the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the Tibetan "Imperial Period". The two-headed parrot (at the right-hand side in the illustrations) symbolizes the translators, its two heads visually expressing the translators' bilingualism and their ability to look into two worlds as it were, namely the Indian and the Tibetan, and to serve as an intermediary between these two cultural spheres.

The traditional etymology of the common Tibetan term for translator, *lo tsā ba*, seems to reflect this same sentiment: the *lo tsā* element is usually traced back to Sanskrit *loka-cakṣus*, lit. "eye of the world" (i.e. perhaps "the one through whose eyes one can see [another] world" or "the one who serves as an eye for the world/people").[5] The term *lo tsā ba* is early, occurring in *Snga dar* materials, amongst which the 8th/9th century imperial edicts on translation. It is therefore conceivable that this generally current etymology for the term has inspired the choice of the two-headed parrot as a symbol for the translators by Sa skya Paṇḍita (or whoever may have been the artist who created this mural). Obviously, the symbol of the two-headed parrot not only suggests the capacity to **look** into two directions, but the parrot, the proverbial speaking bird, with two heads certainly also alludes to the ability to **speak** two languages.

Parenthetically, one might wonder why the symbol for Śāntarakṣita, the goose, is two-headed as well. In Pan-Indian lore the goose is often associated with the capacity of sifting the useful from the useless, the good from the bad (in the case of the goose, milk from water). So this fits in well with the figure of Śāntarakṣita, who was admired for his scholarly expertise. But why is the goose two-headed? It might refer to his bilingualism as in the case of the *lo tsā ba*s. Śāntarakṣita lived in Tibet long enough to make it probable that he did master at least some of the Tibetan language. I have not been able to trace whether this was the case or not. He may have been assisted in his tasks by Tibetan interpreters throughout. However, a reference to his ability to "see", to understand two worlds would work also. Having lived in

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sometimes absent in the emblem, see e.g. the illustrations in the present article and Jackson (1996: 71 fig. 13).

[5] *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*: *lo tsā ba = (Legs) 'jig rten mig gam / skad gnyis smra ba po ste / skad yig sgyur mkhan*. Prof. Christopher Beckwith (Bloomington) suggested that this traditional **loka-cakṣus* etymology is probably incorrect—a folk-etymology—and that the term may perhaps be somehow connected to the Old Newari word *littsāvi (liccāvi)* (personal communication, June 16th, 2008). However, this does not affect my argument, as this etymology—even if it is a folk-etymology—was and is generally current in the Tibetan traditions.

Tibet for a considerable time and being one of the key exponents in the dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet in the early era, this Indian master is obviously associated with both cultures, the Indian and the Tibetan.

In any case, the status of the *lo tsā ba* as a pivotal figure in the transcultural transmission, as a "cultural hero" so to speak, is evident within Tibetan culture and within Tibetology alike. Recent research—in particular by Ronald Davidson—has emphasized a socio-political dimension relevant to the translators' status as well.[6] In the era which Davidson has termed the "Tibetan Renaissance" (late 10th to early 13th century) an elite of translators specializing in the field of Buddhist esoterism accrued a remarkable level of wealth and concomitant secular power due to their crucial role as cultural transmitters. He regards the Tibetan translator as a metaphorical Prometheus as well, "bringing a new fire to the [Tibetan] civilization in defiance of the gods," as pivotal actors in the cultural arena of the Tibetan renaissance.[7] The secular status of the *lo tsā ba*, as well as their number, may have waned in later centuries, the translator did retain an aura of prestige in Tibetan consciousness.

(2) Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas

As late as in the 18th century, when the canonical collections of translations had long been established, the spirit of the *lo tsā ba* lived on. Occasionally new translations were added to the canons even in the final phase of the canonization of the Indo-Tibetan literary corpora, that is the production of the majority of the now commonly current blockprint editions, which took place in the 18th century. In other words, the *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* were never entirely "closed" canons.[8] Not only were post-canonization translations such as the 17th-century efforts by Tāranātha and 'Dar lo tsā ba added —albeit in limited numbers—to these xylograph canons, but also translations contemporaneous to these editions proper.

The editor of one of the foremost of these xylograph editions, the 1733 Sde dge blockprint of *Bka' 'gyur*, was himself a gifted translator belonging to the last generation of *lo tsā ba*s who contributed to the canon. I refer, of course, to the famous 18th century erudite Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?–1774), the eighth hierarch in the Si tu reincarnation-lineage of the Karma Bka' brgyud pa tradition. He is commonly referred to as Si tu Paṇ chen, i.e. the "great scholar of the Si tu [lineage]". In this article I will briefly refer to him as "Si tu".

[6] Davidson (2005).

[7] Davidson (2005: 158).

[8] Harrison (1996: 83).

Without doubt he was one of the key figures in the cultural life of 18th century Tibet. Being one of the most brilliant minds of his time, his claims to fame lay in many areas of expertise and excellence. In addition to being a religious hierarch of the highest spiritual attainments, he had powerful political connections, he was a gifted artist and connoisseur of the arts, a well-famed physician, and—last but not least—a master-grammarian and translator—arguably the most important Tibetan translator of the 18th century.[9]

Si tu's (auto)biography has been preserved in the xylograph edition of his collected works.[10] Actually, one-sixth of this text, covering the first twenty-three years of Si tu's life, is an **auto**biography in the true sense of the word, prepared for publication by the master himself in 1723. The remainder, dealing with the final fifty years of his life, was compiled posthumously by his closest disciple Ba'i lo (or: 'Be lo) Tshe dbang kun khyab on the basis of Si tu's personal diaries.[11] In general this document is almost unparalleled for its many contributions to our knowledge of the cultural and—up to a point—the political history of Tibet in the first three quarters of the 18th century, allowing us what can rightly be called an inside-view of some major events and developments in that era, seen through the eyes of a key participant. But of course also for the personal life of Si tu Paṇ chen we can glean precious information from this fascinating source. For instance, on his many travels throughout Eastern and Central Tibet, we see Si tu searching avidly for important textual materials, in particular Indian manuscripts, wherever and whenever he had the possibility. We find him expressing his frustration when—as occasionally happened—he could not gain access to certain library treasures. At many other occasions he reports enthusiastically on the finding of rare and precious literary gems.

Being an expert on both Sanskrit and Tibetan grammar, he wrote extensively on these subjects. Within the field of linguistics alone, his revisions of earlier canonized translations, his new translations, and his own studies occupy more than six of the fourteen volumes of his collected works. Of course he utilized his grammatical expertise also to translate works in various genres of Buddhist literature, revising earlier renderings as well as translating materials that had hitherto remained untranslated.

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[9] For a brief biographical sketch of Si tu, see e.g. Smith introd. Chandra (1968: 5–12, 15–17) = Smith (2001: 87–95) and SIBH 1: 61–63.

[10] Occupying the entire final, fourteenth volume of the *Gsung 'bum*: *Ta'i si tur 'bod pa karma bstan pa'i nyin byed kyi rang tshul drangs por brjod pa dri bral shel gyi me long zhes bya ba*, Collected Works vol. 14, ff. 1–371r5; ed. S. vol. 14, pp. 1–741/742; separate facsimile edition: Chandra (1968).

[11] On the composition of the text, see Smith introd. Chandra (1968: 12–13), Smith (2001: 93–94).

Interestingly, his voracious appetite for Indian texts extended to non-Buddhist literature as well. Remarkable evidence of this can be found in his collected works, such as his translation of a manuscript fragment from the Hindu Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*,[12] or his meticulous translation of a treatise on the grammatical peculiarities of Vedic Sanskrit.[13] Particularly in Si tu's (auto)biographical notices on his two visits to Nepal (1723–1724 and 1748) we are struck by the breadth of his interest in Indian literature and culture in general.

(3) Publication of Sde dge Bka' 'gyur[14]

In the course of his supervision of the editing of the *Bka' 'gyur* xylograph in the Sde dge *Par khang*, a project which lasted from 1731 to 1733, Si tu also wrote the *Dkar chag*, the "catalogue" which is traditionally added to such editions, bearing the ornate title: "Excellent account of the work recently undertaken [and] the manner in which the complete collection of [this] matrix [for the printed reproduction] of the Words of the Sugata [i.e. Buddha] translated into Tibetan was established, entitled 'Creeper of the young moonlight, which completely opens the [petals of the] Kunda[-flower] adored by the mindful'."[15]

Remarkably, the version of this *Dkar chag* which was incorporated into the Sde dge canon differs considerably from the version of the same work which we find in Si tu's Collected Works. The former, canonical version consists of five chapters and fills 171 folios.[16] However, the latter is in eight chapters, occupying 260 folios.[17] Already in the 1980s Imaeda[18] and Eimer[19] had pointed out this discrepancy and traced an explanation in Si tu's (auto)-biography. There, in an entry from 1732, Si tu states that in the first instance he had written a *Dkar chag* for the *Bka' 'gyur* in the "auspicious number" of eight chapters, but under pressure from certain authorities—who Si tu leaves unidentified—the first three chapters (on "the three bodies of the Buddha", the former "birth-stories" of the Buddha, and his "twelve major

[12] NOS 1.

[13] HSGLT 2: par. 1.3.1.10, pp. 112–117.

[14] For additional information on the materials dealt with in this section, see NOS 2: 207–216.

[15] *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' gangs can gyi brdas drangs pa'i phyi mo'i tshogs ji snyed pa par du bsgrubs pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam bzang po blo ldan mos pa'i kunda yongs su kha bye ba'i zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing zhes bya ba*.

[16] Tohoku (1934: 703, title no. 4568).

[17] Collected Works vol. 9, ff. 1–260r5; ed. S. vol. 9, pp. 1–523/524.

[18] Imaeda (1981).

[19] Eimer (1985).

deeds") were not included in the canonical edition. In the Collected Works the original, eight-chapter form of the *Dkar chag* has been preserved.[20]

For our present theme, one chapter of the *Dkar chag* (the sixth in the full eight-chapter version and the third in the canonical edition) is of particular interest. It is entitled "Exposé of the history of the present publication of [the canon of] the Words of the Buddha in the Land of Snows".[21] Consisting of two major sections,[22] it offers (a) a history of the Sde dge area, (b) a history of its royal family and (c) a eulogy of the sponsor of the project, King Bstan pa tshe ring (1678–1738) in the first section, whereas the latter section deals with the publication itself, discussing (a) the date of the project, (b) the sources for the *Bka' 'gyur* canon, and (c) the actual publication in Sde dge. Parts of the section on the sources for the canon have been studied in detail by Dr. Eimer and others, as they contain important information on the *stemma* for the transmission of *Bka' 'gyur*.[23] I will not speak of these now, as they fall outside the scope of the present publication. Instead, I will dedicate a few words to the sections not explored by Eimer that discuss what one might call "editorial policies".[24]

For instance, he addresses the matter of the orthography of *mantra*s.[25] As *mantra*s were traditionally not translated into Tibetan, but transcribed or transliterated in Tibetan script, the correct spelling of such formulae was an important and problematic issue for the translator and the editor of Tantric materials in Tibetan. In these cases where a *Mantroddhāra*—that is a chapter of a Tantra or an ancillary treatise that spells out the proper form of *mantra*s in that specific Tantra—was available to the editor or translator, he followed the specifications provided by the *Mantroddhāra* basing his spelling of the mantras on that source.[26] However, if no such *Mantroddhāra* was accessible to the translator, there was a number of options open to him:

[20] *der chos rgyal nyid nas bka' 'gyur rin po che'i dkar chag bkra shis pa'i rtags kyi grangs le'u brgyad yod pa zhig brtsam pa mkhan chen nas ha cang mang pa sogs kyi skyon brjod kyi bka' ba skyon gnang bas mgo nas sangs rgyas sku gsum gyi rnam bzhag dang / ston pa nyid thugs bskyed pa'i tshul gyi skyes rab* [sic] *dang mdzad pa chen po bcu gnyis bstan pa'i le'u gsum po par du dgod* [sic] *pa ma gnang nas le'u lnga pa zhig-du* [sic] *'gyur 'dug go*, Collected Works vol. 14, f. 77r1–3; ed. S. vol. 14, p. 153.1–3.

[21] *Rgyal ba'i gsung rab gangs ri'i khrod du deng sang ji tsam snang ba par du bsgrubs pa'i byung ba dngos legs par bshad pa*; Collected Works vol. 9, ff. 194v1–207v6; ed. S. vol. 9, pp. 390–416; Sde dge *Bka' 'gyur*, ff. 98v1–112v7.

[22] NOS 2: 212 note 38.

[23] NOS 2: 212 note 41.

[24] Collected Works vol. 9, ff. 205v3–206r6; ed. S. vol. 9, pp. 412.3–413.6.

[25] Collected Works vol. 9, f. 205v5–6; ed. S. vol. 9, p. 412.5–412.6.

[26] *gsang sngags rnams kyang sngags btu yod pa'i rigs la de nyid dang bstun*, Collected Works vol. 9, f. 205v5; ed. S. vol. 9, p. 412.5.

(1) If the *mantra*(s) contained or consisted of non-Sanskrit terms, such as words from "Tamil (?),[27] *Paiśācī*, *Apabhraṃśa* and secret sign languages", the orthography was based on the form of the *mantra*s as found in the available manuscript(s).[28]
(2) If, however, (the majority of) the terms in the *mantra* were of Sanskrit origin and "comprehensible" *(rang nyid kyis blos dpog pa)* their orthography should accord with the norms of Sanskrit grammar.[29]
(3) Finally, if a *mantra* containing apparently Sanskrit terms still defied analysis, and was therefore "incomprehensible", the form given in the available manuscript(s) should be the main criterion for establishing the orthography, and their spelling should be "left unchanged" *(rang sor bzhag)*.[30]

He speaks also of the practical aspects of this huge publication process.[31] The logistics for this project were truly impressive. It involved the supplying of paper, ink and wood for the preparation of the printing blocks; the remuneration and feeding of the various craftsmen who were involved, such as the more than four hundred block-carvers *(par brkos pa)*,[32] the correctors *(zhus dag pa)* (some ten), the wood-workers (*shing bzo ba* and *shing bu mkhan po*), the ink-workers *(snag las pa)*, the paper-workers *(shog las pa)*; and the various stages of checking and correcting of the blocks.[33]

(4) Appendix to Bka' 'gyur Dkar chag[34]

The final nine folios of the ninth volume of Si tu's Collected Works constitute an appendix to his *Bka' 'gyur Dkar chag*. This was not available to Dr.

[27] Prof. Dan Martin (Jerusalem) kindly suggested the identification of 'Gro lding with Tamil Nadu, noting also a previous identification (by Tucci and others) with Madagascar (personal communication, 8th June 2008). Please correct my tentative (and as it now turns out erroneous) translation of the term as 'the Ḍākinī language', NOS 2: 213.

[28] *med pa rnams la'ang mtha' gcig tu saṃ-skṛ ta'i skad du ngos gzung byar mi btub pa 'gro lding ba'i skad dang / pi shā tsa'i skad dang / zur chag dang / gsang ba'i brda'i skad la sogs pa can rnams ni dpe mthun shas che ba gtso bor bzung*, Collected Works vol. 9, f. 205v5–6; ed. S. vol. 9, p. 412.5–412.6.

[29] *legs sbyar dngos yin pa rnams la'ang sgra'i gzhung rnams dang bstun par rang nyid kyis blos dpog pa rnams de bzhin du bgyis*, Collected Works vol. 9, f. 205v6; ed. S. vol. 9, p. 412.6.

[30] *blos mi dpog pa rnams rang sor bzhag*, Collected Works vol. 9, f. 205v6; ed. S. vol. 9, p. 412.6.

[31] Collected Works vol. 9, ff. 206v2–207v6; ed. S. vol. 9, pp. 414.2–416.6.

[32] Collected Works vol. 9, f. 206v5–6; ed. S. vol. 9, p. 414.5–6.

[33] Collected Works vol. 9, f. 206v6; ed. S. vol. 9, p. 414.6.

[34] For additional information on the materials dealt with in this section, see NOS 2: 214–216.

Eimer in the mid-eighties and therefore was not included in his investigations at the time.[35] As Eimer surmised, these folios indeed contain material relating to the Sde dge *Bka' 'gyur*, namely a text entitled "Account, [offering] a widely opened gate, of the preparation and production of this excellent matrix [for the printed reproduction] of the precious Words [of the Buddha]".[36] It dates from 1734,[37] the year after the *Dkar chag* had been written. It consists of three sections: the first lists the number of printing blocks produced (and, consequently the number of folios that can be printed) for each volume of the Sde dge *Bka' 'gyur* xylograph edition. The second provides us with the calculations of the extensive material and financial support invested in this project by the Sde dge king Bstan pa tshe ring and his son.[38] These aspects have been discussed in some detail in the contribution by Rémi Chaix to the present *Colloque*, so I will not go into detail here. Finally, the third section describes the tasks performed by the various specialized craftsmen and scholars collaborating in the project.[39] Quoting various canonical and paracanonical authorities (such as Jetāri and Atiśa), it eulogizes the efforts by lay-patrons invested in projects of merit, *in casu* the reproduction of the Words of the Buddha.[40]

(5) Two other Dkar chag*s*[41]

In Si tu's Collected Works other *Dkar chag* materials have been preserved as well. One appears to be an addendum or appendix of some sort to the *Bka' 'gyur Dkar chag*, entitled: "Exposé of the history of a new production [of] the complete precious Words of the Sugata [i.e. Buddha] translated into Tibetan [entitled] 'Creeper of the Young Moon'."[42] Its date of completion is 1764. It

[35] Eimer (1985: 286 n. 9).

[36] *Gsung rab rin po che'i phyi mo dam pa 'di nyid las brtsams te legs byas kyi sgo yangs por phye ba'i tshul gyi gtam*, Collected Works vol. 9, title 2 ff. 1–9r5; ed. S. vol. 9, pp. 525–541/542.

[37] *kun dga' zhes pa shing pho stag gi lo / nag pa zla ba'i gang ba gsum pa'i tshes la*, Collected Works vol. 9, title 2 f. 9r4; ed. S. vol. 9, p. 541/542.4.

[38] *sbyin bdag gis bsgrubs tshul*, Collected Works vol. 9, title 2 ff. 4r2–5r6; ed. S. vol. 9, pp. 531.2–533.6.

[39] *do dam pa rnams kyi byed tshul*, Collected Works vol. 9, title 2 ff. 5r6–9r3; ed. S. vol. 9, pp. 533.6–541/542.3.

[40] Collected Works vol. 9, title 2 f. 6r1–6v1; ed. S. vol. 9, pp. 535.1–536.1.

[41] For additional information on the materials dealt with in this section, see NOS 2: 217–221.

[42] *Bde bar gshegs pa'i gsung rab rin po che gangs can gyi brdas drangs pa ji snyed pa gsar du bzhengs pa'i byung ba brjod pa zla ba gzhon nu'i khri shing*, Collected Works vol. 10, title 2 ff. 1v1–8v6; ed. S. vol. 10, pp. 38–52.

is evident that this *Dkar chag* does not form a table of contents to a xylograph edition, but to a manuscript collection. Nonetheless, on account of the similarity of their titles, it seems plausible that it is in some manner associated with the Sde dge *Bka' 'gyur Dkar chag*.

The manuscripts were evidently of the most sumptuous kind: "the lettering was executed in purified gold, equal to Jāmbūnada, gold of the finest colour".[43] And, in order to emphasize the merit gained by the sponsors, Si tu even specifies that as much as "2536 *zho* of pure unadulterated gold"[44] was invested in the execution of this project. Perhaps this manuscript collection is none other than the "golden-lettered" canon which the *Sde dge Rgyal rabs* refers to and which was—at an unknown date—commissioned by the Sde dge king Blo gros rgya mtsho (r. later than 1738–1774).[45] Or, taking into consideration its date and its apparent association with the *Bka' 'gyur*, is there perhaps some connection with the revision of the *Bka' 'gyur* catalogue which Si tu undertook in 1762?[46] The two options are not mutually exclusive: it is conceivable that the "golden-lettered" canon and Si tu's revision of the *Dkar chag* are somehow interconnected.

There is another *Dkar chag* by Si tu that might be linked with either (or both) of these projects. In the tenth volume of Si tu's Collected Works we find an untitled *Dkar chag* of canonical materials—albeit not a table of contents of an entire canon.[47] It catalogues a manuscript collection of nineteen volumes, consisting mainly of *Sūtra* texts: sixteen volumes of *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*s, two volumes of various *Mahāyāna Sūtra*s, and one volume of mixed *Mahāyāna* and Tantric content.

Again, as in the previous case, the execution of the manuscripts must have been quite magnificent (it was, as my good friend and colleague Dr. Christoph Cüppers phrased it during the Colloque, a "de-luxe" edition) done "by expert scribes, in gold and silver lettering on indigo-blue paper, adorned with precious stones".[48] The production of the manuscripts took

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[43] *mdog bzang dzambu nā da yi // spun zlar gyur pa'i gser sbyangs kyis // yi ge'i mtshan ma 'god pa*, Collected Works vol. 10, title 2 f. 5r2–3; ed. S. vol. 10, p. 45.2–3.

[44] *rten bzhengs kyi rgyu gser rkyang slad med zho 'khor nyis stong lnga brgya sum cu rtsa drug song*, Collected Works vol. 10, title 2 f. 8v3; ed. S. vol. 10, p. 52.3.

[45] Kolmaš (1968: 41), (1988: 130–131), NOS 2: 218.

[46] *bka' 'gyur dkar chag dang shing kun dkar chag yongs 'dzin dri lan rnams zhu dag bgyis*, Collected Works vol. 14, f. 215v2; ed. S. vol. 14, p. 430.2; cf. NOS 2: 217. The *Shing kun dkar chag* mentioned here is Si tu's translation of Svayambhu purāṇa, cf. NOS 1:527–537; *Yongs 'dzin dri lan* probably refers to one of the three *dri(s) lan* collections contained in the 8th volume of Si tu's collected works.

[47] Collected Works vol. 10, title 2 ff. 15r6–17v1; ed. S. vol. 10, pp. 65.6–70.1.

[48] *mthing shog la rin po che gser dngul ngag gis yig mkhan mkhas pa rnams bsags nas 'drir*

from 1769 to 1772 to complete, with the colophon of the *Dkar chag* bearing the date 1773.[49] Si tu attributes the commission of this prestigious enterprise to a king of Sde dge whom he identifies as Blo gros rgyal mtshan. I have speculated earlier that this may refer (due to a scribal error?) to none other than King Blo gros rgya mtsho, mentioned above.[50]

(6) Bilingual Editions: A Hymn to Mahākāla

The painstaking accuracy and critical acumen with which Si tu approached his translation and editing work is brought to light quite clearly in his translation of a widely known hymn to the Tantric deity Mahākāla, the *Vajra Mahākāla Aṣṭaka Stotra*, the "Eight-stanza hymn to Vajra Mahākāla". In Si tu's Collected Works we find an annotated bilingual version of this brief work, offering a transliteration of the Sanskrit text along with Si tu's translation.[51]

The elaborate annotation shows that Si tu used his sources very much like a modern-day scholar would do. He based his translation on as many Sanskrit manuscripts as were available to him. These included several older manuscripts which he had traced in Tibetan monastic collections[52] as well as a number of more recent manuscripts which he had acquired in Nepal.[53] Generally Si tu values the older manuscripts from the Tibetan libraries more highly than the Nepalese ones, often preferring **their** readings to those of the latter. In fact, Si tu remarks in the colophon that the manuscripts which he had obtained in Kathmandu and Patan were generally very corrupt.

In addition to these Sanskrit sources, Si tu also consulted the existing Tibetan translations of the hymn, some of which were apparently available to him in bilingual[54] editions. Throughout his work we find Si tu voicing his critique of the work of (some) earlier translators. The present translation is no exception: at times he quite severely criticizes the translation of "Zha lu"

[emend: *'brir*?] *'jug pa'i dbu brtsams*, Collected Works vol. 10, title 2 f. 15v5; ed. S. vol. 10, p. 66.5.

[49] NOS 2: 220.

[50] NOS 2: 220–221.

[51] *Vajra Mahākāla aṣṭaka stotra*, Tib. *Rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa brgyad pa*, Collected Works vol. 7, title 10 ff. 1v1–4v4; ed. S. vol. 7, pp. 432–438.4; cf. SIBH 1: 77–82, Verhagen (2005: 25–28), Steinkellner (2004: 13–14).

[52] Which he, perhaps somewhat confusingly, usually refers to as *bod dpe*, "Tibet[an] manuscripts" i.e. "[Sanskrit] manuscripts [kept in] Tibet". If he speaks of Tibetan **translations** he uses the term *'gyur*.

[53] Which he terms *bal dpe*, "Nepal[ese] manuscripts".

[54] That is, if my conjectural interpretation of the phrase *nyis bid can* as "bilingual" is correct.

which I presume to be a translation by the famous Zha lu Lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441–1528). At one point he actually characterizes his own translation as a revision of the one by "Zha lu".[55] Unfortunately I have not been able to trace this translation by Chos skyong bzang po. It seems **not** to correspond to the three anonymous translations of this hymn which are preserved in the Tibetan canon (or to the fourth translation in that corpus, which is attributed to Śrī-Vairocana-Vajra and Ding ri Chos grags).[56]

In the colophon Si tu states that he made this translation after "having compared Indian manuscripts that had come to Tibet in earlier times, and some bilingual copies, along with numerous corrupt manuscripts from Kathmandu and Patan in Nepal".[57] It is fascinating to observe in the annotation the wide range of arguments that Si tu takes into consideration in the editorial and translation process. Sometimes semantics tip the balance in his choice of reading:[58]

> "Although some Indian manuscripts have [the reading] *śravānyaiḥ* [instead of *śravo 'rgham*?], this seems to be an inferior [reading], [and therefore] I have opted for [the reading *śravo 'rgham*] as it is [gives] the best meaning."

In other instances morphology or orthography also play a role in his considerations:[59]

> "In some Tibetan manuscripts [i.e. Sanskrit manuscripts kept in Tibet] [the form] *kuru kuru* occurs here [instead of *ruru ruru*]; this could be translated as 'do and do [this] completely'; it appears that the source of confusion lay in the [ortho-]graphical form [of phonemes *k* and *r*]."

He also looks at previous translations as a guideline:[60]

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[55] *zha lu lo tsas 'gyur bcos pa de'i steng du ci nus kyi zhu dag*, Collected Works vol. 7, title 10 f. 4v3; ed. S. vol. 7, p. 438.3.

[56] SIBH 1: 79–80.

[57] *bod du sngar byung ba'i rgya dpe dngos dang zhal bshus nyis bid can 'ga' re / bal yul yam bu dang ye rang gi dpe dag min mang po bcas go bsdur nas*, Collected Works vol. 7, title 10 f. 4v3; ed. S. vol. 7, p. 438.3.

[58] *rgya dpe kha cig na shra bā nyaiḥ zhes yod kyang dkyus bzhin don bzang bas bkod*, Collected Works vol. 7, title 10 f. 2r3; ed. S. vol. 7, p. 433.3; gloss ad verse 2c.

[59] *bod dpe 'gar 'dir ku ru ku ru zhes 'dug pas / ma lus mdzod cig mdzod ces bsgyur 'dug pa yi ge la 'khrul gzhi byung ba yin*, Collected Works vol. 7, title 10 f. 2v6; ed. S. vol. 7, p. 434.6; gloss ad verse 5b.

[60] *'dir rgya dpe kha cig na lo kā nāṃ zhes nang yang dkyus ltar rgya dpe gzhan mang po mthun zhing 'gyur rnying la yang snang bas 'di ltar bsgyur*, Collected Works vol. 7, title 10 f. 2r6–2v3; ed. S. vol. 7, pp. 433.6–434.3; gloss ad verse 4b.

> "Although here in some Indian manuscripts [the form] *lokānāṃ* occurs [instead of *pāpānāṃ*], [this] amounts to an inferior [reading], and as [the reading *pāpānāṃ*] accords with many other Indian manuscripts and also occurs in the old[er Tibetan] translation[s], I have translated it accordingly."

Finally, Si tu's scholarly approach to edition and translation comes clearly to the fore in his annotation to the closing stanza of the hymn:[61]

> "After I had carefully considered the structure and appropriate meaning of the words and case-endings in the verse, which expounds the benefits of the recitation of this hymn, I translated it thus [as above].
>
> However, [the translation of] that [stanza] of [= in] the [more] recent translation, namely[62] the [one by] Zha lu, seems to deviate to a great extent from the meaning [of the stanza].
>
> Upon examination of the old[er] translation(s), it appeared that [in the manuscript(s) on which this/these translation(s) was/were based] instead of the passage *sarvajñaṃ tasya* there was a different [reading], but I have not found [this reading in] a manuscript.
>
> Elsewhere [in the text], in some Nepalese manuscripts there appear to be minor variations in parts of words, but as the reading according to the Tibetan manuscripts [i.e. the older manuscripts kept in Tibet] makes good sense, I have [followed] the reading according to these [Tibetan manuscripts]."

Carefully comparing the various readings of the Sanskrit manuscripts and—where relevant—involving in the comparison the extant translations of the passage, he comes to a well-considered judgement on which he bases his translation. This procedure is of course very reminiscent of the way a present-day scholar would go about the task of editing, interpreting and translating an ancient source. It is at this point that I think we may be justified to characterize some of the work done by Tibetan translators as textual criticism, in other words to regard the work of some Tibetan translators as philology or Indology "avant la lettre".

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[61] *bstod pa bklag pa'i phan yon bstan pa'i tshigs bcad 'di rnam dbye dang tshig gi 'gros dang don thob la legs par brtags nas 'di ltar bsgyur ba yin gyi / gsar 'gyur zha lu'i de ni don shin tu mi 'brel bar snang / 'gyur rnying la brtags nas sarba dzñaṃ ta sya zhes pa'i thad 'dir gzhan zhig yod 'dra yang dpe ma rnyed / gzhan bal dpe 'gar tshig zur 'dra min phran bu snang yang / bod dpe ltar byas pa legs par rtog pas de bzhin byas pa lags*, Collected Works vol. 7, title 10 f. 4r6–4v1; ed. S. vol. 7, pp. 437.6–438.1; gloss ad verse 9; see also SIBH 1: 81–82.

[62] An alternative translation: "(…) recent translation and the [one by] Zha lu (…)".

(7) Other Bilingual Editions

Finally, a few brief words about two other bilingual texts edited in Si tu's Collected Works. Both are works on Sanskrit grammar. The first is a lexicon of verbal roots, a so-called *Dhātupāṭha*, a work apparently based on the *Dhātupāṭha* current in the *Cāndra* tradition, but adapted for inclusion in the *Kātantra* system of *Vyākaraṇa* (the *Cāndra* and *Kātantra* traditions being the major schools of Sanskrit grammar in the context of Indian Buddhism).[63] Of course *Dhātupāṭha*s and other treatises on Sanskrit grammar cannot but contain Sanskrit forms and example-sentences. But, here we have more, namely a bilingual edition giving the Sanskrit text in its entirety (root and semantic gloss) along with a Tibetan translation (which of course translates only the semantic gloss and cites the Sanskrit root untranslated). Si tu identifies it as a "revision of the translation by the venerable Bu ston [Rin chen grub (1290-1364)]" *(bu ston rin po che'i 'gyur bcos)*, that is one of such verb-lexicons preserved in the *Bstan 'gyur* canon.[64] In the colophon to his translation of a commentary on this text Si tu severely criticizes this canonical translation by Bu ston.[65]

It is important to note that the text available to Si tu appears to have been virtually identical to the one used by Bu ston. One might wonder: Did Si tu use the same Sanskrit manuscript as Bu ston? Perhaps he had the opportunity to study this manuscript during one of his several visits to central Tibet (e.g. in the years 1712–1715, 1721–1722, late 1723, 1735–1736, 1762)? We know that he travelled in Gtsang province and visited the monasteries where Bu ston was active and where important Sanskrit manuscript collections were kept (for instance in 1723 *en route* to Nepal). In his ongoing quest for Sanskrit texts he may have gained access in the important *Sa skya pa* and *Zha lu pa* libraries to the very same manuscript that the great master Bu ston had used. The colophon dates Si tu's translation to the year 1757, so he may very well have worked on the basis of a copy or notes made during one of these visits.[66]

The second bilingual text is his version of the basic *(sūtra)* text of the *Cāndra* school of grammar.[67] It offers the integral Sanskrit text and Si tu's

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[63] Sanskrit: *Dhātukāya*, Tibetan: *Byings kyi tshogs (Ka lā pa'i byings kyi mdo bu ston rin po che'i 'gyur bcos mdzad pa skad gnyis shan sbyar)*, Collected Works vol. 1, ff. 1–28; ed. S. vol. 1, pp. 2–55; see also HSGLT 2: par. 1.3.1.6, pp. 106–109.

[64] HSGLT 1: CG 22, pp. 81–82.

[65] HSGLT 2: 107 note 428.

[66] In my ongoing research of Si tu's (auto)biography I hope to find answers to some of such questions.

[67] Sanskrit: *Cāndra vyākaraṇa sūtra*, Tibetan: *Lung ston pa tsandra pa'i mdo (Brda sprod pa tsandra pa'i mdo 'gyur rnying la 'gyur bcos mdzad pa skad gnyis shan sbyar)*, Collected

Tibetan translation. This also is a revision of a canonical version, namely the one by Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276–1342) which is preserved in the Sde dge and Co ne editions of the *Bstan 'gyur* and which itself is a revision of an earlier translation by Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (c. 1235/1245–?).[68]

Again, on the basis of the close correspondence between Dpang lo tsā ba's and Si tu's versions, the question is justified: Did Si tu use the same manuscript(s) as the earlier translator whose work he revises here, in this case Dpang lo tsā ba? If so, this edition would constitute a valuable addition to the sources for *Cāndra* grammar as it reflects (and transcribes!) a Sanskrit manuscript dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Moreover, truly exciting is the prospect that possibly some of the very same manuscripts which were used by Bu ston and Dpang lo tsā ba in the fourteenth century, and perhaps again by Si tu in the eighteenth century, may have been preserved up till the present day. The important Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript holdings of Central Tibetan monastic libraries such as Zha lu, Ngor E waṃ chos sde and Sa skya, which were documented by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in the 1930s[69] have long been considered lost. Recent efforts, in particular by Prof. Ernst Steinkellner (Vienna), have brought to light that—at least important parts of—these collections are still kept in libraries in the People's Republic of China.[70] Are the "personal" copies of "classical period" translators such as Bu ston, Dpang lo tsā ba and others, and perhaps even of earlier *lo tsā ba*s still extant in these collections? It is tempting to speculate this may be the case. Hasten the day that academic exploration will have full access to these priceless treasures!

(8) Concluding Observations

The reception of Buddhism in Tibet required at least a basic working-knowledge of Indian culture and languages on the part of those Tibetans who were actively involved in this process. The virtuosi in this field, in particular the translators and editors responsible for the transmission of the enormous corpora of Indian literature in Tibet, indubitably acquired a de-

Works vol. 1, title 3 ff. 1–61; ed. S. vol. 1, pp. 201–323; see also HSGLT 2: # 1.3.1.13, pp. 129–132.

[68] HSGLT 1: CG 24, p. 109; Si tu did not occupy himself with the other canonical translation of this same work, by Thar pa lo tsā ba Nyi ma rgyal mtshan (end 13th–14th century), which is found only in the Peking and Snar thang editions, see HSGLT 1: CG 1, pp. 53–55.

[69] Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1935), (1937) and (1938).

[70] Steinkellner (2004).

gree of expertise that warrants the designation "Indology". This is certainly the case for the 18th century master-scholar Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas. In my opinion Si tu's editorial and translation work fully justifies the label "Indology", "Indology avant la lettre" if you will. What is more, taking into account Si tu's comparative and comprehensive approach to translating, I feel it is even fair to say that some of his work in this respect can well be qualified as "philology avant la lettre".

It should perhaps not come as a surprise that an editor or translator in pre-modern Tibet—for instance in the 18th century, as we have seen in the work of Si tu—encountered challenges and problems, but also must have enjoyed gratification and a sense of achievement not very different from his modern-day counterpart.

Tasks such as finding suitable textual materials, finding sponsors and convincing them of the value and necessity of the publication, the meticulous attention required for a proper translation and edition, and for the technical aspects of the reproduction (in blockprint or manuscript) of the "edition" (perhaps especially in the present day-and-age of desk-top publishing), all these are of course basically not very different from the circumstances which the present-day "editor" faces.[71]

Sigla

Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo = Zhang Yisun (1985)
HSGLT 1 = Verhagen (1994)
HSGLT 2 = Verhagen (2001A)
NOS 1 = Verhagen (2008)
NOS 2 = Verhagen (2004)
S = ed. Sherab Gyaltsen (1990)
SIBH 1 = Verhagen (2001B)

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[71] Allow me to end on a more personal (foot)note: Perhaps a major difference between the situation of a pre-modern Tibetan 'editor' and the lot of the present-day textual scholar lies in the fact that the argument of *bsod nams*, of 'merit' acquired through the sponsoring of such a project or, in other words, the intrinsic value of such efforts is no longer as convincing and compelling an argument for our modern-day sponsors as it used to be in the 'Land of Snows'. As the Dutch poet 'Lucebert' (Lubertus Swaanswijk, 1924–1994) once put it (I translate): "Everything of value is defenseless." ("Alles van waarde is weerloos"; 1974).

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RÉSUMÉ

Si tu Paṇ chen Chos 'kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774), "éditeur"

Le rôle très important des traducteurs n'a pas cessé au Tibet après la première Diffusion du bouddhisme, ni après l'époque de la constitution des grandes collections canoniques. Si tu Pan chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas, éditeur du *bKa' 'gyur* de sDe dge, fut un traducteur très talentueux, sans doute le plus important du XVIIIe siècle. Homme de grande culture, expert reconnu de la grammaire sanskrite et de la grammaire tibétaine, il révisa un certain nombre de traductions antérieures et en fit de nouvelles. Lorsqu'il supervisa l'édition xylographique du *bKa' 'gyur* de sDe dge (1731-1733) il en écrivit le *dkar chag*, relatant l'histoire de la formation de la collection et de sa préparation pour l'impression. Il existe deux versions de ce *dkar chag*, l'une, en huit chapitres, est incluse dans ses Œuvres Complètes, l'autre, limitée à cinq chapitres, se trouve dans le *bKa' 'gyur* lui-même.

Le sixième chapitre de la version longue comporte une histoire de sDe dge, et de ses rois, en particulier de bsTan pa tshe ring, mécène de l'édition ; puis traite de la date du projet, des sources du *bKa' 'gyur* et de sa présente publication. Il parle notamment de l'orthographe des *mantra*, translittérés et non traduits, problème difficile pour les éditeurs. Il recommande de suivre les indications éventuelles du texte concerné ; ou, en l'absence de telles indications, de se conformer à l'usage le plus fréquent dans les manuscrits disponibles dans le cas d'un terme d'origine non sanskrite, de se référer à la grammaire sanskrite dans le cas contraire, et de laisser les termes inconnus dans la forme où ils seraient trouvés. La logistique de cette considérable opération d'impression est aussi abordée : matériaux artisans, vérifications et corrections. Dans le volume 9 de ses Œuvres se trouve un appendice postérieur au *dkar chag*, qui le complète en indiquant le nombre de planches gravées pour chaque volume et donne une estimation du coût de l'opération.

Le soin que le Si tu apportait à ses traductions et ses éditions est particulièrement manifeste dans les textes bilingues qu'il a publiés. Ses annotations font preuve d'un grand modernisme. Il y recommandait la réunion d'un grand nombre de copies des textes sanskrits à traduire, avec une préférence pour les copies tibétaines, plus anciennes et fiables que les copies népalaises, ainsi que la référence aux éventuelles traductions tibétaines antérieures. Deux de ces textes bilingues sont des textes de grammaire sanskrites, déjà traduits, mais qu'il a révisés attentivement. L'introduction du bouddhisme au Tibet nécessita une grande connaissance de la culture et des langues de l'Inde de la part des traducteurs et éditeurs tibétains. Certains montrèrent des capacités telles qu'on peut parler, en tout cas en ce qui concerne le Si tu, d'indologie avant la lettre.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3